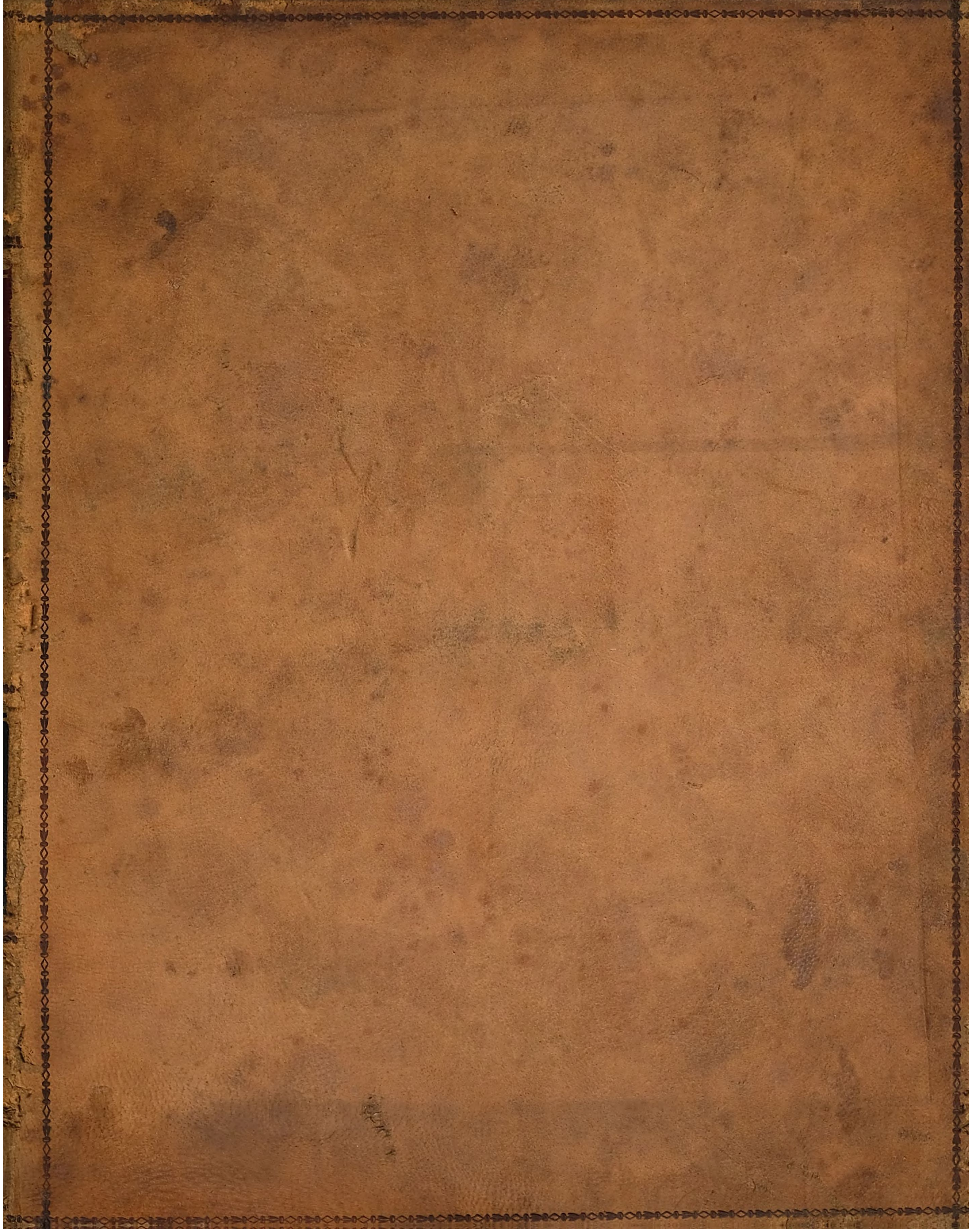




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FOR THE

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Volume III.

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NARRATIVE OF THE TOUR OF THE DELEGATES
THROUGH THE UNITED STATES;

TOGETHER WITH

DESCRIPTIONS OF PLACES VISITED, AND REPORTS OF ADDRESSES DELIVERED.

WASHINGTON:
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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Visit to—	Page.
West Point Military Academy.....	8
Boston	18
Lawrence and Lowell.....	34
Manchester, N. H.	37
Portland.....	39
Worcester.....	46
Willimantic	47
South Manchester, Conn	47
Hartford	48
Collinsville	53
Meriden	53
New Haven	55
Springfield	60
Holyoke, Mass.....	62
Albany.....	63
Niagara	68
Buffalo.....	69
Erie, Pa.....	76
Cleveland	78
Detroit, Mich.....	108
Ann Arbor	111
Grand Rapids.....	113
South Bend.....	115
Chicago	121
Milwaukee	148
St. Paul	155
Minneapolis	162
Sioux City.....	165
Omaha	173
St. Louis	175
Springfield, Ill.....	193
Indianapolis	202

II

	Page.
Visit to—Continued.	
Louisville, Ky	212
Lexington	222
Cincinnati	224
Pittsburgh	230
Altoona	235
Philadelphia	238
New York	262
Wilmington	311
Baltimore	313

INTERNATIONAL AMERICAN CONFERENCE.

REPORT

OF THE

TOUR OF THE DELEGATES THROUGH THE UNITED STATES.*

FIRST DAY.

THE DEPARTURE FROM WASHINGTON.

At a quarter past 8 on the morning of October 3, 1889, the delegates to the International American Conference, accompanied by their secretaries and attachés, and a number of newspaper correspondents, started upon a tour through the country as the guests of the United States Government. The railway train in which the journey of nearly 6,000 miles was to be made stood in the station of the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad Company. It was the most complete train ever known in the history of railroading, and consisted of an engine and six Pullman cars, all new and equipped with every improvement and device for the comfort and convenience of the passengers that human genius could suggest.

As it stood in the station ready to receive its distinguished passengers the train represented a money value of \$150,000. In its composition it was as complete in all its appointments as a metropolitan hotel or club-house. There

*The following narrative of the tour of the delegates to the International Conference was prepared wholly from newspaper reports published at the several cities visited.

were drawing-rooms and parlors for use by day, berths and state-rooms for sleeping purposes, a library and writing-rooms, bath-rooms and a barber's saloon, a dining car perfect in every detail. Rich upholstery and magnificent drapery from the looms of the Union, stalwart oak from the forests of North America, glistening rosewood from the banks of the Amazon, mirror-like mahogany from the sunny lands of Central America, and velvety satinwood from the valleys of the Himalayas had all been brought into requisition by the decorator and finisher. From the spoils of so many climes the car-builder had constructed the train whose elegance, comfort, and luxury a fairy prince might covet.

At the head of this princely train there stood Pennsylvania Railroad locomotive No. 1053. This engine is known in the technical classification of the builders as "Class O." It was designed by Mr. Theo. N. Ely, general superintendent of motive power, built at the Pennsylvania Railroad's car and locomotive shops at Altoona, Pa., and is a type of the best American effort in locomotive construction. The total weight of the engine was 91,900 pounds. It was a very handsome, as well as a perfect, piece of mechanism, and its capacity for constant, unbroken, and speedy work was demonstrated by its performances on this tour to be superior to any previous achievement of any other locomotive in the world. The run of 325 miles, between Milwaukee and St. Paul, in ten hours, and that of 476 miles, between Omaha and St. Louis, in eighteen hours, established its staying powers on a firm foundation, and made for it a record that is matchless in the railroad history of this country. The use of a single engine for a trip of over 6,000 miles has never before been attempted, and the brilliant success which marks this case is eloquent proof of the accomplished skill of American mechanics, as well as a convincing demonstration of the excellence of American railroads.

Following the engine was the Pullman vestibule composite car "Esperanza." This is the technical designation of the car in railroad parlance, but it can be more properly and intelligently described as a library and smok-

ing car. The front portion of this car was used as a storage van for the baggage, with a section reserved for the dynamo. This dynamo, operated by steam supplied from the locomotive, furnished the power for illuminating the entire train. From it the storage batteries, placed under the cars, were charged with electricity, sufficient in amount to thoroughly illuminate all the cars for ten hours, without recharging. It also supplied the current for the movable berth lights and the signal lights on the end of the rear coach. Adjoining the baggage compartment was the bath and barber's saloon. The bath-room was supplied with both hot and cold water, and the shaving and hair-dressing department was complete in all its details. A buffet, for the service of light refreshments, came next, and beyond this was the open parlor for smoking, reading, or writing. An *escritoire*, with writing materials, and a bookcase filled with entertaining volumes were striking features of the smoker's parlor. The interior was finished in oak, and the prevailing colors of drapery and decoration was bronze and gold. Luxurious bamboo arm-chairs and sofas invited ease and comfort.

The next in order was the Pullman vestibule dining-car "Windsor." This car was used exclusively for the preparation and service of meals. The kitchen occupied about one-third of the interior space, but it was so arranged and separated from the main saloon that no odors of the cooking were allowed to penetrate the dining-hall. A *chef* and four assistants presided over the range, and five white-jacketed waiters preformed the bidding of the guests. There were store-rooms chilled by cold air, refrigerating wine closets, linen lockers, plate and china chests, and all the conveniences requisite for the providing, preparing, and serving of bounteous meals.

The car contained ten tables, with a seating capacity for forty persons simultaneously. The interior was very attractive, the finishing being oak and the tint of the draping olive-green. A uniformed official, called the dining-car conductor, who was really the steward, had charge of this car.

The Pullman vestibule drawing and state room sleep-

ing-cars "Washington," "Columbus," "India," and "Japan," were each the largest cars of their class, and the most notable specimens of the Pullman Palace Car Company's skill. They were 75 feet long, 14 feet high, and contained twelve sections of two double berths, a single and a double drawing-room, beside lavatories, a bath and toilet rooms. The "Washington" and "Columbus" were finished in satinwood and mahogany. The upholstery was imperial purple, and the curtains were maroon. The "India" and "Japan" were finished in like manner, but the distinctive tints of upholstery and drapery were turquoise blue, garnet, purple, and maroon. The drawing-rooms, or private compartments, were separated from the main saloon by partitions of hard wood. Their interior finishing was of ivory and gold, with rich maroon hangings. Private lavatories and toilet-rooms were connected with the drawing-rooms by communicating doors. The baths and lavatories throughout the train were supplied from tanks placed beneath the cars, with both hot and cold water, which was forced into bath-tub or basin by air pressure.

Radiant nickel chandeliers hung from the roof ridge. They were fitted for gas or electricity, but the latter was the generally accepted illuminating agent. In addition to the chandeliers, movable electric bulbs were fitted in each berth, so that one could dispose his light to suit his convenience.

The vestibule attachments connecting the different cars rendered the train, as far as the passage from car to car was concerned, one elongated coach. A passenger could pass through the entire train with the same facility as if he were strolling through a long corridor.

Steam from the locomotive was distributed through radiators placed in the cars, so that a uniform degree of heat could be maintained throughout the entire train.

All the cars of this train were withdrawn, for the time being from the regular equipment of the "Pennsylvania Limited," which runs between New York and Chicago every day, and the locomotive for months previous to the tour had been in constant service, drawing the heaviest

passenger trains over the high grades of the Allegheny Mountains. Few railroads in the world could provide so complete a train from its every-day service.*

A complete list of those who participated in the excursion is herewith given:

Argentine Republic.—Delegate Manuel Quintana; Consul-General Adolfo G. Calvo; Secretaries Federico Pinedo, Ernesto Bosch; Attaché Juan S. Atwell.

Bolivia.—Delegate Juan F. Velarde; Secretary Melchor Obarrio; Attachés Alcibiades Velarde and Mariano Velarde.

Brazil.—Delegates Lafayette Rodrigues Pereira, J. G. do Amaral Valente, and Salvador de Mendonca; Secretaries Jose Augusto Ferreira da Costa and Joaquim de Frietas Vasconcellas; Attachés Alfredo de Moraes Gomes Ferreira, Carlos Silveira Martins, and Mario de Mendonça.

Chili.—Delegates Jose Alfonso and Emilio C. Varas; Secretaries Carlos Zanartu, Paulino Alfonso and Domingo Peña Toro.

Colombia.—Delegates Carlos Martinez Silva and Climaco Calderon; Secretary Martin Amador.

Costa Rica.—Delegate Manuel Aragon; Secretary Joaquin Bernardo Calvo.

Ecuador.—Delegate Jose Maria Placido Caamano; Secretaries Juan L. Yribas and C. R. Gill; Attaché Antonio Echaverria.

Guatemala.—Delegate Fernando Cruz; Secretary Domingo Estrada; Attaché Javier A. Arroyo.

Honduras.—Delegate Jeronimo Zelaya; Secretaries E. Constantino Fiallos and Richard Villafranca.

Mexico.—Delegate Matias Romero; Secretary Adolfo Mujica y Sayago.

Nicaragua.—Delegate Horacio Guzman; Secretary R. Mayorga.

Peru.—Delegate F. C. C. Zegarra; Private Secretary Alberto Falcon.

Salvador.—Delegate Jacinto Castellanos; Secretary Samuel Valdivieso; Attaché Joaquin Arrieta Rossi.

*The itinerary of the journey will be found in the Appendix.

Uruguay.—Delegate Alberto Nin; Secretary Henry Dauber.

Venezuela.—Delegates Nicanor Bolet Peraza, Francisco Antonio Silva, and Jose Andrade; Secretaries N. Bolet Monagas and John G. Peoli.

United States.—Delegates John B. Henderson, Cornelius N. Bliss, Charles R. Flint, Clement Studebaker, T. Jefferson Coolidge, William Henry Trescot, Andrew Carnegie, Henry G. Davis, Morris M. Estee, and John F. Hanson.

The United States attachés were Capt. John G. Bourke, U. S. Army, First Lieut. Henry R. Lemly, U. S. Army, Surgeon George M. Sternberg, U. S. Army, Surgeon H. C. Yarrow, U. S. Army, Lieut. Henry McCrea, U. S. Navy, Warner P. Sutton, Edmund W. P. Smith, Edward A. Trescot, T. Jefferson Coolidge, jr.

The Secretary of War, Mr. Walker Blaine and General D. H. Hastings were also with the party at different times.

The Spanish-American Commercial Union of New York was represented by F. G. Pierra. J. H. Fox, secretary to Delegate Charles R. Flint, was also one of the party.

Press associations and individual newspapers were represented by the following: The Associated Press, E. M. Hood and Frank W. Mack; the United Press, C. A. O'Rourke and R. L. Farnham; New York Tribune, M. G. Seckendorff; New York Herald, James Clancy; Washington Star, George H. Harries; Philadelphia Press, E. C. Howland; Philadelphia Ledger, Frank H. Taylor; Frank Leslie's, J. W. Nagle and C. Bunnell; Boston Herald, Morton D. Mitchell; Chicago Tribune, F. A. Vanderlip; Panama Star and Herald, Samuel Boyd.

William Eleroy Curtis, special agent of the Department of State, was in charge of the party, and Mr. S. W. F. Draper, of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, was in charge of the movement of the train.

THE VISIT TO WEST POINT MILITARY ACADEMY.

The run to West Point was completed at 5 o'clock, at which time the visitors were welcomed by Col. John M. Wilson, commandant of the Military Academy, and his

staff, all in full uniform. An appropriate salute was fired as the party, in carriages and omnibuses, reached the plateau on which the buildings of the Military Academy stand. Drawn up on the parade ground were the cadets, and as soon as the last omnibus had been relieved of its load the battalion drill on the programme was commenced. Many of the maneuvers were heartily applauded by delegates and attachés.

As soon as the cleverly executed evolutions were concluded, the battalion of cadets, the honored guests, and as many other persons as could find room, entered the mess hall (now known as the Grant Memorial Hall), and prepared for the ceremonies incident to the presentation to the Academy, by Mr. George W. Childs, of portraits of Generals Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan. Beside each of the three portraits—all of them temporarily hidden by the national colors—was a cadet. In front of these were a number of those who had been honored with special invitations. These included, among others, the delegates to the Conference, Secretary Proctor, General Sherman, Mr. George W. Childs, General VanVliet, Gen. Horace Porter, Gen. James O'Beirne, Adjutant-General Kelton, Gen. D. H. Hastings, Col. M. V. Sheridan, Collector Joel B. Erhardt, Appraiser M. W. Cooper, Mr. Walker Blaine, Colonel Barr, Hamilton Fish, jr., and W. L. Foote, of New York. In the rear of the hall was the cadet battalion, resting in place, while the intermediate space was filled up very thoroughly by interested spectators, the majority of whom were ladies.

A prayer by Post Chaplain Postlethwaite opened the proceedings, and then, at tap of drum, the national colors dropped simultaneously, revealing the faces of the three great military leaders on the Union side in the war of the rebellion. The battalion presented arms, the band played "Hail Columbia," and every person in the assemblage rose to his or her feet.

When the music ceased General Horace Porter was

NOTE.—The following narrative of the tour of the delegates to the International Conference was prepared wholly from newspaper reports published at the several cities visited.

introduced, and, speaking in behalf of Mr. George W. Childs, said :

It has been said that the only representatives of royalty recognized in this land are our merchant princes. We are indebted for the occasion which brings us together to-day to the princely act of a public-spirited and patriotic citizen who has conferred upon the military academy souvenirs of her three most distinguished graduates, whose historic features have been transferred to canvas by the limner's art. One dwelling in our midst; two dwelling in our memories. One bearing the laurel upon a living brow; two wearing the laurel intertwined with the cypress. The history of their lives is the most brilliant chapter in the history of their country. It savors more of romance than reality; it is more like a fabled tale of ancient days than the story of American soldiers of the nineteenth century.

Most of the conspicuous characters in history have risen to prominence by gradual steps, but the senior of the triumvirate, whose features are recalled to us to-day, came before the people with a sudden bound. Almost the first sight caught of him was in the blaze of his camp-fires and the flashes of his guns those wintry days and nights in front of Donelson. From that time until the closing triumph at Appomattox the great central figure of the war was Ulysses S. Grant. As light and shade produce the most attractive effects in a picture, so the singular contrasts, the strange vicissitudes of his eventful life surround him with an interest which attaches to few characters in history. His rise from an obscure lieutenant to the command of the veteran armies of the great republic; his transition from a frontier post of the untrodden west to the Executive Mansion of the nation; his sitting at one time in a little store in Galena, not even known to the Congressman from his district; at another time striding through the palaces of the old world, with the descendants of a line of kings, rising and standing uncovered in his presence—these are some of the features of his marvelous career which appeal to the imagination, excite men's wonder and fascinate all who make a study of his life.

He was created for great emergencies. It was the very magnitude of the task which called forth the powers which mastered it. In ordinary matters he was an ordinary man; in momentous affairs he towered as a giant. When performing the routine duties of a company post there was no act to make him conspicuous above his fellow-officers; but when he wielded corps and armies the great qualities of the commander flashed forth, and his master strokes of genius stamped him as the foremost soldier of his age. When he hauled wood from his little farm and sold it in St. Louis, his financiering was hardly equal to that of the small farmers about him, but when a message was to be sent to Congress that would puncture the fallacies of the inflationists and throttle by a veto the attempt of unwise legislators to cripple the finances of the nation, a state paper was produced which has ever

since commanded the wonder and admiration of every believer in a sound currency. He was made for great things, not for little. He could collect fifteen millions from Great Britain in settlement of the Alabama claims; he could not protect his own personal savings from the miscreants who robbed him in Wall street.

If there is one word which describes better than any other the predominating characteristic of his nature, that word is loyalty. He was loyal to his friends, loyal to his family, loyal to his country, and loyal to his God. This trait naturally produced a reciprocal effect upon those who were brought into relations with him, and was one of the chief reasons why men became so loyally attached to him. Many a public man has had troops of adherents who clung to him only for the patronage dispensed at his hands; or, being dazzled by his power, became blind partisans in a cause he represented; but perhaps no other man than General Grant ever had so many personal friends who loved him for his own sake; whose affections only strengthened with time; whose attachment never varied in its devotion, whether he was general or President, or simply a private citizen.

Even the valor of his martial deeds was surpassed by the superb heroism he displayed when fell disease attacked him; when the hand which had seized the surrendered swords of countless thousands was no longer able to return the pressure of a comrade's grasp; when he met in death the first enemy to whom he ever surrendered. But with him death brought eternal rest, and he was permitted to enjoy what he had pleaded for in behalf of others, for the Lord had let him have peace.

Turn we now to Grant's immediate successor in the office of general-in-chief—his illustrious lieutenant, with whom he divided a field of military operation which covered half a continent—the skilled strategist, the brilliant writer, the commander whose orders spoke with the true bluntness of the soldier, who fought from valley's depth to mountains' height, who marched from inland rivers to the sea—William T. Sherman.

He has shown himself possessed of the highest characteristics of the soldier. Bold in conception, self-reliant, demonstrating by his acts that "Much danger makes great hearts most resolute," prompt in decision, unshrinking under great responsibilities, fertile in resources, quick to adapt the means at hand to accomplishment of an end, possessing an intuitive knowledge of topography, combining the restlessness of a Hotspur with the patience of a Fabius, unswerving in patriotism, of unimpeachable personal character, of a physical constitution which enabled him to undergo every hardship incident to an active campaign, it is no wonder he has filled so large a measure of military greatness; that he stands in the front rank of the world's great captains.

No name connected with the Army inspires more genuine enthusiasm, appeals more to our sentiments, or more excites our fancy than that of the wizard of the battlefield—Philip H. Sheridan. The personification

of chivalry, the incarnation of battle, cheering, threatening, inciting, beseeching, inspiring all men by his acts, he roused his troops to deeds of individual heroism unparalleled in the history of modern warfare, and his unconquerable columns rushed to victory with all the confidence of Cæsar's Tenth Legion. Generous of his life, gifted with the ingenuity of a Hannibal, the dash of a Murat, the courage of a Ney, the magnetism of his presence transformed routed squadrons into charging columns and snatched victory from defeat. He preferred shot and shell to flags of truce; he would rather lead forlorn hopes than follow in the wake of charges.

His standard rose above all others on the field. Wherever blows fell thickest his crest was in their midst, despite the daring valor of the defense. Opposing ranks went down before the fierceness of his onsets, never to rise again. He paused not till the fold of his banners waved above the strongholds he had wrested from the foe. While his achievements in actual battle eclipse by their brilliancy the strategy and grand tactics employed in his campaigns, yet the skill and boldness exhibited in moving large bodies of men into position entitled him, perhaps, to as much credit as the marvelous qualities he displayed in the face of the enemy.

Brave Sheridan! Methinks I see your silent clay again quicken into life, once more riding Rienzi through a fire of hell, leaping opposing earthworks at a single bound, and leaving nothing of those who barred your way except the fragments scattered in your path. Matchless leader! Harbinger of victory, we salute you!

As long as courage is talked of, or heroic deeds are honored, there will remain green in the hearts of men the talismanic name of Sheridan.

Nearly every great war has given birth to one great general; no other war than our own has produced three such eminent commanders. In their portraits future graduates will gaze upon the features of three soldiers who were heroes, comrades, friends. As iron is welded in the heat of the forge, so was their friendship welded in the heat of battles. With hearts untouched by jealousy, with souls too great for rivalry, they saved us from the spectacle presented by a Marius and a Sulla, a Cæsar and a Pompey, a Charles the First and a Cromwell. They placed above all personal ends the safety of the State, and, like the men in the Roman phalanx of old, stood shoulder to shoulder and linked their shields against a common foe.

In this life little is learned from precept, something from experience, much from example. It is said that for three hundred years after Thermopylæ every school child in Greece was required each day to repeat from memory the names of the three hundred immortal heroes who fell in the defense of that pass. It would be in itself a liberal education to the future defenders of the Republic who bear diplomas from this historic spot, where patriotism early found a stronghold and treason's plots were baffled, if they could daily utter the names and

contemplate the exalted characters of the trio whose faces will henceforth look down upon them from artist's canvas. As we gaze upon the features of each one of them we may fittingly apply the words of Milton:

Thither shall all the valiant youth resort,
And from his memory inflame their breasts
To matchless valor.

The imperishable scroll on which the record of their deeds is written has been securely lodged in the highest niche of Fame's temple. No one can pluck a single laurel from their brows; no man can lessen the measure of their renown.

It is an auspicious circumstance which permits these ceremonies to take place before so distinguished and influential a body as that of the International American Congress. The presence of its delegates upon this post dedicated to war is an augury that States may be saved without the sword; that henceforth our differences in the new world may be settled without resorting to the "last argument of kings," and that congresses, bearing in their hands the olive-branch, will labor to avoid war, which wastes a nation's substance; to foster commerce, which is a nation's life, and to preserve that peace and good will which should everywhere prevail among men.

Three years ago there was selected as president of your board of visitors a citizen of Philadelphia, whose heart is as large as his purse and whose generosity dwells in the land which knows no frontiers—Mr. George W. Childs. His thoughtfulness prompted his liberality to procure for the academy these gifts which are to grace its walls.

The likeness of General Grant was executed by Mrs. Darragh, of Philadelphia. It was made from a photograph taken by Gutekunst, of that city, in 1865, which Mrs. Grant and a number of the general's friends considered the best of the many pictures taken of him just after the war. Representing him as he appeared nearly thirty years ago, his features do not seem so familiar to those who only saw him in later years. Soon after this portrait had been placed on the walls of what is now known as Grant Hall, Mr. Childs requested General Sherman and General Sheridan to permit him to have their likenesses prepared, in order that he might present them to the Military Academy and have them hung beside the portrait of the illustrious chieftain who had passed from earth. Mrs. Darragh was commissioned to execute both of these portraits. In the preparation of General Sherman's picture her chief guide was the portrait of him painted by Huntington fifteen years ago, and her aim was to represent the general as of that period. General Sheridan sat for his portrait, and the same artist painted it from life, representing the general as he appeared but a short time before his lamentable death.

It now becomes my agreeable duty, in the name of Mr. Childs, to present to you [addressing Colonel Wilson], as superintendent of the Military Academy, the portraits of three of her sons who have borne the

highest military titles, as an offering from an untitled citizen, who in his life has verified the adage that the post of honor is the private station.

His good works have made him honored in other lands, as well as this, where his name is held in grateful recollection by the many who have been the recipients of his practical philanthropy, and not only the graduates of West Point, but the people at large will, I am sure, make grateful acknowledgment of the means he has taken in these testimonials to manifest his appreciation of the Military Academy and the three distinguished sons she trained to battle for the integrity of our common country.

Mingling with the applause which followed General Porter's oration were the strains of "The Star-Spangled Banner." Everybody stood until the music was concluded and then Col. John M. Wilson, commandant of the academy, addressed the assemblage as follows:

Mr. Childs, General Porter, ladies, and gentlemen; It is particularly gratifying to me that in the presence of these distinguished representatives of our sister nations of the Western Hemisphere these portraits are presented through and received by men who, more than a third of a century ago, climbed yonder hill together, who reported as candidates to the adjutant on the same day, who at the same time donned the gray and advanced step by step through the curriculum of this grand old institution until graduation, the eloquent orator who has just taken his seat wearing the chevrons of the adjutant during his first class year.

Whatever honors he may have received since then, and they have been freely and justly bestowed upon him, I doubt whether any ever brought to him the intense satisfaction and just pride with which he assumed that distinguished position among the magnificent band of young men then forming the battalion of cadets.

Mr. Childs, in the name of the United States Military Academy, I accept these splendid portraits of the trio of heroes to whom our country is so much indebted for its grandeur and its unity.

It is peculiarly appropriate that you, one of the ablest leaders in that profession which is surely kindred to that of arms—the press of the nation—should present to this, their *alma mater*, the portraits of these eminent men.

The power of the press is to-day felt throughout the civilized world. It is the press that urges us to "do noble deeds, not dream them all day long." I remember, many years since, reading a sentiment attributed to the late Mr. Beecher, which is so true, so noble, and so beautifully expressed that I must repeat it, though it may sound strangely coming from the lips of a soldier: "I love to hear the rumbling of the steam press better than the rattle and roar of artillery; it is silently vanquishing the Malakoffs of vice and the Redans of evil, and its parallels and

approaches can not be resisted. I like the click of the type in the composing stick of the compositor better than the click of the musket in the hands of the soldier; it bears a leaden messenger of deadlier power, of sublimer force and of surer aim, which will hit its mark, though it is a thousand years ahead." The sentiment is grand, the idea sublime, and it is men like you, who are leading these magnificent armies of the press in peace, that are reducing the Malakoffs of vice and Redans of evil.

In the name of the Military Academy I thank you for this generous and noble gift, and may I not express the hope that, to prove to those who come after us that "peace hath its victories as well as war," we may ere long see upon these walls, among the portraits of these eminent soldiers, that of the able, upright, philanthropic, conscientious, Christian citizen—that generous, true-hearted man, Mr. George W. Childs?

Young gentlemen of the Corps of Cadets: In a recent address made by one of our most eloquent orators, he graphically described how the squires of ancient times, before receiving their knighthood, bowed in adoration to their patron saint and prayed that they might be endowed with honor, valor, and all the attributes of knighthood. You who are now serving your squirehood for your country, you who are rapidly advancing towards those honors before which the brilliancy of ancient knighthood pales—the honor of a diploma from this Institution; the honor of a commission in the Army of the grandest Government God ever gave to man—I beg that you will bow your heads and bend your knees before the King of Kings, the Lord God of Hosts, and pray that you may be endowed with the loyalty, the valor, the nobility of character of the trio of distinguished soldiers whose portraits have just been unveiled; men whose memories will be revered; whose characters will be examples for future generations as long as that flag shall wave over over a united country, the emblem of civil and religious liberty.

The clapping of gloved hands was lost in a roar of sound for which the cadets were responsible; they pounded the floor with the butts of their rifles. "My Country, 'Tis of Thee" was then rendered by the band, and when the well-known air was concluded Colonel Wilson introduced the Secretary of War. The Secretary said he regretted that he should be called on so early in his official career to administer a rebuke to Superintendent Wilson for departing from the regular procedure and calling upon him for a speech. It was fitting, he said, that the visiting brethren from the other Americas should be called on first to view the patriotic munificence of a citizen of the United States. Whatever else they might see while on their tour they

would find nothing of which the nation was more proud than the people of our America, and there was nothing which the people of this America would be more glad to see and know than their neighbors of the South. It was equally proper that the distinguished guests of the nation should first visit the great national school, where they had learned that great orators as well as great military leaders are produced.

The cadets applauded the Secretary very vigorously, but the noise was as nothing when compared with the hubbub which greeted General Sherman when he stepped to the front of the platform. The old warrior was visibly affected as he stood and watched the great audience honor him with an ultra-enthusiastic welcome.

Ladies and gentlemen [he tremulously commenced and then, changing his tone to one of firmness and command,] and you cadets, behind there. [Laughter.] I fear West Point is losing its good old reputation of doing and not speaking. Perhaps I have done some good by speaking, but not half as much as I ought to have done. It is one of the strange accidents of life that I stand the sole survivor of these three generals of the war. I am older than Grant or Sheridan, and no three men were ever more different physically than those represented by these portraits. We were different in every respect, but we had one guiding purpose, and that is the lesson, my young friends in gray, that I want to impress upon you. We may differ from each other and still live in harmony and love. Though bound together by only silken ties, yet, united, you can move mountains.

Turning toward the pictures of Grant and Sheridan, the general said:

It is impossible for painter or orator to paint those two men for me. I knew them through and through. We were simply soldiers with one thought in common, to obey the orders of our common Government. When the war was done we went back to our places as citizens. War is for only one purpose—to produce peace. No just war has any other object. We were taught here just as you are, and, if occasion arises, it is as true as heaven that a trio of leaders will come out from among you to save the nation. Heed, then, the lesson. Live as brothers, obeying orders. It is the lesson of life for you boys, and for old boys, too. Grant, Sheridan, and I were as one. Though three, joined as one. When war comes you can have but one purpose—the cause of your country. I mean your whole country, no part of it.

The benediction, pronounced by the Rev. Joseph W. Brown, of New York, brought the ceremonies to a close.

The following is President Harrison's letter to Mr. Childs, expressing his inability to attend:

MY DEAR FRIEND: I am just in receipt of your kind invitation to attend the exercises at West Point on the 3d proximo, in connection with the presentation by you, to the Academy, of the portraits of Generals Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan. Let me assure you that I decline the invitation with regret; but my engagements here are such as to make an acceptance impossible. The observation by the cadets of the portraits of these great captains and patriots can not fail to be a source of inspiration and encouragement.

Very sincerely yours,

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

Commencing at 9 p. m. there was a reception to the excursionists, tendered by Colonel and Mrs. Wilson and held at their residence.

THE SECOND DAY.

ON BOARD THE CRUISER YORKTOWN.

At 9 o'clock on the morning of the 4th the party left Cranston's Hotel and proceeded in carriages to the Academy. Colonel Wilson received them, and, assisted by some of his staff, escorted them through the various buildings and to the riding school. In the latter place one hour was spent in watching a class of the more expert cadets go through a number of maneuvers, most of which called for much muscle and skill. After thanking Colonel Wilson and his officers for the treat given by them and their pupils, the delegates and attachés walked down to the wharf, where boats were in waiting to convey them on board the United States cruiser *Yorktown*, which lay at anchor in the stream.

As soon as the party was on board—welcomed by Commander Chadwick—the *Yorktown's* guns thundered a parting salute, and the trip to New York was commenced. The start was one hour later than the schedule called for, but the *Yorktown* arrived at its destination, opposite Pier 28, precisely at 4.30, the time previously set. The cruiser's

guns saluted the delegates as they left the vessel on the tug *Pennsylvania*, after having loudly cheered Commander Chadwick and his officers. The tug landed the party on the north side of the pier, and from there they were escorted to the Fall River Line steamer *Puritan*. The big Sound steamer was gaily decorated with bunting, and as she went down the bay was saluted by the whistles of tugs and ferry-boats until she rounded Castle Garden and was speeding up the East River.

THE THIRD DAY.

THE VISIT TO BOSTON.

Supper and breakfast were eaten on the boat, and at 7.30 o'clock on the morning of October 5 the party left Fall River, by the Old Colony Railroad, for Boston, where it arrived at 9 o'clock. At the railroad station the excursionists were received by a delegation of city officials and others, including Mayor Hart, Chairman Rogers, of the Board of Aldermen; President Allen, of the Common Council, and Delegate T. Jefferson Coolidge. Carriages were at once taken for the Hotel Vendome, a party of six mounted officers acting as escort. Rooms were speedily assigned, toilets adjusted, and preparations made for a busy day. At half-past 10 o'clock the party left for the High and Latin schools. There they were received by Edwin P. Seaver, superintendent of schools; Hon. Charles T. Gallagher, president of the school board; Ellis Peterson and R. C. Metcalf, supervisors; the members of the committee on high schools, which consists of Dr. John G. Blake (chairman), and Messrs. Green, Emery, and Fallon; L. Hall Grandgent, director of modern languages; Henry Hitchings, director of drawing; Master L. Merrill, of the Latin School, and Master E. H. Waterhouse, of the English High School, were at the head of their respective departments. The Rev. Edward Everett Hale, D. D., was also present.

The entire party entered the hall of the English High School, where the visitors were welcomed by Mayor Hart, who introduced Hon. Charles T. Gallagher. Mr. Gal-

lagher, speaking on behalf of the school committee of the city of Boston, the teachers and scholars, bade the strangers welcome to the most expensive and complete public school building in the world, and representing the highest branches of education taught in the city. He explained the course of instruction, beginning at the kindergarten and reaching its climax in the college, and told his hearers that there were 60,000 school children in the city, and that more than five-sixths of all the children were in the schools; also, that everything connected with the education of the pupils was free, even to pencils and paper, all being paid for out of the general tax levy.

After examining the specimens of industrial drawing of the pupils of the English High and evening High schools, the visitors divided up into parties of ten or twelve, and under the guidance of members of the school committee they passed through the building, looking into the class-rooms to hear something of whatever recitation happened to be going on in each.

Señor Climaco Calderon, of Colombia, was asked to say a few words to the senior class. He said he was much pleased with his first view of Boston, that he was interested in educational matters, and was glad to have the opportunity of examining the High School of the Athens of America. He had heard that it was the best and the most costly school building in the world.

Then General D. H. Hastings, of Pennsylvania, was introduced. He said that most of the gentlemen present represented one or other of the Republics in South America, which had free and independent civil governments like this Government, of which all citizens of the United States were so proud. They had come, he said, to cement the ties that should bind all liberty-loving people together. He explained the object of the Conference to which the delegates had been called, and was loudly applauded.

The gymnasium and the drill-hall were examined, and in the capacious gallery of the latter the entire delegation was seated when the drum called the school regiment to arms. Eight companies were in line, each company averaging about fifty men. Maj. William J. Boos commanded

while they did some admirable drill work. A dress parade followed, the senior officer being Lieut. Col. William S. Fretch.

At noon the party left in carriages for the Fitchburg depot, where a special train was in waiting to take the visitors to Waltham. Mr. Royal E. Robbins, treasurer of the American Watch Company, escorted the visitors from the Riverview station to the great factory building, where a thousand handkerchiefs were waving welcome. Luncheon was served in the office, and when every one was satisfied the factory was inspected, the guests, in three separate parties, in charge respectively of President Fitch, Treasurer Robbins, and Master Mechanic Marsh, being shown all the interesting processes of watch-making.

Three street cars conveyed the party to West Newton railway station, where the special train for South Framingham and Ashland was boarded. This train arrived at 3.35, having on board, beside Treasurer J. H. Stickney, of the Para Rubber Company (whose factory the guests were about to visit), quite a number of Boston's business men. Mr. A. L. Coolidge, of the firm of Houghton, Coolidge & Co., of both the Para Rubber Factory and the Ashland Shoe Factory, had been with those who were to be his guests ever since leaving Boston. Among those on the special train were N. P. Coburn, Edward A. Strong, John C. Potter, Oakes A. Ames, A. S. Woodworth, Rev. Geo. A. Gordon, E. S. Converse, Lyman P. French, Henry Mason, H. C. Tyler, Charles T. Ingalls, Charles O. Foster, F. De Pinto, Francisco Verges, Gustavo Preston, Ramiro Vendrel, Le Vau S. Peck, Charles N. Sawyer, E. W. Hazewell, Frank Leighton, C. H. McDermott, A. Plummer, James T. Graff, of Philadelphia, and George P. Bingham.

South Framingham gave the visitors a popular reception, the school-children turning out to greet the strangers and to pin boutonnieres on the lapels of their coats. At the door of the factory the selectmen of Framingham met the delegates and presented to them a handsomely engrossed set of resolutions in the English, Spanish, and Portuguese languages, which had been prepared at a

special meeting. These were read by Mr. Walter Adams, chairman of the board of selectmen. The resolutions are as follows:

Resolved, That in behalf of the town of Framingham we extend to the delegates to the International American Congress a cordial welcome to this town and the expression of our appreciation of the honor conferred upon us by their visit to our leading industry.

Resolved, That we believe the best interests of our respective governments will be promoted by this International Congress, and that we sincerely hope the friendly relations existing between the South and North American Governments may be perpetual.

Resolved, That these resolutions be extended upon our records and that a copy thereof be engrossed, sealed with the corporate seal of this town, and presented to the said delegates.

The rubber factory was then inspected. As each member of the party made his exit through the office he was presented with a pair of miniature rubber shoes. The visit to the Ashland shoe factory was hurried, it being necessary to return to Boston in order that the delegates and others might have sufficient time in which to prepare for the banquet which was down on the evening's programme.

THE BANQUET AT BOSTON.

It was nearly 8 o'clock when the carriages containing the delegates and attachés reached the Parker House, where the feast was given. A short informal reception preceded the march to the banquet-hall, the introductions being by Mr. William E. Curtis. There were six tables in the dining-room, occupied as follows:

First table.—A. H. Hardy, Delegate John B. Henderson, Delegate Nin, Mr. F. A. Walker, Delegate Bolet Peraza, Delegate Cornelius N. Bliss, Delegate Castellanos, Professor Nash, Delegate Aragon, Delegate Charles R. Flint, Delegate Zegarra, Delegate Studebaker, Delegate Valente, Hon. T. N. Hart, Delegate Pereira, Senator Hoar, Delegate Velarde, Delegate T. Jefferson Coolidge, Delegate Carlos Martinez Silva, Mr. M. P. Dennard, Delegate Guzman, Hon. J. Q. A. Brackett, Delegate Cruz, Delegate Hanson, Mr. William E. Curtis.

Second table.—Dr. Shattuck, J. C. Hubbell, John H. Rice, Levi L. Willcutt, Josiah W. Hayden, Richard Briggs, Samuel P. Mandell, Samuel Johnson, Capt. John G. Bourke, U. S. A.; Carlos S. Hull, James R. Leeson, F. W. Breed, George O. Carpenter, G. A. Alden, H. C. Morse, S. W. Loomis, James H. Freeland, J. H. Stickney, Delegate Henry G. Davis, A. L. Coolidge.

Third table.—A. P. Cushing, Alden Speare, H. B. Goodwin, Richard Villafranca, John A. Lane, William Henry Allan, L. M. Sargent, John L. Bremer, T. Jefferson Coolidge, jr., John M. Brown, T. W. Deland, W. A. Tower, J. H. Danforth, C. M. Clapp, Phineas Pierce, F. O. Prince, A. D. S. Bell, H. W. Dwight, A. M. Goodridge, C. E. Moody, Osborn Howes, jr., William H. Allan, Isaac Y. Burr, George F. Putnam.

Fourth table.—John Russell, Representative Candler, N. W. Rice, James M. Hall, A. W. Beard, Charles H. Allen, C. O. Gage, W. H. Lincoln, E. W. Converse, E. W. Converse, jr.; George W. Hammond, M. B. Mason, William A. Russell, George Santayana, William I. Knapp, Charles F. Clark, B. R. English, Edward Kemble, F. W. Lincoln, jr.; F. W. Lincoln, F. A. Turner, O. H. Sampson, W. A. French, Edward T. Russell.

Fifth table.—Robert S. Sturgiss, William T. Hart, Rev. J. S. Lindsay, D.D.; Alexander H. Rice, Mariano Velarde, Melchor Obarrio, N. Bolet Monagas, Henry Dauber, Joaquin Arrieta Rossi, Samuel Valdivieso, Alberto Falcon, A. S. Covell, H. Gardner, F. G. Pierra, S. W. F. Draper, Javier A. Arroyo, Domingo Estrada, Joaquin Bernardo Calvo, Martin Amador, Delegate Mendonça, Carlos Martins, José da Costa, R. Mayorga, Adolfo y Sayago.

Sixth table.—Randolph Coolidge, John H. Holmes, Henry W. Peabody, Charles S. Barry, Dr. George M. Sternberg, E. Constantino Fiallos, A. Shuman, Robert O. Fuller, Mario de Mendonça, Delegate Calderon, Rev. Edward Everett Hale, Isaac Fenno, William Whitman, Henry Whitman, Henry Moran, Edward A. Trescot, E. W. P. Smith, Lieut. H. R. Lemly, U. S. A.

With the dessert commenced the speeches. President Alpheus H. Hardy broke the oratorical ice with a very

cordial welcome to the distinguished visitors. The objects and aims of the Commercial Club were briefly referred to, and then the relations of the three Americas were discussed.

It is [said President Hardy] a significant fact that Germany and Italy, as well as England, are asking what we have to do with South America. The answer to this question you gentlemen are to formulate, and to make it effective rests with the Governments that you all represent. That this answer will be interesting to us I have no question. I have no doubt that the result will be such an exchange of products and such an establishment of commercial relations that even in the reach of our imaginations we may not now describe.

Concluding his remarks, President Hardy said:

We have with us to-night gentlemen who are strangers to us and yet they have been occupied during their lives in the same activities, developing the same interests which have occupied us, and it would give me great pleasure to hear from them. I desire, further, to call upon an eminent scholar and diplomat, a gentleman graduate of the University of Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, Senior Zegarra.

Delegate Zegarra (whose rising was loudly applauded) said:

Mr. President and gentlemen of the Commercial Club: I had forgotten entirely that I was a stranger here; the words of the eloquent speaker brought to my mind that fact, but with no other effect than to render more conspicuous the marks of affection and demonstrations of the most cordial friendship of which we have been the object since the International Congress has been in Boston. [Applause.] Since we arrived in Boston we have been shown through your workshops and your factories and have seen your wonderful machinery. We have seen your men-of-war, and the waters of your harbor have reflected the numerous vessels that float upon them. These scenes of prosperity have, no doubt, touched us with wonder, but nothing has overcome our feelings as much as the professions of your hospitality and sincerity. [Applause.] I have no doubt but that I express the sentiments of my honored colleagues in speaking thus of the people of the United States on this the first public occasion that has been offered for us to do so. I express the assurance now, no matter what the result of the Conference may be, and it will be happy I am certain that your generous hospitality shall be embalmed among memory's dearest associations and cherished for all time in our hearts.

"An occasion like this," said President Hardy, "would be incomplete if the city of Boston was not represented. We have invited the mayor, and he will extend to you the greeting of the city. Gentlemen, Mayor Hart."

When the applause which greeted the mayor had subsided that gentleman said:

Mr. President and gentlemen: In bidding the distinguished guests of our country a hearty welcome to Boston I can not but remind this company of the part that Boston bore in a similar enterprise some sixty years ago. It was John Quincy Adams who, as President of the United States, accepted the invitation to the Panama Congress, and it was Daniel Webster who defended that invitation in one of his masterful orations delivered in the national House of Representatives. Nor was the Panama Congress a transitory event. The same causes that led to the Panama Congress led to the Monroe doctrine; and to my mind they mean alike that the nations of America are to form a closer union than we form with the parent and sister nations of Europe. Let us never forget that, by the decree of Heaven, we are neighbors and brothers. And if we of the United States have ever been the northern light of our Spanish-American brothers let us gladly remember that they too are the sons and lovers of freedom, that they abolished slavery before we did, that we are all Americans, and that all true Americans are engaged in establishing, preserving, and magnifying government of the people, by the people, for the people. To-day and to us it is the United States of America; God speed the day when, in morals and affairs, to us and to all mankind it will be the United States of the American hemisphere. [Loud applause.]

“As the city is greater than its parts,” remarked President Hardy, “so the State is greater than the city.” I take pleasure in introducing to you its representative at present, Lieutenant-Governor Brackett.

The Lieutenant-Governor said:

It is a pleasure to accept the hospitality of the Commercial Club on this occasion, and on behalf of the Commonwealth I can join heartily with the mayor in extending a cordial welcome to the distinguished visitors who honor us with their presence. [Applause.] I can assure them that they will find no State in their journey that will more heartily receive them and where the people will show more sympathy with the object of their visit. It is very gratifying to us that the first public occasion of this kind should take place within the borders of the old Commonwealth. Like other States in the Union, it is interested in manufacturing and is seeking to extend the demand for the fruits of its industries. The Commonwealth is engaged in enlarging its facilities for an interchange of commodities which will be mutually beneficial to the great brotherhood of nations. With Mexico we have already established a comprehensive system of railways. Bound together as the two Republics are by the iron bands of their railways, our joint interests ought to grow as the years roll round. [Applause.] We shall not limit this to Mexico, but shall extend it to Central and South America.

This Congress, as I understand it, wants to establish a system of arbitration in time of trouble. [Applause.] The policy of the United States is to have peace with all the world. Massachusetts has wisely established a board of arbitration between labor and capital, and she will hail with delight the application of that method in the settlement of all controversies arising between governments, so that wars and rumors of wars may not trouble our land. [Applause.] We ought to aim to broaden the scope of our sympathies so that all men, whatever be their nationality, may share in them. The sentiment of universal brotherhood should govern men in their dealings with each other, whatever be the arbitrary lines which divide them into separate states. May the growth of this sentiment be one of the fruits of this conference. [Great applause.]

United States delegate John B. Henderson was the next speaker to be introduced. He received a very hearty greeting, and when the applause had ended, said:

It is our duty, on the part of the United States, to show our friends what our country is. It was appropriate, of course, that we should begin at Washington. There it is that we are reminded at all times of that great and good man who transcends in fame all other men. It was appropriate that our friends should be reminded by the name of Washington that our destiny in this Western Hemisphere is the same. [Applause.] We are all descendants of European nations. We have all aspired to freedom. We all in the same way stood for it and have maintained it. [Applause.] The next place was West Point, where we saw that military school which gives us our soldiers, and we had the peculiar felicity of seeing unveiled the portraits of those distinguished soldiers, Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan. [Applause.]

At Fall River we were so near this great city of Boston that attraction of gravitation alone would have brought us here. [Laughter.] The first thing to which we were introduced in Boston, of course, was that which makes it the most excellent of all American cities—its magnificent school system. [Applause.] It is that which gives you the education, the refinement, the love of art and the many accomplishments which make Boston the Athens of America. Having witnessed that, we next went to your manufactories, and there we saw machinery that is absolutely intellectual. [Laughter and applause.] When we get through here, if we can survive your splendid hospitality [laughter], we shall take our friends to the great Northwest, where men become strong active and progressive through the forces of nature itself. [Laughter and applause.] When we get through exhibiting that region to our friends we shall take them down the Mississippi River into what we call the great Southwest, that rich country of waving wheat-fields and corn-palaces. Getting through with that, if our friends are still surviving, we shall take them on through Ohio and Indiana, or, rather, Indiana

and Ohio [laughter]; thence we shall introduce them to Pennsylvania, where the wildest regions have been made to blossom as the rose, and where men now manufacture everything from the cambric needle to the locomotive. [Applause.]

If we still survive, we expect to visit the South, that land recently snatched from its own folly—taken, as it were, as a brand from the burning—and which has now entered upon that race of prosperity which will make dangerous competition even to ourselves in a few years. [Great applause.] Then gentlemen, if we still survive, we shall return to Washington, and there undertake the practical work devolving upon us. I hope it will be successful. I can do but little, but what I can do I promise you shall be cheerfully done. [Applause.] We shall endeavor to draw the cords of mutual friendship tighter, stronger than ever. We shall attempt to make our Southern brethren to know that we regard them as our friends—and to know that we are brothers. [Applause.]

If we succeed, my fellow-citizens, we shall have done a good work, a work for which future generations will bless us. If we fail, we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that as has been well said:

It is better to have loved and lost
Than never to have loved at all.

If we lose, I, for one, shall expect to drop a tear of regret over our proceedings. If we succeed, we shall open up commerce that we now have no conception of, and a friendship that will last when South America will be covered with a population of 100,000,000, Central America with 50,000,000 or 60,000,000, Mexico as many, and the United States, I hope, not less than 1,000,000,000. [Applause.] And when that day comes, we then can say to our Southern brethren in the language of Ruth to Naomi: "Whither thou goest I will go, and where thou lodgest I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God, my God." [Great applause.]

Señor Bolet Peraza, of the Venezuelan delegation, was next introduced, and his uprising was greeted with the heartiest applause. Señor Peraza asked that his imperfect English might be excused, for he had never before been called upon to address an assemblage in any other than his native tongue. In a brief but complimentary manner he referred to the palatial rapid transit the delegates had experienced in the three preceding days, touched upon the wonders of Washington and West Point, and characterized Boston as the city of poetry, of fine art, of philosophy, and of science; the first city where he had seen the American way of conducting business. Many beautiful and interesting things had been shown them,

but speaking for himself and his fellow-travelers, nothing touched them more than the warmth of friendship that had been so apparent from the beginning of their communion; in all Americans they found true friends. One of the great troubles of the past lay in the fact that the nations of North and South America did not know each other. Speaking of the Conference, he said it seemed to be the idea of man but it was really the outgrowth of the spirit of progress. The possibility of war between the American nations had been completely killed. Señor Bolet Peraza's speech was frequently interrupted by applause.

President Hardy said he regretted the absence of President Alden Speare, of the Chamber of Commerce (who had been compelled to leave the room). He would, however, call upon the gentleman who had preceded Mr. Speare in that office and who still held the presidency of the Boston Executive Association, Mr. Hersey C. Goodwin. Mr. Goodwin said:

Mr. President and gentlemen: In behalf of the Boston Executive Association, representing eighteen of the principal trade and commercial organizations of this city, I desire to extend to the distinguished gentlemen sitting round these tables, representatives of so many American Republics, our most cordial welcome. [Applause.] We are glad of the opportunity afforded them of seeing what New England is doing in the direction of industrial improvement, and that we desire a more intimate acquaintance with them as neighbors. We also desire to greet them as fellow-countrymen, and as a part of this great Western hemisphere in which we all dwell. We of the United States are too ignorant of the progress of the South American Republics, and if this convention leads to nothing more, we certainly shall have obtained a more intimate acquaintance with their progress and their development. Within a month the merchants of Boston, representing many and diverse interests, have gone before a committee of the United States Senate and have urged with considerable force the promotion of closer commercial relations with our Northern neighbors. Why should we not extend these relations to the more distant republics and embrace them also in some form of commercial amity? It is a little mortifying to us that the bulk of the great commerce that enters and leaves the ports of South America goes across the seas into and from the foreign ports of Europe, and also that in the carrying trade developed by that vast commerce the United States flag should have such small participation. It is still more mortifying that several of the gentlemen here as guests should have had to make two voyages across the Atlantic to reach our shores.

I have no doubt, Mr. President, that the adoption of a like system of weights and measures and of a uniform currency will be of mutual benefit to all the American Republics; that anything that simplifies commercial transactions and tends to remove commercial obstacles will tend to increase the volume of business. Early in the century the principal part of our immense business with China and the East Indies was done through the medium of the silver dollar—coined and furnished by our Southern neighbor, Mexico. Vast quantities of these dollars went to the East never to return, and let me say here that those dollars were worth one hundred cents in gold, at least, and as such were valued by those Eastern nations above any other coin. It would be a rather singular coincidence to-day if one of the outcomes of this Pan-American Congress should be the adoption of a unity of coinage among the various American Republics, and that our own excellent decimal system should be adopted. In that case it might be that we should supply those countries with a standard dollar in return; but, gentlemen, for our credit, let that dollar be of full value and one upon which we can, with an easy conscience and without reproach, inscribe “In God we Trust.” [Applause.]

The next speaker was Señor Cruz, of Guatemala, who spoke at first of the friendly feeling displayed by their hosts and who gave assurances of social reciprocity. Of the business that was before them he said: “I hope that this congress, which seems to me to be the greatest idea of this great nation, will unquestionably succeed. [Applause.] If it does, then we may hope to say that the altars of war will be taken down and destroyed, and in their place we shall be able to erect a temple on the forefront of which shall be inscribed, “America is one family and all Americans are brothers.” [Loud applause.]

Senator Hoar, who was to have made a speech, having been compelled to retire, President Hardy called upon the Hon. John E. Russell, and that gentleman responded as follows:

I would say here, in following somewhat the vein that was opened by Mr. Goodwin, that the great practical work of this congress may not be realized in this year, but it will be a beginning. It will be an opening which certainly in future years and in the near future will be of the greatest commercial importance, not only to us, but to all the countries on the American continent. Prior to 1860 there was a very great desire on the part of the people of Central and South America to be purchasers of the goods manufactured in our country. I think, sir, that the present is a propitious time for this congress to meet. I think this conference will bring about, eventually, free raw material, which

we have so long needed, but which this country has not yet been able to have. The important thing this congress has to deal with, as I understand it, is trade in which both sides may be the gainers; for I am not one who believes that commerce is ever carried on to the loss of one of the parties. Trade must grow by increased knowledge of one another, and by knowledge of one another's needs, and what we have to supply those needs. I have the greatest pleasure in having assisted in Congress in giving the charter of the United States Government to the canal company in Nicaragua. I believe that under the auspices of the American Government the Isthmus will be crossed by a ship-canal, and there will be a closer connection between the eastern coast of North America and the southern coast of South America. [Applause.] This convention is part of the great work of connecting North and South America.

Mr. Russell then closed in Spanish, the translation of which was as follows:

You, gentlemen, represent the greater part of the continent. You come to this country upon a mission of the greatest importance. All the inhabitants of the New World are countrymen. They are from their birth of one single family. This congress will result, I have no doubt, in their being more bound together by fraternal ties. One of the most important results of this convention will probably be the removal of the restrictions of trade and commerce that are now the greatest embarrassments to trade and brotherhood. In conclusion, I wish to say to you that in no part of the country will you find warmer and kindlier and greater sympathy with your ideas of progress than you will find among the people of Boston. [Applause.] The city of Boston formerly had a commerce with the whole world. Its ships visited every part of Central and South America. We hope that the day will come when that commerce will be restored, and that as a result great profit will accrue to the people of both countries. [Applause.]

Mr. Jonathan A. Lane was then introduced as representing the Merchants' Club, and said that, owing to the lateness of the hour, his remarks would be very brief. He said: "We believe the Commercial Club to be the foremost club in New England." Mr. Lane then referred to Mr. Curtis's "Capitals of Spanish America" as a work which everybody should read. Concluding, he said:

I am sure the great pleasure we have enjoyed on this occasion will be fruitful in good results. I think Massachusetts will do her duty in this matter. I will give this sentiment: "North America and South America; what God has physically joined together let no nation break asunder." [Great applause.]

Señor Alberto Nin, of Uruguay, was called upon to respond. He did so briefly but eloquently, and brought the festivities to a close.

FOURTH DAY.

VISIT TO BOSTON'S BENEVOLENT INSTITUTIONS.

Immediately after breakfast on the following morning (Sunday, October 6), Mayor Hart and City Messenger Peters arrived at the Hotel Vendome and took charge of the waiting visitors. Carriages were provided and no time was lost in conducting the party to Eastern Avenue wharf, where the city steamer *J. Putnam Bradlee* was in waiting. Nearly all the delegates and attachés were on board in a little while. Accompanying them were Enrique Trujillo, editor of *El Avisador Hispano-Americano*, of New York; General Hastings, of Pennsylvania, and a number of newspaper representatives. The native portion of the party consisted of Mayor Hart; Mayor Gilmore, of Cambridge; ex-Mayor Martin, of Boston; Aldermen Kelly, Folsom, Rogers, and C. W. Smith; Councilmen Allen, Burnham, Campbell, Wood, Oakes, I. F. Pierce, Beck, Drew, Hatch, Graham, Frazer, Harris, Harker, Moore, Jenkins, Teevens, Norris, McCarthy, Carroll, Rosnosky, D. F. Barry, Shaw, Towle, Lovett, Lyons, R. Sullivan, Kinney, Cushing, F. P. Pierce, Hayes, Page, and Mitchell; Directors of Public Institutions Thomas L. Jenks and W. L. Prescott; City Messenger Peters, James R. Flanagan, of the Grand Opera-House, T. Jefferson Coolidge, jr., and a few others. Deer Island was soon reached, and then commenced an inspection of the city institutions thereon. The House of Industry was looked over from basement to attic, and then the party repaired to the chapel, where they were treated to an excellent vocal and instrumental programme by the boys confined there.

Commissioner Jenks made the boys a neat speech, complimenting them and assuring the native-born among them that there was a possibility of their becoming Presidents of the United States. The distinguished character of the

audience was impressed upon the youngsters by the commissioner.

Mayor Hart gave a brief sketch of the reformatory and charitable institutions conducted by the city of Boston. He dwelt upon the kindness of the city to its poor, and explained that the sole object in the management of the House of Industry and kindred places was the elevation of the character of their inmates, and, if possible, to make them good men and women and useful citizens.

Luncheon was served in one of the large rooms on the lower floor, and when the meal was about concluded Mayor Hart called upon Señor Antonio De Silva, of Venezuela, for a few remarks.

After expressing his appreciation of the courtesies extended the tourists by the city of Boston, Señor Silva went on to speak of the Conference and what was hoped from it. He told of the vast exports of the South American countries, nearly \$600,000,000 annually, and expressed the hope that such relations with the United States would be established as would largely increase this amount to the advantage of all parties concerned. He expected this would be brought about by the Congress, and also that arbitration, trade, and commercial intercourse would be soundly established. In closing he spoke of the greatness of the countries now uniting in the Congress, and hoped for continued harmony.

Señor Calderon, of Colombia, was next called upon by the mayor, and was also warmly welcomed. He said that he and his companions had come as guests to a great country, and had indeed found it greater than had been expected. It was great not only in extent, but in its people and its industries. Its people had proved their greatness by showing how to make their country united and prosperous, and it was with such a people that the South and Central American countries hoped to cultivate closer relations. As for the institutions of Boston, he and his friends had been much pleased with what they had seen and the spirit in which they were evidently managed. The school for boys seemed to be particularly worthy of commendation. In conclusion he said he could truly say that he

was glad to be present and had such ample opportunities for seeing the greatness of the country.

Delegate Davis, in response to the mayor's command, spoke briefly. He said :

Let me say that perhaps never in the history of Boston (and she has undoubtedly had many distinguished occasions) have so many nations been represented as are represented during the visit of these gentlemen to this city. It is our intention, through this Congress of nations, to cultivate a better feeling than has existed between ours and the other countries of the new hemisphere. Here are gentlemen representing not only an area three times as large as that of the United States, but a commerce of \$1,000,000,000, including imports and exports. Of this amount the United States gets a mere pittance, but we hope and intend to reverse the order of things, so that the United States will get four-fifths and Europe only one-fifth of the commerce of these nations. We want communication between our land and their lands, and a railway from our country to theirs is a scheme to which Boston is ready to send its aid I am sure. A railway will do more to open up their countries and to develop commerce and trade than anything else, and when our commercial relations are developed our relations of friendship will also grow. We have with us men who say that their people prefer to trade with us rather than to trade with Europe, and we hope to devise some plan or scheme by which they may realize their preferences.

Señor Velarde, of Bolivia (who spoke in Spanish), expressed the sentiment that this Congress would have a great and unforeseen influence upon the commercial and economic affairs of the two Americas. He knew he was speaking to practical men, who desired reciprocal benefits in all measures undertaken by the Congress. The representatives of Spanish-America had already derived vast satisfaction from their inspection of the United States, and he hoped that the North Americans would in turn travel to see the countries of the South and accept their hospitality, which would be bountifully proffered.

Señor Zelaya, of Honduras, also spoke in Spanish. He said:

The Government of Honduras fully appreciates the invitation to a Congress extended by the Government of the United States. All our people are deeply interested in it. They believe that it will result in an increase of prosperity for all the countries concerned, and that, as a sequel, feelings of good-will and sympathy will re-echo throughout the whole western continent.

Delegate Charles R. Flint, of New York, said:

The delegates of the United States thank the city of Boston for their reception and treatment, and express gratification at the sentiments of the Spanish-American representatives. The abolition of slavery, brought to my mind by the statue of William Lloyd Garrison, which I saw to-day on Commonwealth avenue, has removed the differences which existed between the two Americas at the Congress of 1825. We do not need any more intimate or friendly relations than now exist, but we must develop these relations by improving the means of communication between the sections. Quick transportation has brought about a closer union of the East and West, the North and South, in this country, and it will bring about intimate relations between us and the States of South and Central America. These friendly relations will in turn establish better commercial relations, which are the ultimate object of this Congress.

Delegate Henderson, of Missouri, in an entertaining speech, paid his compliments to the Spanish-American speakers for their eloquence, spoke of Boston as the wealthiest city in the world in proportion to her population, and said she had become so through generosity to the poor and the strangers within her gates. The delegate continued:

In the West we sometimes ridicule the whims of Boston. You originate a great many things and we put them in practice. We sometimes think we have the pick of your Eastern population, but I come here and find just the same enterprising qualities that make our Western country great and glorious.

The Speaker went on to mention the fame of Boston beans, which he declared to be the source of much Northern vigor, and concluded:

When we have a railroad uniting the frozen country of British America to the extreme confines of Patagonia, and when the iron horse shall pass in a tunnel beneath the straits in Behring Sea and snort across the plains of Siberia, then there will be another convention like this, and it is not impossible that one of the boys we have seen to-day will then be President of these United States. Such wonders do our democratic institutions and zeal for progress bring forth.

The return to the Hotel Vendome was made by 2 o'clock, and an hour later saw the party in carriages, seeing much of the more aristocratic portion of Boston. Harvard College was visited and the exterior of its buildings inspected. The only halt was made at the residence of Mr. and Mrs.

John L. Gardner, where there was bountiful New England hospitality and an entire absence of oratory. The evening was spent at the hotel.

FIFTH DAY.

THE VISIT TO LAWRENCE AND LOWELL.

Shortly after 9 o'clock on Monday morning the delegates, in their own special train, started for Lawrence, and at 10 a. m. were received at the North Lawrence station by Mayor A. E. Mack, Mr. Henry Saltonstall, Mr. W. E. Parker, and Mr. Henry S. Howe, the three latter being officers of the famous Pacific Mills, of Lawrence. The print works were hastily inspected under the guidance of Mr. C. T. Main, superintendent of the lower mill, and Mr. Samuel Barlow, of the print works.

At 10.45 the party was driven to Saunders Hall, on Essex street, where they were tendered a breakfast by the Pacific Mills Company. Mr. Henry Saltonstall, president of the corporation, presided. In response to the urgent request of a number of the visitors President Saltonstall spoke as follows just at the conclusion of the breakfast:

It has been requested that I make a few remarks, but, as time is pressing, I will only take the opportunity to say to you how glad I am to welcome you and how sorry I am that you can not give a longer time to the inspection of our mills. The time that would be required to satisfactorily visit the Pacific Mills would be measured by days and not by hours. The floors are about fifty acres in extent, and if they were laid out in a straight line three feet broad it would take you gentlemen two days and two nights of steady walking, without a moment's rest, walking faster than I have seen any of you walk to-day, to get to the end of that line. [Applause.]

There are some thirty mill buildings of different sizes, containing in all 180,000 cotton spindles and 35,000 woolen spindles and 6,660 looms. We employ about 6,000 operatives, and pay them wages amounting to \$7,500 a day, or \$2,500,000 a year. Our sales amounted in this last year to 80,000,000 yards of cotton goods and 20,000,000 yards of worsted and woolen goods. We can not use wool entirely in our manufactures. We tried to do so, but it cost too much money. We can not afford to compete with nations that get their wool free. In cottons we can compete. There are no goods which you saw to-day at that upper mill, those made of cotton alone, which we can not produce, as I believe, in competition with any nation in the world. [Applause.]

A great many of our goods—I say a great many, because there are thousands of yards sold at a time and of course it is but a small proportion of our whole product—a great many of our goods are sold to parties in New York and elsewhere who pay us a profit upon them and ship them to other countries and get their profit too. Now, if it is worth their while to pay us a profit and run the risk of getting their own profit, we certainly can ship direct to any foreign country and be content with one profit and sell in competition with anybody. [Applause.]

To give you an instance of the nature of the goods which we make, I will say that the 80,000,000 yards of cottons which we sold this last year averaged less than 6 cents a yard, and that included all the printing and all of the dyeing and all of our profit. The “gray” goods, before they were printed, would probably cost not over $3\frac{1}{2}$ or 4 cents a yard. I do not believe anybody can buy the cotton which we buy and put the work and material of all sorts into it which we put in and make goods which are so good as ours and sell them at the price at which we can afford to sell them.

And I would say in connection with that that those goods and almost all the American goods (I believe I may say all the American goods) which you will see are absolutely honest. There is no spot on them, nothing to make them weigh more or to stick together or to make them anything but what is absolutely and strictly honest. [Applause.] I never have bought one single pound or one single cent's worth of any material to put into our goods in order to make any deceptive appearance or any deceptive wear. [Applause.] I will not detain you longer, gentlemen. I only wanted you to know that this was a great establishment, of which you will see but a very small corner. In answer to several questions which I have been asked to-day, I will say that I was made aware of your coming only a few days ago and have had no time to prepare for it. When you get back to Washington I will endeavor to have there some statistics of the Pacific Mills and also some samples of the different cloths which you have seen to-day. If you will address me here or in Boston I shall be most happy to give you any information in my power. [Great applause.]

After breakfast the party visited the Lower Pacific Mills, and at 12.50 reached the mills of the Russell Paper Company, where they were welcomed by the Hon. William A. Russell and his brother, Mr. George W. Russell. The mills of this company at Lawrence are but a branch of the company's business, there being other mills at Franklin and Bellows Falls.

The party reached the North Lawrence station on the return trip at 1.40. Here they were met by a delegation from Lowell that had come to escort them to the “City”

of Spindles." The delegation consisted of Mayor C. B. Palmer, Alderman Boutwell, State senator W. E. Westhall, president of the Lowell common council; Charles E. Adams, vice-president of the board of trade; and City Messenger Hoole. The special train left for Lowell at 1.45 amid loud cheers from the assembled crowd.

THE VISIT TO LOWELL.

At 2.20 the Boston and Maine station on Central street was reached, and a curious multitude of Lowellites was in waiting. Especially interested in the distinguished arrivals were Mr. A. G. Cumnock, Hon. C. H. Allen, Mr. A. G. Pollard, Hon. F. T. Greenhalge, Col. A. A. Haggett, Hon. C. H. Stott, Mr. C. W. Eaton, and Mr. James B. Francis. In carriages the party visited the Pawtucket Falls, and from thence were conveyed to the works of the Lawrence Manufacturing Company, where they were received by Treasurer Lucius M. Sargent, Agent John Kilburn, and Superintendent J. G. Hill, and by them conducted through the various departments devoted to the manufacture of knit goods of all kinds. The Lowell Manufacturing Company's carpet works were next inspected, matters of popular interest being made plain by Treasurer Arthur T. Lyman, Agent A. Lyon, and Paymaster Adams.

Brief stay was made at the Middlesex Woolen Mills, where the party was made welcome by Treasurer Silsbee, Agent Perry, and Paymaster Haggett.

A number of the delegates took a drive around the city, returning to the train in time to leave on it for Boston at 5.30. Dinner was served in the dining-car and was over by 7.15, when Boston was reached. From the train those who were so disposed were taken in carriages to the Hollis Street Theater, where they witnessed a performance of "The Brigands." The interior of the house was decorated with the national colors of every country represented in the Conference.

SIXTH DAY.

THE VISIT TO MANCHESTER.

At 2 o'clock on the morning of Tuesday, October 8, the special train left Boston for Manchester, N. H., arriving at its destination about 5.30 a. m. At 8 o'clock the Manchester reception committee, consisting of Messrs. Herman F. Straw, Charles D. McDuffie, Stephen N. Bourne, and William E. Winsor, agents, respectively, of the Amoskeag, Manchester, Stark, and Amory Mills, was ready to carry out the programme of the day, but it was nearly 9 o'clock before the excursionists were ready to enter the carriages that awaited them. Among those who welcomed the visitors were Senator Henry W. Blair, Mayor David B. Varney, Hon. Aretas Blood, Hon. Joseph C. Moore, Col. John B. Clarke, Judge Daniel Clarke, Ex-Gov. Moody Currier, Ex-Gov. James A. Weston, Ex-Gov. Frederick Smyth, Hon. Nathan Parker, Representative O. C. Moore, Ex-Gov. P. C. Cheney, Col. C. B. Dean, superintendent of the Manchester Print Works; Hon. A. P. Olzendam, G. A. Leighton, Hon. George B. Chandler, of the Amoskeag Bank; Charles H. Fish, of the Cheney Paper Mills Company; Frank P. Carpenter, of the Amoskeag Paper Mills; Hon. Charles T. Means, Superintendent George A. Clark, of the Manchester Mills; Paymaster Charles L. Richardson, of the Amoskeag Mills; Right Rev. Bishop Denis M. Bradley, Hon. Benjamin A. Kimball, of Concord, and Henry E. Chamberlain, of Concord.

The Jefferson mill—the pride of the Amoskeag Company—was first visited, Superintendent Horace P. Simpson acting as general guide. From the Jefferson Mill the party was driven directly to the Amoskeag Company's new West-side Mill building, then almost complete but untenanted by operatives. The building was remarkable for its size, it being four stories in height above the basement, 526 feet long, and 104 feet wide. Just inside the main entrance was a steam fire-engine (the Fire King), manufactured by the Manchester Locomotive Works. An exhibition of the

power of this engine was one of the features of the Manchester programme.

On the upper floor of the great building was a magnificent display of Manchester's industrial products. The various cotton mills, the P. C. Cheney Paper Mills, the Everett Knitting Works, the Olzendam Hosiery Works, and the William Corey Needle Works were very fully represented in a display so arranged as to avoid as much as possible of pedestrianism.

Shortly after 11 o'clock the company, to the number of one hundred and four, gathered around the tables, which had been arranged at the northern end of the enormous room. A sumptuous meal was here served with the compliments of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company, the Manchester Mills, the Stark Mills, and the Amory Manufacturing Company. Before the elaborate *menu* was disposed of the venerable Thomas Wigglesworth, president of the Amoskeag Company, called for silence, and then introduced Judge Daniel Clark, of the Amoskeag directorate, who said:

We welcome you to New Hampshire, a Commonwealth which is small in comparison with other States, containing only about 10,000 square miles—not half so much territory as the Government would give a railroad—but we complain not. It is an old State, and we love all there is of it. [Applause.] It was one of the original thirteen which achieved the independence of this country. It furnished (and I say this to you men of Massachusetts) more than one-half of the men who fought at Bunker Hill. [Applause.] It furnished Stark and his command, and the remains of the general repose on the banks of the Merrimac but a short distance from where we now are. The area of the State is small, its population about 350,000, and its surface rises from the level where its soil is washed by the sea to a point nearer the stars, in the northern part, than any other portion of land in New England. [Applause.] Her climate is cold in winter, warm in summer, and her autumn paints the glorious foliage which now adorns our hill-sides. [Applause.] Her people are hardy and industrious, and make for themselves a comfortable living. Her hills make the slopes for the water-power which enables the Merrimac River to turn more spindles than any other river in the world. [Applause.] And yet this city is but a half century old; there was not a wheel here fifty years ago. We have a population of 40,000; we employ 15,000 operatives, and we intend that they shall have a comfortable living. I hope you gentlemen who have come here from other States will observe the con-

dition of labor in this country. I wish you had the time to visit their homes in this city. We have 15,000 and more contented operatives in our mills, and their homes are comfortable. Your mission here is one of peace, and it will tend to the happiness of the world. We welcome you here, and hope you will carry from us pleasant and profitable recollections of your visit to New Hampshire.

Present at the luncheon, in addition to those whose names have been previously mentioned, were Messrs. John L. Bremer and George A. Gardner, both of whom were members of the Amoskeag directorate.

High noon was being announced by a hundred bells and whistles when the special train drew out for Portland, Me., going via the Concord Railroad, the Boston and Maine Railroad, and the Portland and Rochester Railroad.

THE VISIT TO PORTLAND.

The train reached Portland at a few minutes before 4 p. m., and at the depot the party was welcomed by Mayor Melcher and a number of other city officials and business men of prominence. The reception committee, which had boarded the train two hours previously at Springvale, was composed of Messrs. Thomas P. Shaw, Wilford G. Chapman, J. S. Gilliatt, J. H. Hamlen and J. E. Marrett. Carriages were in waiting, and in these the visitors and committeemen rode around and through the city for more than an hour, reaching the Falmouth Hotel shortly after 5 o'clock. In the parlors there were general introductions by members of the committees, which were constituted as follows:

General committee.—On behalf of the city, Mayor Melcher, Aldermen Thompson, McCann, Smart, McClutchy, Rand, Shaw, and Hobbs; Councilmen Crockett, Foss, Fitts, Kennard, Gilliatt, Chapman, Barrett, and Irish. On behalf of the Board of Trade, S. J. Anderson, J. H. Hamlen, E. Greely Spring, James E. Marrett, W. H. Milliken, George S. Hunt, Fred N. Dow, M. N. Rich, and J. S. Winslow.

General sub-committee.—City: Councilman Crockett, Alderman McClutchy, Alderman Rand, and Councilman Foss; Board of Trade: Messrs. Anderson and Hamlen.

Reception at depot.—City: Alderman Thomas P. Shaw, Councilmen Joseph S. Gilliatt, Wilford G. Chapman; Board of Trade: E. G. Spring.

Carriages and route.—City: Alderman Nehemiah Smart, Councilmen William B. Irish, John A. Fitts; Board of Trade: J. E. Marrett.

Harbor.—Aldermen Benjamin Thompson, M. C. McCann; Board of Trade: W. H. Milliken.

Dinner.—City: Alderman John P. Hobbs, Councilman Charles A. Kennard; Board of Trade: George S. Hunt, F. N. Dow.

Statistics.—Secretaries George C. Burgess and M. N. Rich, of the committees from the City Council and the Board of Trade.

THE BANQUET AT PORTLAND.

The banquet, which was given in the large dining-hall of the Falmouth Hotel, commenced at 7.30. The local notables present included Mayor Melcher, who presided, the board of aldermen and the common council, Senator Hale, Representative Nelson Dingley, Representative Boutelle, Judge Webb, Hon. L. M. D. Sweat, George S. Hunt, Surveyor Cleaves, City Clerk Burgess, J. H. Hamlen, J. E. Marrett, G. S. Hunt, F. E. Boothby, W. F. Milliken, Frank Dudley, Russell Lewis, W. S. Dana, S. C. Strout, W. R. Wood, Charles S. Fobes, Francis Fessenden, C. A. Brown, C. E. Jose, C. J. Chapman, W. G. Davis, H. S. Osgood, Albion Little, S. L. Larrabee, Horace Anderson, Frank Crocker, John E. DeWitt, Capt. Frank Wildes, Hon. E. E. Rand, Postmaster Palmer, Col. J. A. Smith, U. S. A.; Maj. Dunn, U. S. A.; Clerk of Council Wade, E. Greely Spring, W. H. Milliken, M. N. Rich, Dr. S. C. Gordon, Ex-Governor Selden Connor, S. C. Dyer, A. A. Strout, H. H. Shaw, Elias Thomas, A. W. Coombs, W. W. Brown, Philip H. Brown, C. R. Milliken, W. F. Lunt, J. H. Drummond, Clarence Hale, B. D. Verrill, W. H. Anderson, Charles D. Brown, George K. Cram, Fritz H. Jordan, District Attorney Bird, and United States Marshal Harmon. Representatives Reed and Milliken

were not present, their engagements in Washington and the West keeping them away.

With the cigars came the speeches, inaugurated by Mayor Melcher, who called the assembly to order and spoke as follows:

Gentlemen : In behalf of the city of Portland I desire to express my gratification that the tour of such illustrious representatives of so many countries of our continent has included our city and that we have the pleasure of meeting you and giving you this hasty glance at our surroundings. I beg you to accept the heartiest of welcomes from Portland and her citizens. But I can not refrain from expressing the regret that the time could not have been longer and the opportunity given to make the proposed trip down the harbor of which we are so justly proud—the harbor, beautiful, safe, commodious, where the largest vessels can enter at any time of the year and any state of the tide.

Though short, I trust the visit will be pleasant, and from it may arise a much better acquaintance and many closer business relations than we now enjoy with the countries which you represent.

In welcoming you to our city we also welcome you to our State. Our governor is not here, but one of our Senators is present. We shall now have the pleasure of listening to Senator Hale, of Maine.

Senator Hale, whose rising was loudly applauded, said:

I cordially join, Mr. Mayor, in welcoming to the State all the delegates in this most important American Congress. In their journey through the country their steps will touch no farther bounds northward than the soil of the State of Maine, and I am certain that nowhere will they find a gladder and a heartier welcome than here. [Applause.] And this Congress, Mr. Mayor, does not by any means come to this State wholly as a stranger. The names of our own delegates upon it are familiar words wherever honorable business, deserving success, and high integrity are known and have their proper weight. Far away as we are from the home of these other delegates, who have been sent here by our sister States, the State of Maine is by no means without that knowledge which comes from actual contact of the sister countries of America.

Prominent men of Portland, in the days gone by, have built up fortunes in the South American trade, and throughout the State at large great business houses have sent the products of the forests and the factories of Maine to all the ports of Central and South America. The American shipper has been known there for years; and more than all that, sir, the Maine sailor has been known everywhere. [Applause.]

There are few places into which the Maine sailor has not penetrated. The seafaring exploits, so eloquently portrayed by Burke a hundred years

ago, have been paralleled in all the years since by the adventures of the Maine sailor. He has weathered every cape in the southern and in the northern hemispheres. Around "many western islands has he been" and "many goodly states and kingdoms seen," this sailor from Maine. All the passages of the great Gulf are as familiar to him as the waters of Casco Bay. The Spanish Main is to him an open book. The fabled flight from Orinoco is a reality to him; he has fled before that terrible incoming tide in the mouth of the mighty Amazon that destroys everything it overtakes. He has rested his bark in the still waters where the La Plata mingles with the sea. He has visited every port in the Brazils, in Uruguay, and in the Argentine Republic. This Maine sailor has passed through the tempestuous Magellan, has skirted the Pacific coast, has touched at every port on that great ocean, and at the end of his 14,000 miles he is found to-day casting for fish in the waters of Alaska.

So, sir, these countries are not unknown to the State of Maine; but it is true that in later years these delegates from our sister countries and their countrymen have not seen as much as formerly of the Maine skipper and the Maine sailor. But it is the desire of the people of Maine, in common with all the country, and I believe I speak for the American people, that the outcome of the mission of this Congress shall be to extend our commercial relations with those countries and have more of the neighborly feeling and more of the intermingling that comes to the citizens of peaceful States. [Applause.] Our Secretary of State said well, the other day, that there is no mystery in this business. [Applause.] It has all been above-board. Through this Congress and its mission it is meant that Americans shall know each other better and appreciate each other better. [Applause.] Through this Congress it is hoped that nearer commercial relations will be formed and nearer alliances made. I do not, for one, look to see this all come about immediately; but, Mr. Mayor, friends, and delegates, I do hope that this generation will not be many years older before it will see treaties made and commercial policies formed that shall give much more largely than now to Americans the benefits of American trade. [Applause.] The geologists and geographers are fond of talking about America as a unit. They tell us of the vast mountain ranges that traverse it from north to south, of the balance of climatic influence, and of all things that go to make one great hemisphere. I hope to live to see the day that, without regard to political union, in all things that go to make a unit, freedom of trade, interchange of products, clear from Behring Sea to the Straits of Magellan, there shall be one grand harmonious whole. [Great applause.]

Mr. Mayor and gentlemen, if such a consummation can be attained by this wisely conceived and happily carried out plan for an American Congress here within our own limits, then the gratitude of generations to come will be fitly given and wholly due to the great minds that conceived this great plan. [Applause.]

The mayor then introduced Delegate Flint, who responded for the guests as follows:

Mr. Mayor and gentlemen, the happiest days of my boyhood were spent in this city when I used to come up here from the country to help you celebrate the Fourth of July. The happiest days of my youth were spent with the courteous and hospitable people of Latin-America, and it is with a feeling of pride and satisfaction that I accompany my friends from South America to this, my native State. To-day, I am renewing the happy associations of my boyhood and youth in accompanying here the representatives of the nations of South America, whom I am pleased to call my friends. While the delegates know the Pine-Tree State as a great manufacturing State, they look upon, as our second best product, the men of Maine [applause], and our best product the women of Maine. [Applause.] And furthermore our Southern neighbors have named a man whom Maine is proud to consider her own, and the United States as one of her most eminent leaders, as the man worthy to preside over the Congress of the American nations. [Great applause.]

Our delegates from abroad are meeting some of the men who have been foremost in extending our foreign commerce, men who brought the oak from the swamps of Virginia and the yellow pine from the State of Georgia and built clipper-ships that were the pride of the ocean, and gave us the leadership in the carrying-trade of the world; men who, under as favorable conditions as enjoyed by Europeans, will show the same enterprise and skill in the future as they have in the past in the construction and navigation of sea-going ships. [Applause.]

President Harrison has stated that we need frequent, direct, and rapid transportation to the countries to the South of us; otherwise the extension of trade with these nations is impossible. Our people are beginning to realize the advisability of developing means of exchange with our Southern neighbors, and the benefits that frequent communication would distribute throughout this entire land. Of the shipments to Brazil by the United States alone last year, 10 per cent. came from Georgia, 6 per cent. from Virginia, and 12 per cent. from three Western States. Every United States vessel in the South is a traveling salesman for American manufactures. [Applause.]

This country has been so busy developing its internal resources that trade with our Southern neighbors has been neglected. Last year we bought \$180,000,000 of their products. And let me say, in answer to those who are stating that we can never get the South American trade until we take the duties off South American products, that 80 per cent. of the commodities coming from the countries represented by the delegates to this Congress is admitted free of duty.

We purchased last year from the countries south of us products to the value of \$181,000,000. We sold them only \$69,000,000. We therefore had to pay them last year in cash \$112,000,000. They bought over 90

per cent. of the manufactured goods which they required, in Europe, and asked us to send to London \$112,000,000 to pay for them. We settled that account by shipping wheat, and cotton, and other things, but had to ship about \$30,000,000 in gold. These gold shipments disturbed the American financiers and tended to restrict the enterprise of our merchants and manufacturers. Instead of shipping the gold to Europe to pay for South American products, we have a right to ask our Southern friends to purchase of us the watches, carpets, dry goods, lumber, and other merchandise and manufactured products which we are exhibiting to them on this visit to the industrial centers of this country.

Mr. Mayor, and friends of my native State, allow me to express our appreciation of our hearty welcome. Let me propose, in conclusion, a sentiment which brings us together here to-night: "To the friendly relations existing between the nations of the Americas: May they be as pure as the aspirations of their best men; as broad as the table-lands of South America, and as lasting as the backbone of this great continent—the Rockies and the Andes." [Great applause.]

Delegate Mendonca, of Brazil, was then introduced by the mayor. Senor Mendonca said he felt very much honored by the invitation given him to address the citizens of Portland. The object which brought the Conference together was a theme worthy of treatment by such a man as Daniel Webster; it was a subject in every way worthy the great expounder. The giant was dead, however, and the matter had to be treated by the men of the present generation.

If you have the happiness of having at the head of your national cabinet a statesman of your own State, you have also the privilege of having at the head of your national literature a great poet, born in your own city. In 1881 I was commissioned by the Emperor of Brazil to invite Longfellow to visit him in Rio de Janeiro. We met in Cambridge and talked for a long time on his veranda, surrounded and shadowed by the old elms, a pleasing reproduction of the noble trees which I have seen to-day surrounding his old home in Main street. We talked of poetry and of places, we spoke of the future of nations and of the future of America. When I speak of America, gentlemen, I speak of the whole continent, the South, the Central, and the North. He asked me what I could see in the future, half a century or a century hence, when the United States would count its 200,000,000 or 300,000,000 of population, and Brazil its 50,000,000 or 100,000,000. The question of the poet has been properly answered to-day. The Hon. Mr. Hale has told you that there is no mystery connected with this International Congress; that everything is to be done in the clear light. Europe is

looking upon us with suspicion, while we are looking at each other with fraternal feelings. We Americans are trying to clothe and feed ourselves at home. [Applause.]

Senator HALE. Here is the question very clearly answered.

But your poet went further [Senor Mendonca went on], and asked me if I had thought of England, with her coal mines exhausted, and of the old continent without bread. I think of that at this hour, and I answer that, in such a case, this America of ours will open the coffers of its riches and feed and clothe needy Europe. [Loud applause.]

Your poet, in his little poem of the Congo River, speaks of that winding stream that unites lake with lake. The dream of his fancy has around this table become a live reality. The waters of the Plata, the Amazon, and the Mississippi have mingled themselves together. Bound by the chain of the Andes, from Patagonia to Alaska, the mighty body of America has but a single soul; the stream of opinion flows in the same direction and "links together nation and nation." [Long-continued applause.]

Mayor Melcher then introduced the Hon. A. A. Strout, who said:

I certainly share in the general regret that we can not have more time in which to manifest our pleasure in receiving this visit from the distinguished gentlemen who are our guests here to-night. But the lateness of the hour and their imperative engagements permit us only to express a cordial and hearty greeting and our entire approval of the purpose of their visit to this country.

The city of Portland, from its beginning, has been engaged in commercial enterprises. Its situation and facilities for trade naturally invite an exchange of commodities with other nations, and in the past its ships have carried the American flag to every port visited by the waters of the sea. The presence of these representatives of great peoples, imbued with the spirit of living progress which makes this century illustrious, gives promise that these commercial relations, so advantageous to all parties, will be revived and largely increased in the future. [Applause.] But, Mr. Mayor, it is not in its commercial aspect alone that this visit is significant and gratifying to the citizens of our town. It is the first time in the history of Portland that we stand face to face with so many representatives of the other great nations who occupy this continent. We are all Americans, and it is our continent. Its marvelous progress, the triumph of its people over obstacles interposed by nature, of cold and heat, of mighty mountains, of sterile plains, and the glories of still greater achievements yet to come, are the common heritage of yourselves and your children. [Applause.] And it is this sentiment of unity of interests and of national achievements which finds expression in the presence of these distinguished visitors to our people. It gives promise of peace, of the building up of

great enterprises, of the education and advancement of neighboring peoples, and of that unity of purpose, which must compel the respect of the civilized world.

But, added to this, we have the satisfaction of meeting these gentlemen in their unofficial capacity. They illustrate the truth of the old saying that "There are men beyond the mountains." We are cordially glad that they have come, and only regret that they cannot stay longer; and I have no doubt that the same hearty greetings which they receive to-night will meet them wherever they may chance to go. Everywhere they will be recognized as the messengers of a new era of closer relationship, of better acquaintance, and of a more permanent and lasting relationship. I propose as a sentiment nearest our hearts to-night, "The prosperity and unbroken friendship of the nations of the Three Americas."

Delegate Carlos Martinez Silva was the next speaker. His remarks were in Spanish, interpreted by Mr. Pierra. Señor Silva thanked the citizens of Portland for the very cordial manner in which the delegates from the South American countries had been received. The idea of an American Congress was not a new one; it had been suggested in times past, but those periods had been unpropitious. Now everything appeared to be favorable and he hoped the results would be satisfactory. To the Government of the United States much honor was due for the undertaking, and he personally felt under great obligations to it for taking the initiative in the matter.

There was a general and vociferous demand for speeches by Representatives Boutelle and Dingley, but the mayor stated that the hour had arrived when the delegates must depart, and he formally bade the visitors farewell.

SEVENTH DAY.

THE VISIT TO WORCESTER.

It was 5 o'clock on the morning of October 9, two hours and a half ahead of schedule time, when the special train stopped in the depot at Worcester, Mass. At 7.50 the reception committee of the city council, consisting of Mayor Winslow, Aldermen Ely and Whitney, President Woodward, of the common council, Councilmen Hoar, Brigham, and McMahon, together with invited guests—men promi-

ment in the business, social, and educational affairs of the city—took carriages at the city-hall and proceeded to the Union station. The invited guests were Stephen Salisbury, Ex-Mayors Pratt and Hildreth, P. L. Moen, Charles J. Washburn, George S. Barton, C. H. Hutchings, H. A. Marsh, Nathaniel Paine, C. M. Dyer, S. S. Green, W. J. Hogg, M. J. Whittall, George Sumner, S. E. Winslow, Dr. H. Y. Simpson, J. E. Davis, James Green, S. R. Heywood, E. T. Marble, A. P. Marble, Justin E. Ware, Postmaster James E. Esterbrook, F. P. Goulding, G. Henry Whitcomb, Senor Mariano, and Senor D. Carriano (the latter two being guests of Mr. Salisbury.)

On the arrival of the party at the station Mayor Winslow entered the train and welcomed the visitors to the city. Shortly after the several delegates, with their secretaries, alighted from the train and were introduced to the assembled citizens. A drive through the city was then enjoyed by the entire party, the station being reached once more at 10 o'clock. Here Delegate Studebaker received a telegram informing him that his beautiful home at South Bend, Ind., had been destroyed by fire during the night. Mr. Studebaker took the first train for the West, after receiving the condolence that could be offered in the brief space of time before the special train pulled out for Willimantic, Conn.

AT WILLIMANTIC.

At Willimantic the train was boarded by a Connecticut delegation consisting of Governor Bulkeley, Senator Hawley, John H. Hall, George H. Day, and C. C. Kimball. Under the guidance of President L. A. Barbour and Agent Eugene S. Ross the party made a tour of the Willimantic Linen Company's Mills. The inspection was necessarily a hasty one, for at 12.30 the special train was being speeded toward South Manchester while the travelers were partaking of luncheon served in the dining car.

AT SOUTH MANCHESTER.

The attraction at South Manchester was the Cheney Silk Mills, with Senator Hawley acting as principal guide. The

various processes of manufacture were examined by an interested crowd, that when it left took away a great many miniature editions of the Stars and Stripes beautifully made of the silk-worms' product. These souvenirs were used as neckerchiefs or as hat decorators.

AT HARTFORD.

Hartford was reached at 3.25, and as soon as the excursionists got off the train they were escorted to carriages and driven to a number of factories. The party was divided into six sections, each of which was in charge of the following committee:

First section: Earnest Cady, C. C. Kimball, and Henry Roberts.

Second section: G. A. Fairfield, J. M. Fairfield, and Daniel Morrell.

Third section: F. A. Pratt, Amos Whitney, M. W. Graves, and G. M. Bond.

Fourth Section: M. S. Chapman, L. B. Plimpton, Leverett Brainard, and Pliny Jewell.

Fifth section: John H. Hall, A. S. Cook, and J. G. Morales.

Sixth section: George H. Day, Albert A. Pope, F. C. Billings, and F. E. Belden.

Other committees were composed as follows:

Finance.—D. W. C. Skilton, chairman; John W. Welch, A. B. Gillett, E. C. Frisbie, H. P. Hitchcock.

Banquet.—William H. Post, L. B. Plimpton, Judson H. Root, H. C. Dwight, George W. Beach.

Board of Trade Reception Committee.—George L. Chase, W. C. Skinner, W. N. Pelton, Edgar F. Burnham, John M. Holcomb, John W. Welch, E. S. Kibbe, J. Samuels, William H. Gross, R. N. Fitzgerald, W. H. Wiley, Charles G. Frisbie, D. W. C. Skilton, George E. Hatch, Robert N. Seyms, Edwin S. Bartlett, George W. Beach, H. P. Hitchcock, S. B. Bosworth, P. P. Bennett, John S. Camp, F. B. Wilson, A. B. Gillett, and Elisha B. Squires.

The establishments visited were those of the Colt's Patent Fire Arms Manufacturing Company, the Jewell

Belting Company, the Government Envelope Works, the Weed Sewing Machine Company, the Woven-Wire Mattress Company, Pratt & Whitney's, Billings & Spencer, Pratt & Cady, the Hartford Machine Screw Company, the Hartford Writing Machine Company, Smith & Bourn's, the Smyth Book-Sewing Machine Company, the I. B. Davis Company, and the Rogers Manufacturing Company.

THE BANQUET AT HARTFORD.

At 7 o'clock the excursionists and a number of the representative business men of Hartford met at the Allyn House. Under the direction of Mr. William H. Post each visitor was given a Connecticut escort to the banquet hall.

Governor Bulkeley presided over the feast, sitting at the head of the central table and facing Mayor Root; the tables on the right and left, respectively, were in charge of Senator Hawley and President Allen of the board of trade. The divine blessing was invoked by President Smith of Trinity College.

The following-named gentlemen from Hartford and vicinity were present: P. H. Woodward, Pliny Jewell, O. H. Blanchard, George L. Chase, Frederick H. Plimpton, A. E. Burr, Jotham Goodnow, Charles R. Chapman, Drayton Hillyer, A. B. Gillett, E. P. Hitchcock, F. A. Pratt, George H. Fairfield, M. S. Chapman, Earnest Cady, W. H. Gross, H. J. Wickham, T. W. Russell, Charles D. Warner, Charles M. Joslyn, Col. E. H. Sears, Daniel Morrell, W. W. Kimball, U. S. A., E. J. Bassett, Charles H. Clark, William H. Post, Judson H. Root, George W. Beach, Dr. Stearns, William E. Simons, S. L. Clemens, John M. Holcomb, J. D. Brown, Charles S. Landers, James Bolter, G. Wells Root, Job Williams, Jonathan F. Morris, Frank E. Belden, Rev. J. K. Wheeler, L. T. Frisbie, H. R. Coffin, William Hammersley, Rev. J. H. Twitchell, M. W. Graves, C. C. Kimball, Lucius A. Barbour, William H. Bulkeley, A. P. Hyde, George W. Smith, Col. A. A. Pope, Frank L. Howard, J. G. Morales, George Maxwell, E. C. Frisbie, George H. Day, John H. Hall, R. N. Pratt, A. S. Cook, Henry Roberts, Fred Plimpton, James

Nichols, George H. Folts, J. C. Kinney, H. A. Redfield, Fred C. Billings, Amos Whitney, Charles A. Jewell, W. H. Wiley, John A. Porter, Linus B. Plimpton, Henry C. Dwight, Dr. R. G. Gatling, Leverett Brainard, James A. Smith, Rev. Dr. E. P. Parker, F. F. Street, Dr. Henry Barnard, N. L. Bradley, William H. Watrous, Rodney Dennis, James J. Goodwin, J. M. Thomson, James L. Howard, John M. Fairfield, George Ellis, F. A. Bourn, Yung Wing, John S. Camp and George M. Bond.

The small space of time at his command was the excuse offered by General Bulkeley for commencing the oratory before the dinner was concluded. He said:

The assembling of the International American Congress in Washington is an event which has excited remarkable interest among the American people. This interest is founded largely in the faith that the wisdom, intelligence, and statesmanship—in other words, the Americanism—of the members will produce something that will add largely to the glorification of the several nations; will produce a closer union, both governmental and commercial. Connecticut is concerned on account of its diversified interests, and the necessity of obtaining for ourselves the markets of the world that obviously belong to us. It is my duty and pleasure to welcome officially the guests of the United States to Hartford. We are pleased to have you here. We have a small State but one in which we take just pride. It is rich in its people, in its prosperity, the development of its great manufacturing industries, but above all in the great intelligence of the vast industrial army which has made Connecticut what it is. I regret that your stay is so short. I wish it were long enough for you to study the government under which we live, its vast educational and industrial interests.

The governor then introduced Delegate Velarde, of Bolivia, who responded briefly in Spanish and whose remarks were interpreted by Mr. Pierra. The sentiment with which Senor Velarde concluded his speech was loudly applauded.

Senator Hawley was the next speaker, greeted with hearty applause. He said:

Gentlemen of many lands, many climates, and many languages, I join the governor in a hearty welcome. We are but a fraction, say three-quarters of one million, of the sixty-five millions of the United States, all of whom probably expect to dine with you. We have a little State of only 5,000 square miles. You will find other States with forty or fifty times our area, but I am sure that in no State will you be

more kindly welcomed, and there is none that can offer you a more peculiar experience. We are two hundred and fifty years old. It was in 1639 that a few gentlemen met, with probably a less elegant dinner than this, and there framed the first written constitution in the history of the world. From that time to this we have never had a governor whom we have not ourselves elected. We have never had an officer to take an oath to serve other than the State of Connecticut until recently the National Government was included in the oath. We have had but two changes in our constitution in two hundred and fifty years. This is the land of steady habits, of free men, free votes, free institutions. Many of you doubtless are blessed with more fertile lands and a milder climate. Perhaps because of our conditions we have learned to think for ourselves, chiefly by reason of our common-school education. Because of the policy of our Government in protecting patents we have made a marvelous development of industries and inventions. You have seen, you can see, but a fraction of what this goodly State produces.

The Senator spoke of the harmonious relations which prevailed between the manufacturer and the employé, and of the fact that some of the representative manufacturers whom they would meet started in life as laborers. He said, in conclusion:

These are the things of which Connecticut boasts. We trust this Congress will teach our people how important it is to strengthen our own commerce and improve our friendly and commercial relations with the sister nations of the Western continent.

When the applause which followed Senator Hawley's speech had subsided, Delegate Manuel Aragon, of Costa Rica, spoke in English. He said:

We are beginning to forget that we are foreigners in this country [great applause], so heartily have we been welcomed everywhere and treated as friends and brothers. When one sees much light where he did not expect it he becomes dazzled. This is the case with me. We do not know in my country what you produce, and this trip must be of value in stimulating a largely increased trade. We in South America follow the life of North America. We try to copy and assimilate. We are on your path. I thank you for your attention and would that I could express our gratitude for the hospitality we have enjoyed so much.

President J. M. Allen, of the Board of Trade, expressed the gratification felt at even brief association with so many distinguished visitors and gave some popular statistics of State industries.

Then came a call for Mark Twain, and Governor Bulkeley introduced him as a gentleman who belonged not to Hartford alone, nor only to the United States, but to the whole world. The humorist's response was so inimitably funny that no one reported any of the witticism.

The concluding address was by Delegate Henderson, who said he had learned from Senator Hawley just what sort of a State Connecticut was. There had been but two changes in two hundred and fifty years. When the State was first settled its inhabitants were just as busy as they were at this day, but not exactly in the same business. He remembered that the first town meeting in Connecticut passed a long series of ordinances in the interest of liberty. Then, as they did not have time to finish entirely, they decided that all other matters should be guided by the precepts of the New Testament until the people could meet and make wiser and better laws. [Great laughter.] They had been in the same business ever since—trusting in the Lord, but looking out for wiser and better management. Some attempt had been made on the train to prejudice the visitors against Connecticut on account of certain alleged wooden hams, but he had assured the visitors that all the hams had been shipped direct to England. Connecticut would scorn to ship such hams to Spanish-America. [Laughter.] And he desired to remark right there that it would not pay, for his people at Kansas City and St. Louis could make a whole natural hog cheaper than they could turn out a wooden ham in Connecticut.

We know what Connecticut is [said he]; we have been in it all day. [Laughter.] Senator Hawley says it has only 5,000 square miles, but we feel as though we have traveled more than that many miles already, and have eaten from 15 to 20 pounds apiece. I never saw such a people for eating. I know that we ought to be at the Capitol. It is notorious that Connecticut has the finest public building in America. It is the only one that was built within the appropriation, and I wish to say that I am informed the ceiling is absolutely sound. [Laughter.]

It was after 10 o'clock when the guests reached the Capitol, where a large number of the good people of Hartford were waiting patiently for an opportunity to shake hands with some of the diplomats. The visitors were escorted to the Senate Chamber, where they were presented to

Governor Bulkeley. After this came the public reception. Governor Bulkeley was assisted in receiving by Senator Hawley, Capt. John G. Bourke of the U. S. Army, Adjutant-General Barbour, Mayor Root, and President Allen of the Board of Trade. Among the ladies of the receiving party were Mrs. Senator Hawley, Miss Hornor, of England; Mrs. Morgan G. Bulkeley, Mrs. Leverett Brainard and Miss Brainard, Mrs. George H. Day, Mrs. P. H. Ingalls, Mrs. George W. Beach, Mrs. Judson H. Root, Mrs. George Keller, and Mrs. Charles E. Chase.

EIGHTH DAY.

AT COLLINSVILLE, CONN.

The next day, Thursday, October 10, opened up for the delegates at Collinsville, Conn. It was nearly 9 o'clock before the entire party concluded breakfast and was ready as a whole to visit the works of the Collins Company. Accompanying the members of the Conference were Senator Hawley, President E. H. Sears of the Collins Company, Ebenezer Roberts, and C. H. Clarke. When the excursionists left the train they were greeted by C. H. Blair, Luke Chapman, Drayton Hillyer, Daniel R. Howe, and James J. Goodwin, directors of the Collins Company; William Hills, superintendent, and John Wells, the company's New York agent. The train load was divided up into several subdivisions and escorted to the factory, where the processes of manufacturing axes, plows, hatchets, hammers, picks, shovels, knives, brush-hooks, and other varieties of edge-tools were shown and explained. At the office of the company there was a magnificent exhibit of the products of the factory. Each member of the party was presented with two souvenirs—one a huge sheath-knife, the other a pocket pin-cushion with solid silver sides, on one of which was inscribed the date of the visit.

AT MERIDEN, CONN.

By way of Hartford the special train went on to Meriden. At the former city a Meriden reception committee

boarded the train. It was composed of Mayor Miles, ex-Mayor Doolittle, N. L. Bradley, and W. F. Rockwell.

Several hundred people were at and in the vicinity of the depot when the train, shortly before noon, reached Meriden. The reception committee, consisting of A. Chamberlain, Edward Miller, John L. Billard, I. C. Lewis, Walter Hubbard, C. F. Linsley, Geo. H. Wilcox, E. B. Manning, George R. Curtis, and others, met the distinguished visitors and at once proceeded to business by escorting them to the Britannia Company's works. Here the company had its own committee ready to explain the workings of the factory, the gentlemen selected for the duty being George M. Curtis, George H. Wilcox, George R. Curtis, George E. Savage, John Jepson, E. E. West, Pedro Almeida, W. W. Mayatt, and Alfred Watts. All the processes of manufacturing silver-plated goods were explained and each visitor was presented with a pocket match-box as a souvenir.

The Bradley & Hubbard Manufacturing Company's factory was the next place visited. Those who conducted the party through the great workshops and magnificent show-rooms were N. L. Bradley, Walter Hubbard, C. F. Linsley, C. F. Bradley, Emory Coggins, W. A. Hickox, A. M. Brooks, and A. M. Clarke.

The great diversity of Meriden's industries would have made it impossible for the excursionists, with a closely limited amount of time at their disposal, to go through more than a few of the workshops, so the manufacturers decided to make one great display. This took place in the Opera House and was a most attractive exhibition of what Meriden does for a living. Those who contributed to the display were the Meriden Saddlery and Leather Company, C. Rogers & Bros., plated ware; E. Miller & Co., lamps; the Charles Parker Company, hardware and shot-guns, the latter manufactured by the firm of Parker Bros.; Manning, Bowman & Co., granite-iron and pearl-agate ware; Meriden Cutlery Company; C. F. Monroe, decorated opal glassware; the Chapman Manufacturing Company, dog-collars and furnishings; Miller Bros. Cutlery Company; W. B. Hall, silver and britannia ware; E.

J. Doolittle, paper boxes; the Journal Publishing Company, printing; the Wilcox & White Organ Company; Æolian Organ and Music Company; the Wilcox Silver Plate Company; J. D. Bergen, cut glass; Meriden Britannia Company; the Bradley & Hubbard Company, lamps, clocks, and fancy bric-a-brac; Meriden Silver Plate Company; Foster, Merriam & Co., cabinet hardware; the Kelsey Press Company, printing-presses and cutting-presses; the Beecher Manufacturing Company, carriage hardware; Eaton & Peck Company, embossing and engraving; the Malleable Iron Company, lamps and brackets; Meriden Buckle Company; G. L. Ellsbree & Co., lacquer; E. A. Horton & Co., fancy printing.

In the gallery of the Opera House was an exhibit of the feminine pulchritude of Meriden; a feature much appreciated by the visitors.

Just before it was time to depart for New Haven Delegate Henderson made an address in which he complimented the people of Meriden for the activity they had displayed and thanked them for the instruction they had imparted.

Pearl-handled pocket-knives were presented the visitors by the Miller Bros. Cutlery Company. The souvenir presented by C. Rogers & Bros. consisted of a fruit-knife and an after-dinner coffee spoon, inclosed in a leather and plush case. The Meriden Journal also presented each member of the party with a prettily bound list of the industries of the city.

AT NEW HAVEN.

New Haven was represented on the train at Meriden. Those who came to take possession of their guests were General Greeley, Professor Knapp, Postmaster English, Superintendent O. M. Shepard, of the Consolidated Road, and Mayor Peck. The train reached the "City of Elms" at 2 o'clock and as soon as the excursionists had concluded luncheon they were escorted to carriages by active committeemen, among whom were J. T. Moran, William J. Atwater, Collector Kellam, Professor Brush, Judge Harrison, H. B. Plant, General George H. Ford, ex-Governor

Bigelow, N. D. Sperry, John H. Leeds, Professor Knapp, Lieutenant-Governor Merwin, F. H. Hooker, E. S. Kimberly, Professor Chandler, Prof. H. W. Farnam, C. S. Mersick, ex-Mayor H. G. Lewis, ex-Mayor Holcomb, H. B. Sargent, H. H. Strong, and R. P. Cowles.

A halt was made at Yale University, in the old library of which President Dwight welcomed the strangers. Assisting him were ex-President Porter, Professor Dana, Rev. Burdett Hart, Professor Weir, Professor Knapp, Professor Van Name, Professor Brush, Professor Brewer, Rev. Dr. Munger, and others. President Dwight's address of welcome was brief. He said:

You are to us as strangers and yet as friends; and as friends you meet us for the welfare of your people and of ours. Our university offers to you to-day its freedom and its hospitality also.

When the ride was over several of the delegates and attachés accepted the hospitality of the Republican League Club for a while, and then returned to the train to dress for dinner.

The banquet, which was tendered by the Chamber of Commerce, was served in the Hyperion. President James D. Dewell was in the chair, while around the tables, sandwiched between the guests of the occasion, were Senator Hawley, Mayor Peck, George H. Sargent, Charles R. Ingersoll, General S. E. Merwin, Prof. W. J. Knapp, President Dwight, H. B. Bigelow, H. B. Harrison, H. P. Plant, N. D. Sperry, Prof. H. W. Farnam, Lynde Harrison, Eli Whitney, General E. E. Bradley, Dr. H. W. Carmault, W. F. Wilcox, Dr. J. P. C. Foster, John M. Peck, Joel A. Sperry, Thomas R. Trowbridge, H. G. Lewis, C. A. Lindsley, George F. Holcombe, Col. F. T. Lee, Joseph Sheldon, F. F. Tyler, B. R. English, Henry T. Blake, General E. S. Greeley, John H. Leeds, Eli L. Mix, H. B. Sargent, A. P. Wilder, Joseph Parker, M. J. R. Wichell, Eli Whitney, jr., R. P. Cowles, S. T. Dutton, C. L. Baldwin, J. G. Bronke, C. T. Driscoll, C. H. Trowbridge, George D. Watrous, Engineer Hill, Henry C. White, James Reynolds, Henry E. Dawson, L. P. Deming, Col. N. G. Osborn, C. M. Loomis, Maj. H. H. Strong, Julius Twiss, David Thomas, P. S. Bennett, Arthur D. Martin, S. H.

Wagner, Franklin H. Hart, Hobert Hotchkiss, George E. Maltby, George M. Grant, John C. Gallagher, D. M. Reed, William Neely, and others.

After letters of regret had been read, sent by Governor Bulkeley, Representative Simonds, and others, Chairman Dewell introduced Professor Knapp, who addressed the assemblage in Spanish, of which the following is a translation :

Gentlemen of the International Congress: I have been asked to discharge the honorable and pleasant task of addressing you in Castilian and of offering you a most cordial welcome to this city in behalf of the municipal authorities, its industries, its commerce, and finally of its venerable university, located for nearly two hundred years on this generous soil. It is no easy thing to express how deeply I am stirred by the reflection that the Spanish-American gentlemen of this Congress are directly descended from those never-to-be-forgotten Spaniards and Lusitanians who discovered and colonized that immense empire then called the Indies and now America. You have opened the way and we have but followed. We are the second; you are the first. [Applause.] Be then an example to us of union.

Your States, gentlemen, have suffered, like ours, all the evils that flow from a period of rival colonizations; evils which can be healed only by the federal system which, while it permits the play of local partialities, welds in one homogeneous mass the strong and irresistible nationality. Therefore I can comprehend as few of my fellow countrymen can all the deep meaning of that obstinate struggle maintained by your grandfathers and your fathers at the beginning of the present century. It is high time for all the American States to wake out of their sleep, to enter into relations of firm friendship, strengthened by the recollection of mutual sufferings experienced in the cause of our national liberties. Let us ever keep in mind the heroic deeds of our liberators—Bolívar on your side, Washington on ours. They were more than heroes. They were the restorers of the two great wings of the American continent. They were the restorers of the human race—more sublime than Alexander or Cæsar, because they created free peoples whose beneficent influence will reach down to remotest ages. I have no time to speak of the character and import of the noble conception represented to-night by this distinguished and brilliant assemblage. God grant that the outcome of this sublime thought may exceed the most flattering prophecy in behalf of the powers interested. [Applause.]

Delegate Henderson was the next speaker. He said:

I suppose I have been called upon to respond only briefly to the address of welcome which has just been delivered. I understood but very

little of it, but I can safely indorse everything that comes from the faculty of Yale. For a week we have been traveling through the New England States, and in this time we have found no more splendid State than Connecticut and no more goodly place than New Haven. The manufacturing and commercial interests of this State are so important that she is deeply concerned in all that affects the prosperity or welfare of the nation. Connecticut is the bee-hive of American industry; hence her interest in the results of our International Conference. If new markets are to be opened, the enterprise and ingenuity of her people will command a share of the benefits. If commerce is to be re-awakened, New Haven will be found ready to take her wonted place in the merchant marine of the nation. Connecticut has small territorial extent, but in point of education, intelligence, refinement, industry and thrift, she is unexcelled as an American State. She has furnished her full quota to all the demands of patriotism, and far more than her equal proportion of statesmen and soldiers, who have commanded the country's admiration. New Haven is peculiarly blessed by the presence of her great university, a school scarcely less renowned than Oxford or Cambridge. Its influences have spread beyond the confines of New England, and even beyond the borders of the nation itself. Its alumni take the highest places of honor and trust wherever they go, and their learning and moral worth have never failed to attest the excellence of Yale. Its able faculty have not been teachers within the college walls alone. They have enriched literature by books of the highest merit; teachers not of knowledge only, but of morality, its best companion and only safeguard. But why detain you longer? I can say nothing of this splendid State that is not already known by all. We have passed through it and seen its greatness, and I only fear that its excellence may dim in comparison the exhibits of many States yet to be seen. We are on a march which covers the Union. It is our duty and our desire to exhibit our country and all its greatness to our Spanish-American friends. What we shall do when we shall have returned to Washington we can not tell you, but from consultation with our friends we find that they will meet us in every honest and earnest endeavor for our common good. [Applause.]

President Dwight, of Yale University, spoke of the harmonious relations which existed between the university and the city of New Haven, and extolled the power of education. He was very cordial in his welcome of the delegates, and when he concluded was the recipient of a rousing round of applause.

Delegate Carlos Martinez Silva, of Colombia, spoke in Spanish of the wonders Connecticut had unfolded to him and his colleagues. His remarks were very brief.

Morris F. Tyler responded to "New Haven's Indus-

tries." He said that New Haven was an industrial city grown out of a commercial town, a town that once did most of its trading with the Spanish-speaking countries of America. To the New Haven of fifty years ago those countries constituted El Dorado, and the young men of the southern shores of Connecticut looked to Brazil and to Uruguay very much as the young men of the present day looked to the West; therefore New Haven was especially interested in the countries of the southland. Speaking of the changes which had taken place in the occupations of the city, Mr. Tyler said:

Not long ago we exported wheat; now we send out the essence of wheat in imperial granum. We used to export cattle; now we export beef all ready to eat. We used to export horses; now we import horses, but we send out the nicest thing to run behind a horse that can be found in the world. I need not tell the cotton-grower what he owes to Eli Whitney; I need not remind the man of the Southern plains what Winchester has done for him in the line of repeating-rifles; these names speak for themselves. The manufacturers of New Haven take pride in their products. They brought back from Paris the prize for rifles. From the French themselves New Haven took the first prize for that important article of French manufacture—the corset. We are desirous of freer commerce with the Southern States. We should sit down and read over that relic of barbarism, the navigation act, and have the Congress remove the barriers that now exist. We are astonished that we have no more trade with these South American States. This reminds me of the old man who had a lot of marriageable daughters. He wondered why they did not get married, but he forgot that he kept them locked up and kept a bulldog inside the fence. [Laughter and applause.]

Delegate Castellanos, of Salvador, eulogized the Constitution of the United States as the most perfect work ever devised by man. From it sprang the prosperity of the country. Señor Castellanos was made the subject of three very vociferous cheers.

Lieutenant-Governor Merwin spoke for the State of Connecticut. He said:

My first words will be "welcome, thrice welcome." In this great sisterhood of States there are but two which are smaller than Connecticut, yet I fancy that you have come to the conclusion that ours is a busy little hive of industry. What does such a meeting as this tell us? It tells us that the millions of the people of America desire to know each other better. If the seed sown blossoms, let us trust that the blossoms

will be flowers of perpetual peace and happiness and that the harvest will be abundantly rich.

Consul-General Calvo, of the Argentine Republic, said:

If I could gather all the words of praise and esteem in the dictionary I would fling them all to you as an expression of my feelings. We have been received everywhere with splendid hospitality and I am grateful for it.

Senator Hawley responded to "The Industries of the United States." He said:

This subject I should have begun on Monday morning. I have said a great deal in this hall on this subject at various times. I could bury you with statistics, but that is not what you want. We have a broad continent, fertile lands, and climate in all variety, and we are able to send a part of our agricultural products and manufactures to other countries. You may talk about our lack of commerce, but in a single year we have spent on our railroads enough to buy all the shipping of Great Britain twice over. Our internal commerce is our first duty. I am not impatient with what we have done; you are not, for your hearts swell with pride of it. Whenever we have attempted to do anything on the sea we have not been beaten. In many respects we have solved the labor problem. The solution has been accomplished by the golden rule, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." [Applause.]

With Senator Hawley's speech the New Haven banquet came to an end.

Parallel with the banquet was a private dinner given by Henry L. Hotchkiss, president of the L. Candee Rubber Company, at his residence on Hillhouse avenue. Delegates Nin, of Uruguay, Valente and Mendonca, of Brazil, and Flint, of the United States, Consul-General Calvo, of the Argentine Republic, Ex-Governor Ingersoll, and Capt. Charles Hervey Townshend were among those present. They were all at the Hyperion in time for the post-prandial exercises.

NINTH DAY.

AT SPRINGFIELD, MASS.

Springfield was the next place on the itinerary, and it was reached at 3 o'clock on the morning of Friday, October 11. The local reception committee was around in good season, and at 9.45 the visitors were welcomed to carriages

by the following gentlemen: Col. A. R. Buffington, Alderman John A. Murphy, representing Mayor Bradford, Henry S. Hyde, Col. H. M. Phillips, Elisha Morgan, Walter H. Wesson, Capt. J. C. Clifford, James A. Rumrill, Judge W. S. Shurtleff, Alderman Parkhurst, Col. M. V. B. Edgerly, Clark W. Bryan, Captain Blunt, R. F. Hawkins, W. F. Ray, Dr. G. E. Foster, W. W. More, Samuel Bowles, Joseph L. Shipley, and H. A. Gould.

First to be visited were the works of the Morgan Envelope Company, where the envelopes used by the United States Government are all made. Here a special committee, composed of R. W. Day, W. O. Day, E. H. Day, W. M. Warfield, Roger Morgan, and Harry Parkhurst, took charge of the party and showed them as much of the immense establishment as was possible in the limited time at their command. The Smith and Wesson revolver factory was then inspected under the escort of Daniel B. Wesson and sixteen of his principal employés. From here the drive was continued to the water-shops of the United States armory, where Colonel Buffington and Captain Blunt explained matters. As the party approached the armory a salute of fifteen guns was fired. The various shops were hastily inspected, although Master-armorer Porter did his best to detain the guests of honor by continually producing novel and interesting exhibits.

At the Glendower Hotel luncheon awaited the party, and at 12.30 nearly one hundred people sat down to refresh themselves. Chairman Hyde, of the citizens' committee, opened the proceedings with a few remarks. He said:

I do not propose to inflict upon you an address of welcome, for I realize that you are rushing about the country in true American style. We welcome you heartily to our city. We wish you could stay longer and test our hospitality. At least we earnestly hope that you will come again, individually and collectively, to see our beautiful city, which, in its industrial life as well as in its home life, is surpassed nowhere. We, as Americans, want to trade with you. We feel ourselves imbued strongly with the American idea that the people of all the Americas should be friends and brethren. It is our earnest hope that this tour you are making through our land may be productive only of such beneficent results.

Within an hour from the close of the speech the lunch-

eon had been disposed of, the Springfield fire department reviewed, and the special train loaded up for its run to Holyoke. Accompanying the delegates were Colonel Buffington, Col. H. M. Phillips, Judge Shurtleff, Elisha Morgan, E. C. Rogers, J. B. Stebbins, Captain Clifford, and Aldermen Dickinson, Murphy, and Parkhurst.

The train slackened speed at Brightwood, where the Wason car-shops were decorated with flags. The employes in these shops and in the Stebbins Brass Works and the Holyoke Card and Paper Company's factory stood outside their respective establishments and cheered the excursionists.

AT HOLYOKE, MASS.

At Holyoke the committee of the Manufacturers' Association was in line on the station platform. At their head was Timothy Merrick, president of the Home Market Club, who addressed the delegates as follows:

Gentlemen: In the name of the municipality and the manufacturing industries of this city, I welcome you. Your stay in the city is to be so short that we have curtailed our program and will only show you that which will be most pleasing—our great water-power, which is the foundation of all our industries, and our model paper-mill.

The following named gentlemen then took charge of the party: Timothy Merrick, James H. Newton, William Skinner, E. C. Rogers, Joseph Metcalf, J. B. Stebbins, E. S. Waters, Clemens Herschel, Theophilus Parsons, E. C. Taft, O. H. Greenleaf, J. S. McElwain, and E. W. Esleek, of the reception committee. Others who actively interested themselves were Mayor Sullivan, W. H. Heywood, G. C. Gill, F. D. Heywood, R. H. Seymour, F. H. Newton, J. S. Newton, B. S. Syms, J. S. Webber, City Treasurer Munn, and City Clerk Griffin.

In each of the carriages, which started promptly from the depot, were half a dozen copies of a handsome souvenir book on Holyoke.

The great dam across the Connecticut River was admired and then the delegates were driven to the new mill of the Parsons Paper Company. Here the processes of making high-grade writing paper were made plain, and each mem-

ber of the party was presented with samples of the product. The agile efficiency of the Holyoke fire department was scrutinized from the upper windows of the mill building. As the party left the building each member of it was presented with a pair of shears, the gift of the Seymour Cutlery Company.

The train returned to Springfield on schedule time, and at 4:10 had started on its long run westward, with Mr. J. Howard King, president of the Albany Chamber of Commerce, as the latest accession to the party.

THE VISIT TO ALBANY.

The capital of New York State was not reached until ten minutes after 8 o'clock, forty minutes late, but a large crowd waited patiently to receive the nation's guests, who were greeted, primarily, by an artillery salute. The reception committee at the depot was composed of State Senator Russell, E. J. Bliss, A. F. Brown, Rodney Vose, John H. Farrell, William Bayard Van Renssalaer, Ralph W. Thacher, E. L. Judson, and Dean Sage. Escorted by these gentlemen the party walked to the Delavan House, and its members were assigned rooms.

It was 9 o'clock when the delegates were ready to proceed to the council chamber. The Tenth Battalion of the State National Guard, Colonel Fitch commanding, was out for escort duty, and after the officers of the battalion had been presented to the visitors the line of march was taken up. As the carriages containing the excursionists passed the troops the latter presented arms, a courtesy which was promptly responded to. The carriages were then halted while the battalion, amid a blaze of colored fires, marched to the head of the column.

A large number of representative citizens were in the council chamber, and when the delegates entered they arose and remained standing.

The delegates were presented by Mr. King, and when they had formed in a semi-circle in front of the president's desk Mayor Maher welcomed them as follows:

Gentlemen of the International American Conference, speaking for the city of Albany, I bid you welcome, and assure you that it will be

the delight of our citizens to make pleasant the visit of so distinguished a body as the representatives of all America. The sense and feeling of a common interest which inspired our country to invite the nations of America to a conference designed for their common good and general advantage, and the broad, liberal, and friendly spirit which prompted you to assemble in response thereto, can not fail to be fruitful of salutary results for South and North alike.

Favorably situated as are the nations of the Western Hemisphere; happily removed and free from the lamentable conditions which bear so heavily upon the nations of the Old World; safe from external attack, at peace amongst themselves, and with no thought or desire for conquest; with soil blessed by nature, rich mineral deposits, vast area and resources seemingly unlimited, and a people of indomitable will and superior intelligence, it is possible for the American nations to bring about an era of general prosperity never equaled since the beginning of time; for never before were greater natural advantages, powers of production, and enterprise and skill united.

The whole world is moved by the struggle for material and social supremacy. But here under the western skies has the spirit of progress attained the highest degree of development. And with the permanent establishment of relations of amity and confidence throughout both continents, and the bringing of their peoples, united by a common fate, into closer commercial intercourse, the great people of the new world, blessed of all mankind, will surely reach the highest perfection in civilization and social order, and center here under the western sun the world's power and grandeur and enduring prosperity and happiness.

From the council chamber the guests proceeded to the capitol on foot and to the executive chamber. As soon as the delegates took up their places Governor Hill, accompanied by Colonel Williams, his private secretary, entered, and was introduced to the members of the party by Delegate Henderson. The governor then addressed those before him as follows:

Gentlemen of the International Congress, it is my privilege to welcome you on behalf of the people of New York to this State and to its capital. In your hurried visit to West Point you caught a glimpse of our territory and saw some of the beauties of our noble river; and now, after a week of busy sight-seeing in New England, you are brought back to the Empire State of the Union and to one of its oldest cities.

I regret that your stay within the borders of our Commonwealth is to be so short. In no State of the Union is there so much wealth, in none has industry been so highly developed, in none has intellectual effort made greater strides, in none is commerce so extensive; none is known so widely throughout the civilized world. Through its

magnificent harbor come three-fifths of the country's imports, and from the wharves of its metropolis go nearly half the country's exports. Our merchants send their goods to all parts of the world, and search every country to supply the wants and tastes of the citizens of the whole United States. I assure you, gentlemen, you can not do us justice in your rapid spin from Albany to Buffalo. The great metropolis of our State and country would be glad to greet you, and her men of business would gladly seek from you information about your countries and their possibilities for closer trade. Our great manufactories, our institutions of learning, our beautiful cities from one end of the State to the other, would all well repay your visit. But I am aware that your time for sight-seeing is limited, and that you must be back in Washington to engage in the deliberations which call you to this country.

Of your further plans I am not informed; but I assume that you will visit the great Northwest and note the vast enterprises that her citizens have undertaken, and that before you begin your formal Conference in the national capital you will have traversed the lately stricken South, and will have seen how, like magic, industry has taken the place of desolation, and prosperity the place of poverty. Permit me respectfully to suggest that your visit will not be complete until you visit the Gulf States. They no longer represent agricultural interests merely, but are rapidly becoming formidable rivals of the North in the number, excellence, and diversification of their industries. New York is not selfish. She wishes you to see the resources of our entire country, realizing that what is best for its interests is best for her own. Such a tour of observation is certainly a fitting preliminary to the work of your Congress.

With the main purpose of your Conference—the encouragement of closer commercial relations between this country and its Southern neighbors—I have the warmest sympathy. Your visit, and the Conference which occasions it, will have accomplished great results if they prove the means of enlightening of our law-makers upon certain fundamental principles of trade-extension. But the object of the Congress will not be attained until our country realizes that a Chinese wall of restrictive trade legislation around its borders is a barrier to commercial intercourse with other nations. We have reached a stage in our growth when the demands of our manufacturers are for wider markets, and you have been invited here to see what they have to offer, and whether it will not be for your advantage to buy here rather than elsewhere.

But our invitation will have been futile, and these attentions which you are receiving will be efforts wasted, unless the result of your deliberations shall be to persuade the law-making body that our statutes must be revised in the interest of freer commerce. Reciprocity can not be one-sided. Mutual concessions only will stimulate international commercial relations. If you would sell to us, you must not only have

what we want to buy, but you must facilitate our means of buying it; and if we would sell to you we must make similar advances. When the laws which restrict and do not actually benefit are wiped out, then we shall be in a situation to confer about the encouragement of trade on a better and more reasonable basis. And that basis of conference, let me say, implies a proper respect for the natural laws of trade. Commerce can not be built up by artificial stimulants. We want closer communication with your countries, but we do not believe it can be secured unless the requirements of intercourse demand it. When there is trade to be had there will be facilities for communication. Private enterprise is always quick to improve its opportunities. These are questions, however, which will come before you later, and I am sure that no recommendation will be made by your Congress inconsistent with the spirit of our theory and system of Government. It is to be hoped that your visit will be the means of infusing among the people a broader idea of our national possibilities and a more vivid appreciation of the fact that our interests are closely interwoven with those of our continental neighbors.

Again, gentlemen, permit me to cordially welcome you to the capital of the imperial State of New York, and to express the wish that your brief visit here may be most agreeable.

Delegate Henderson, who had not intended saying anything, responded for the Conference, as follows:

Gentlemen: It is with pleasure and anticipation that the delegates enter the State of New York. It stands at the head of our American States—it is properly known as the "Empire State."

We have just passed through New England, and given its industries only that partial examination which their magnitude and our limited time permitted. We found much to admire—much to give surprise, even to the most intelligent and the best informed of our own citizens. And, in this connection, you will indulge me in saying that this marvelous industrial progress of New England could not have existed but for that system of Federal legislation so earnestly condemned by his excellency the governor. This I know is delicate ground for the members of the United States delegation to the International Conference. What we may do in the Conference will have no authoritative force of itself. It can have only persuasive influence on those invested with the ultimate powers of government, and that influence will hardly be augmented by attacking the legislation of Congress at the very threshold of our duties. With his excellency's statement touching the broadening of trade relations between the United States and its neighbors, I thoroughly sympathize. This is one, and an important one of the specified objects of our meeting. I can assure him, too, that he will have the warm concurrence, in this regard, of all my associates.

And it is not necessary that, in doing so, we should condemn the economical policies of our own country. Nations, like men, must pass

from infancy to strength and manhood. The late civil war demonstrated our weakness and pointed out the elements of future strength. In infancy nations are purely agricultural. In their progress to greater independence they become manufacturers, and in the fullness of power they are agricultural, manufacturing, and commercial.

As I have said the late war indicated that in the products of manufacture we were still dependent on foreign nations. This dependence prolonged the war and made its success both expensive and doubtful.

The lesson has left its impress in the tariff legislation of the last twenty-five years. But even aside from the questions of wisdom and economy, the war brought debt, and honor demanded its payment. To pay debts nations must tax their people, and long experience has taught that impost duties are less offensive than excise or direct taxation.

The war taught us many lessons, one of which was to adopt a national currency, and to discard forever the miserable system of exchanges prevalent in former times. These great changes in governmental policies may be ascribed to wisdom or to accident. Whatever the cause, their good results are apparent to all men.

We now have a safe, sound and stable currency. Our manufactures are so firmly established as to make us truly and entirely self-supporting, and wholly independent of other nations.

In the meantime agriculture has not wasted away. On the contrary it has grown and strengthened with the national progress. I agree with the governor that the circumstances now demand not so much a *change* as an *advance*. Agriculture and manufactures are already safe. We have a new field of industry to conquer. The last stage in national progress is immediately before us, and this conference is called to open the way to that advance. We have a surplus of products both of the field and the loom. Those products seek markets abroad, and ours is the duty to suggest measures for reciprocal trade, and the best means of carrying that trade between ours and other nations.

The time has come, I admit, for liberal policies. The law under which we assemble so declares. But personal liberality is to be extended to those who are themselves liberal. The United States delegates have entered on their duties resolved to offer reciprocal trade, and I believe our colleagues from Mexico, Central and South America are here with the same generous feelings.

Before our final adjournment, we shall visit the Southern States. It has only been adjourned till the cooler weather of the winter. We shall also visit the city of New York, and gladly see those great industries which give her front rank among the many prosperous communities of the United States.

And finally when we come to the great work of the Conference, I shall earnestly hope for results uninfluenced by partisan bias, but looking to the material and moral welfare of all the countries represented, and ultimately cementing them by closer political, commercial, and social bonds.

Personal introductions were then made by Special Agent William E. Curtis, of the Department of State, and a tour through the building followed.

The next thing on the programme was a reception at the Fort Orange Club, and thither the visitors, accompanied by the governor and Colonel Williams, repaired from the capitol. In the reception hall of the club-house the party was received by the members of the house committee: General Robert Lenox Banks, Dr. S. B. Ward, and Dr. Charles E. Jones. The rooms were crowded with people of prominence, all evidently anxious to make the occasion one to be long remembered. At 11 o'clock a banquet was served, but there was an entire absence of formal speeches.

TENTH AND ELEVENTH DAYS.

THE VISIT TO NIAGARA.

On Saturday morning, shortly after 9 o'clock, the visitors were driven in carriages through the more picturesque portions of the city, escorted by the following committee: Mayor Maher, J. Howard King, General Robert Lenox Banks, A. Bleecker Banks, General James M. Warner, Henry Russell, William Barnes, jr., T. C. Callicott, A. F. Brown, E. D. L. Palmer, E. J. Bliss, Rodney Vose, William Bayard Van Renssalaer, Ralph W. Thacher, Dr. C. E. Jones, Louis W. Pratt, E. L. Judson, Dean Sage, John H. Farrell, and Leonard Kip.

At 11 a. m. the special train left Albany for Niagara. There was a ten minutes' stop at Syracuse, utilized by Mayor Parsons, of Rochester, and other prominent citizens, who wanted the party to stop over at Utica and Rochester. The Fifty-fourth Regiment band was at the depot at Rochester, and while the train stopped rendered a number of popular airs.

It was nearly 10 o'clock p. m. when the train arrived at Niagara, and the party, in the care of a numerous and active committee, was at once driven to the Cataract House.

Sunday was spent in seeing the Niagara River from above the falls down to the Whirlpool Rapids. Most of the party went out in the morning on the steamer *Maid of the*

Mist, under the guidance of Mr. Welch, of the State Park Reservation. In the afternoon a carriage drive on the Canadian side concluded at the Clifton House, where Erastus Wiman was waiting to receive those members of the party who had accepted his invitation to dinner. With Mr. Wiman were Prof. Goldwin Smith, H. P. Dwight, A. McDougall, and Norman MacRae, of Toronto; Representative Charles Baker, of Rochester, and Secretary McClintock, of the Rochester Board of Trade; William M. Grosvenor, of the New York Tribune; John H. Smith, and Dr. D. W. Harrington, and others.

TWELFTH DAY.

THE VISIT TO BUFFALO.

Niagara was left behind at 9 o'clock on the following morning, and the run of 22 miles to Buffalo was made in twenty-three minutes. The city of Buffalo was ready for its visitors, and as soon as their train stopped in the New York Central depot a number of the more prominent citizens, including George S. Gatchell, John C. Graves, F. M. Lautz, George Urban, William Hengerer, Thomas T. Ramsdell, William B. Sirret, N. S. Rosenau, George E. Mann, Henry Roesser, Alfred Lyth, G. S. Hazard, Ellis Webster, and others, took charge of them. The route to the City Hall was marked by profuse decorations, in which the colors of the various countries represented in the Conference were most conspicuous. Mayor Philip Becker formally welcomed the Conference to what he was pleased to term "The Queen City of the Lakes," and after each member of the party had been presented with a pictorial souvenir of Buffalo the carriages were re-entered and a lengthy drive through the parks and over the beautiful boulevards ensued. The drive was continued to the Rumsey stock farm. On the return trip a stop of fifteen minutes was made at the Country Club, where light refreshments were provided.

Luncheon as served at the Niagara by Mr. Henry Roesser was an elaborate banquet. The special menu

cards for the foreign members of the party were in Spanish; those for the North Americans were in English.

After luncheon the visitors were driven to the Iroquois Hotel, from the roof of which they had a bird's-eye view of the whole city. The remainder of the afternoon was spent on the city fire tug, the trip taking in the more important features of the harbor.

Hundreds of the best people of Buffalo, male and female, were at the Merchants' Exchange at 5 o'clock, when the delegates and attachés made their appearance. More than an hour was spent in mutual enjoyment, and then—many of them first thanking E. Clinton Newman, who arranged the affair—the guests of the occasion returned to the Niagara House to prepare for the banquet.

Covers were laid for one hundred and twenty-five at the Iroquois Hotel, and every seat was occupied when Mayor Becker (the dinner being then about half over) made a brief but interesting address of welcome. He reviewed in brief the growth of the city, and quoted figures showing its present condition of prosperity. He then called on Norris Morey, who said:

I am requested to express to you, the delegates and representatives to the International Congress here present, on behalf of the mercantile, commercial, and other business interests of Buffalo, our sincere gratification in your visit to our city.

In your journey westward Buffalo is for you the gateway to a new region, embracing a large number of States which have been wholly settled and populated within the last hundred years. You also enter here upon the theater of a busy and growing inter-state commerce, carried on between the peoples of the different States, upon the waters of our chain of northern lakes and of the great rivers of the West, and along a widely-extended system of railways. The internal commerce now exceeds in value and volume the entire foreign commerce of the nation.

The early growth of Buffalo was based upon the fact that it was (as it still remains) the principal point for the transshipment of the commerce of the Lakes to the Erie Canal on its way to the sea-board. It was soon found that for the expeditious handling and transshipment of the increasing grain product of the West something was needed that would move grain more rapidly than scoops and wheelbarrows. This want was met by an ingenious device for handling the smaller grains as though they were fluids of larger atoms, and for moving it in buckets along an endless chain propelled by steam. This device

was first applied for the elevation of grain in an elevator constructed at Buffalo in 1841. The first elevator elevated or transshipped over 200,000 bushels of grain the first season it was operated, and was justly thought to have done marvelous work. But with the numerous elevators since perfected and erected at Buffalo it has become common experience to transship each season here from 50,000,000 to 100,000,000 bushels of grain.

If you had approached Buffalo from the lake you might have descried at some distance the tall forms of these elevators, and, seen dimly through the distance, might have supposed you were approaching some city of the Old World with its water front protected from invasion by an enemy across the border by numerous castles with lofty turrets and frowning battlements. A nearer view, as you may have observed, would have quickly dispelled the illusion. The robber castles of the Rhine are somewhat more picturesque and more beautiful than our tall and unpoetic elevators, but we take the liberty of doubting whether they were ever half so useful.

But the local pride of the true Buffalonian does not rest wholly or chiefly in our lake or canal, in our elevators or our railways, in our shops or our factories, or in any or all of these. Our special pride is in the healthfulness and attractiveness of Buffalo as a place of residence, in the parks of shade-trees that border our broad and pleasant streets, and in the fact that a larger proportion of our population than is usual in larger cities live in modest independence in comfortable homes owned by themselves.

You come to us from your several nations bearing a commission which accredits each of you as the representative of his Government, and your mission is therefore diplomatic in its character. Of diplomacy of the various kinds of which we have read in history, and of much of that which we have heard in our own time, the world has had enough, and, as some wise and good men have thought, far too much. But of the diplomacy of the kind sought by and through the International American Congress, of which you are representatives, the world has seen far too little. That Congress has no other aim or purpose than to seek, by friendly conference and inquiry, to promote and secure in largest measure the prosperity and well being and happiness of all the people of all these widely separated nations.

You come to us, not after the manner of diplomatists of the olden time, seeking, through fear or subtlety, by fraud or force, to gain some advantage for one nation over others, but you come to us in due season, each from his own people, opening to us a new chapter from that old-time Heaven-sent message of "Peace on earth, good will to men." [Applause.] No nobler mission between independent States was ever undertaken. As the worthy and honored representatives of the Governments whose commissions you bear, as the guests of our nation, coming among us on such a mission, we give you each and all a most cordial welcome to our city and to its best and warmest hospitality.

Henry W. Box, the toast-master, after a brief felicitous speech, proposed the toast, "The United States of America," and called on John G. Milburn to respond to it. Mr. Milburn said:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: Some years ago I heard a distinguished gentleman deliver a series of historical addresses in this city. He began one of them with a story which has some application to it. I remember he called it "A Legend of the Civil War." The scene is a dinner given in Paris to the Americans residing there. When toasts were in order one gentleman arose and gave "The United States, bounded on the north by British America, on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, on the east by the Atlantic, and on the west by the Pacific Ocean." This did not satisfy an enthusiastic gentleman at the table—a gentleman of an imaginative, if not prophetic turn of mind—for he arose and proposed "The United States, bounded on the north by the North Pole, on the south by the South Pole, on the east by the rising, and on the west by the setting sun." Then a still more enthusiastic gentleman arose—a gentleman from the West—one who scorned the limitations of space and the contracted terms of geography, and he gave "The United States, bounded on the north by the aurora borealis, on the south by the precession of the equinoxes, on the east by the primeval chaos, and on the west by the day of judgment."

I am asked to speak for the United States. Shall I take the United States as it is, or as it is likely to be in the working out of the probable destiny, or shall I confuse its boundaries with the aurora borealis, or the day of judgment? The forecast of our exuberant and hopeful western friend, who resorted to the heavens for a boundary to American progress, I shall not meddle with, but the first two toasts which the legend records brings us face to face with practical questions.

The United States to-day stretches from British North America to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean—a vast, powerful, magnificent country. It has been an independent nation for only a little over a hundred years. The story of its past reads like a romance; the possibilities of its future strike the imagination dumb. It is with trepidation I venture to say a word on the subject.

First and foremost the United States means 60,000,000 of people, drawn from many different races, living peacefully under one Government, and the corner-stones of that Government are liberty, equality, fraternity. Such a sight the world has never seen before. The sovereign power is the people; the work of government is done by agents and servants, delegated from time to time to do it. The only master is the people; the final warrant of all political power and authority is the popular vote. We are all equal before the law; there is not a semblance of class privileges or class distinctions. The lowliest citizen may attain the highest political and civic honors; the official head of the nation, as a citizen of the United States, has no

greater rights before the law than the humblest among us. We welcome to our shores whoever comes unbound and willing to work, no matter what his nationality, language or creed, and the feeling of fraternity is so strong, the hospitality so open, the sense of unity so keen, that the heterogenous mass of foreigners ever arriving is so rapidly absorbed and transformed that the near future will find us one people, speaking one language, loyal in heart and feeling to one and the same Government—Americans in instinct, Americans to the core. [Applause.]

The history of the United States is the history of democracy justified and triumphant; of a self-governing people; of a vast population living and working out life's problems in the sunshine of free institutions. These institutions have stood the strain of internal commotions, of civil war, of the economic changes wrought by the extraordinary increase of population, territory and wealth, and they are our precious possessions to-day undiminished in their vitality and unshorn of any of their dignity. The great Lincoln expressed it all when he said that this was a "Government of the people, for the people, by the people."

Turning to our material prosperity and development, words almost fail one to give it adequate expression. No exaggeration is necessary. Our distinguished visitors are seeing it with their own eyes. They must have been impressed with what they saw in the East; they will continue to be so as they traverse the three thousand miles to the Pacific, and as they view the renewed South. On every side of them, wherever they may be, they will witness the unfailing signs of industrial and agricultural prosperity. I need not quote statistics to establish a fact, the evidence of which is found all over the land in the smoking chimneys of the factories; the flocks and herds and crops; the rich mines; the thousands upon thousands of miles of railway, and the vast, busy, thriving population.

And our wealth and material prosperity have done and are doing this for us. No unprejudiced man can look seriously at this country and the social life of its people without being impressed by the extent of its civilization in the highest sense. Not only is there unparalleled diffusion of the comforts of life and the opportunities of education, but everywhere there are signs of intellectual and moral virility expressing itself in the social occupations and enjoyments of the people, in institutions of all kinds, and in the vigor, alertness, and intelligence of our men and women.

Such is this country to me; such are the reasons why I am proud to be a citizen of the United States, and why the stars and stripes are to me an emblem of the bright future of the human race.

Let me recur now for a moment to the second toast of our legend, "The United States, bounded on the north by the North Pole, and on the south by the South Pole." I would amend it, so that our distinguished guests may acquit us of looking with longing or greedy eyes toward their continent. I say, "The United States, bounded on the north by the North Pole, on the south, by the Gulf of Mexico, and

bound to her sister continent to the south by indissoluble ties of fraternal good will and mutually advantageous commercial relations."

The United States as it is, a great, prosperous and thriving country, meets you fellow-Americans of the Southern continent practically at the Isthmus, and may this representative visit on your part augur closer and closer relations.

This allusion to our relations suggests the inquiry, what is necessary to cement them? The proprieties of this occasion require us to eschew politics, but aside from politics and all burning questions may we not hope that the time will soon come when this country will feel strong enough and confident enough in its own resources to open its markets to all the world that it may itself have the fullest access to all the other markets of the world—particularly the markets of South America? May we not hope that we shall soon have the wisdom to commit ourselves to a policy which will build up for us a merchant marine second to none in the world, that will bear on the bosom of the ocean to the ports of other countries the products of our skill and the products of our soil, and bring back to free and open ports in our country what of their products we need?

I do not know when the exigencies of party strife will allow the advent of that propitious time, but I know that the signs of the times indicate its nearness and the logic of events make it inevitable. This is no dream. It is as fixed a fact as gravitation. We are slowly seeing it, and when we fairly grasp it the practical sense of this people will insist upon its realization. And when that time comes, when the era of reciprocity and free commercial intercourse dawns, the solidarity of the northern and southern continents of America will be insured, to the great gain of themselves and the whole world.

"The International American Congress" was the next toast, and it was responded to by Delegate Guzman, of Nicaragua, who said :

Gentlemen : I desire first to thank your honorable mayor and these other gentlemen for their very kind expressions toward us. I feel highly honored in being called on to respond for myself and my colleagues to this toast. It is no easy matter, I assure you, to make speeches in a foreign language, and if any of you should doubt it he can get up and try it. [Laughter and applause.]

Gentlemen, in the name of my honorable colleagues of the International American Conference I desire to say that we are highly grateful for the warm and generous reception we have met wherever we have been, and in no place have we been so agreeably entertained as in Buffalo, where the ladies have united with the gentlemen to make our visit pleasant. The idea of inviting the Latin-American Republics to this Conference was a great idea, and it does honor to the able and broad-minded statesman who conceived it. [Great and prolonged applause.] His name I need not mention ; you all know him.

We have come to the United States to study and to learn. You have many things to teach us ; I trust that we can teach you something. You can teach us a great deal politically, commercially, and socially. Politically you have established the greatest Republic of the world. You have made of this land what another gentleman said a while ago, the land of liberty, equality, and fraternity. You have given to the world a living example of what a great people can do under liberal and wise institutions. Commercially you have established in America a system of interstate communication which is the wonder of the century. Socially you have made a revolution in the world by the liberal education of women. In your country woman occupies a position loftier than in any other country on the face of the earth. You were the first to understand that a great republic needs good, useful, well-educated, and intelligent citizens, and you know that only enlightened mothers could make them. [Applause.]

In this land of the free, where the word tyrant is unknown, there is a monarch on a throne, and that monarch, to whom we all bow cheerfully, gratefully, and willingly, is woman. Permit me, gentlemen, to propose a toast: "The United States, the land of the free; may it be in the future what it has been in the past—the refuge of the poor and the oppressed; and may the day speedily arrive when the Stars and Stripes floating from the masts of American merchant vessels will greet the traveler's eye in every quarter of the globe." [Loud applause.]

In responding to the toast, "The City of Buffalo," E. Carleton Sprague, speaking for James O. Putnam, who was indisposed, said he knew of no city in which social position depends less upon wealth and display than Buffalo.

Ostentation and sham never found and do not find favor here. A more absolute purity of morals and absence of scandal can not be found in any other city in the world. For this happy state of affairs we are largely indebted to the ladies of Buffalo, whose beauty, intelligence, and character are unsurpassed. They know how to unite the social duties with benevolence and sincere piety. The extremes of poverty and riches do not exist in Buffalo, as in most of the large cities of the United States. The general, intellectual, moral, and spiritual condition of Buffalo is equal to any city in the world that is not superior to us. [Laughter.] I have arrived at this conclusion only after mature deliberation.

Turning then to the Conference and the work that was before it, Mr. Sprague said that all appreciated the aggressiveness and diplomacy of Secretary Blaine in the matter. Those present indorsed the statement very vigorously.

The next toast was "The Delegates from New York." Delegate Bliss responded for himself and his colleague, Delegate Flint. He said:

This Conference of American Republics has been considered and talked of ever since the days when the Monroe doctrine was promulgated. The Conference is non-partisan in every way, and is designed to meet the wants of all the people of all the parties in all the sixteen Republics immediately interested. The results of the Conference will affect not only the 120,000,000 of people now inhabiting these countries, but the countless millions which will occupy them in the centuries when we shall be gone.

Briefly Mr. Bliss advocated the payment of bounties to American merchant vessels, and closed his address with the sentiment "America for Americans."

Delegate Varas, of Chili, responded to the toast "Our Guests." He made no lengthy speech but said:

We are happy to be the guests of this hospitable and great nation—the freest country in the world—the first in peace, the first in liberty, and the first in American fraternity.

State Senator John Laughlin responded to "Reciprocity," and in so doing mentioned several things which might advantageously be discussed by the Conference.

Rev. Father Cronin was called upon for an impromptu sentiment, and he came to the front with an eloquent eulogy of Isabella of Spain, without whom Columbus would never have made his successful voyage to the New World.

"The Spanish-American Commercial Union, of New York," was the subject given F. G. Pierra. The story of the formation of that body was told as briefly as possible, and then the banquet and oratory came to an end.

THIRTEENTH DAY.

THE VISIT TO ERIE.

Over the tracks of the Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway the special train left Buffalo at 8 o'clock on the morning of Tuesday, October 15. Two hours and a quarter later and it drew up at the station at Erie, Pa. The major portion of the population was in waiting, and things

generally had a holiday appearance. An energetic committee of citizens proved speedily that the welcome was an earnest one. Carriages were provided, and the entire party enjoyed a ride in the purest of fresh air. The busy town was inspected and admired, without any stops being made, until 11.30, western time, when, with a parting cheer from the crowds and a combined effort from every steam-whistle and bell in the place, the train proceeded on its way to Cleveland. The souvenirs from Erie were large illustrated works in which the local industries were fully described, miniature steam-whistles from the Jarecki Manufacturing Company, and little brass anvils on which was stamped the name of the town and the date of the visit.

From the time the train left Buffalo the delegates had been practically taken possession of by representatives of Cleveland. The gentlemen who did escort duty were Mayor Gardner and W. M. Day, secretary of the general committee on reception and entertainment. At Painesville more of the Cleveland committee men got on the train, the new arrivals being J. B. Perkins, Amos Townsend, Dan. P. Eells, S. A. Fallor, and John C. Covert. The brief stop at Painesville gave the people of that place an opportunity to cheer loudly and frequently for the nation's guests; the opportunity was not neglected.

There were more committee-men at the Union depot at Cleveland, but there was no ceremonious greeting. The train was at once switched off to the Cleveland and Pittsburgh Railway Company's tracks and run out to Newburg. While this was being done the programme of the pleasures arranged by the city of Cleveland—a beautiful souvenir—was distributed to every one of the visitors.

Much enthusiasm was apparent along the route, workmen at the various manufacturing establishments frequently sending up cheers as the train passed on. The Glidden & Joy Varnish Company erected an arch near their works and on it was the inscription: "Welcome all Americans."

The train stopped on the side-track in front of the Northern Ohio Asylum for the Insane, and there the visitors and committees got out. Headed by a band the del-

legates and their escorts marched up to the asylum building, the roadway being fringed by about five hundred of the patients whose insanity was of a mild or harmless type. Superintendent Jamin Strong took charge of the party and conducted it through the various buildings. Governor Foraker arrived before the tour was completed and held an impromptu reception in one of the halls. A collation had been prepared for the visitors but none of the members of the Conference party could partake because there were other places to visit before the return was made to Cleveland, and the time allotted to the asylum had expired.

THE VISIT TO CLEVELAND.

The great establishment of the Cleveland Rolling Mill Company at Newburg were inspected, and the various interesting processes closely watched by those who had never seen a rolling-mill before. The Emma Blast Furnace was also visited.

At the Willson Avenue station in Cleveland the party alighted and was conveyed in two three-car trains—electric motors—to Euclid avenue and Erie street, from which point they walked to the Stillman House, where the members were assigned to rooms.

The banquet was at the Stillman House and was attended by all the excursionists and by the following local gentlemen: D. A. Dangler, Thomas Joplin, H. R. Groff, S. C. Ford, F. N. Reed, H. B. Childs, George W. Cady, H. W. Avery, A. T. Hubbard, C. M. Sturtevant, J. C. Weideman, H. W. White, C. W. Schofield, E. T. Scovill, D. B. Chambers, F. O. Spencer, C. Morris, C. L. Pack, W. P. Rice, S. M. Strong, J. D. Selzer, John Walker, Edwin Cowles, Dan P. Eells, R. H. Jenks, Maj. W. W. Armstrong, S. P. Ely, Col. William Edwards, Maj. W. C. Overman, U. S. A.; Lieutenant Pettitt, U. S. A.; E. H. Perdue, W. M. Day, James F. Rhodes, A. S. Upson, S. H. Chisholm, S. S. Bloom, George W. Short, H. O. Beck, Lewis Miller, Col. John Hay, Fayette Brown, W. J. McKinnie, J. F. Whitelaw, F. F. Hickox, S. A. Fuller, S. C. Smith, D. E. Cole, J. F. Pankhurst, John Thomas.

Luther Allen, M. T. Herrick, L. H. Severance, Benson Foraker, J. B. Perkins, Senator H. B. Payne, Amos Townsend, Hermon Bronson, C. C. Burnett, Col. James Pickands, Capt. H. S. Wetmore, Gov. J. B. Foraker, Senator Sherman, M. A. Hanna, William Bingham, Charles F. Brush, Leander McBride, Gen. James Barnett, George W. Gardner, Rev. S. P. Sprecher, D. D.; Judge A. J. Ricks, J. H. Hoyt, William Chisholm, P. G. Roeder, Martin A. Foran, Col. R. C. Parsons, Judge S. Burke, John Newell, Dr. G. C. Ashmun, J. C. Covert, A. T. Brinsmade, Col. T. H. Anderson, George W. Stockley, H. P. Lillibridge, W. G. Pollock, J. H. King, J. H. Dalliba, O. B. Myer, Daniel Myers, John Tod, Ralph D. Williams, C. B. Williams, John T. Bourke, Felix Rosenberg, M. L. Smyser, E. R. Perkins, W. H. Parkin, A. C. Hoard, J. L. Hudson, Guy Gray, M. B. Schawb, F. Muhlhauser, Joseph Black, G. H. Burt, N. P. Bowler, N. D. Fisher, F. H. Glidden, George Duckett, J. F. Isham, C. Jaster, J. H. Herrick, J. S. Dickle, M. B. Clark, H. R. Hatch, F. A. Sterling, O. M. Bourke, George Deming, J. G. Hower, and T. H. White.

The banqueters stood behind their chairs while the Rev. Dr. Sprecher, of the Euclid Avenue Presbyterian Church, invoked the divine blessing, and when that was concluded took their seats and discussed the menu until Senator Payne, who presided, arose and spoke as follows:

Gentlemen: The purpose of this Congress, so called, the object to be attained by it, the motives which inspired it, were all so beautifully expressed in the address of Secretary Blaine to the Congress on its first meeting in Washington, that it renders unnecessary any explanation of its purpose by me. It is declared by the President through the Secretary of State that the object of this excursion is to enable the members of the Congress from the other American states to study and to learn the condition of our Government and of our people. A secondary purpose named by the Secretary is that we at our homes, American citizens, might have the pleasure and the privilege of entertaining these gentlemen as guests and becoming acquainted with them. So far as furnishing facilities for studying our condition is concerned, there is certainly no concealment and no desire to conceal anything from the view of these intelligent gentlemen. They are statesmen, familiar with what indicates the resources and greatness of a country; and they come for the express purpose of learning whether we are worthy in the future to be more intimately associated with them in their Government.

We invite the most thorough and critical examination of whatever we possess. Speaking for the city of Cleveland, its industries and its men of enterprise, and saying what indeed can be said for the whole American people, we bid them welcome. Enter our shops, our manufactories, come to our arms and our hearts examine everything that we have, and if you find we are not worthy of that association which is contemplated, be kind enough to say so and leave us alone. I will not therefore detain you by any further remarks of my own. The time is so short that the addresses of others must necessarily be very brief, and I am desired by the committee to so express it to those who are to take part in them. The first address will be by Hon. George W. Gardner, mayor of the city of Cleveland.

Mayor Gardner, arising, addressed the assemblage as follows:

My Brother Americans: Because I know that you have been continuously feasted and have not been permitted to fast, and because I know that you have been continuously kept on the wing and not permitted to rest, I shall address you very briefly now, and I give that as a hint to the other speakers. It has been with the liveliest interest that our citizens have kept themselves informed of the formation of the International American Congress—the first gathering at Washington of the delegates, the preparations for an extensive journey; and when it was announced that Cleveland stood prominent in the itinerary there came at once an expression of delight that we were to be favored with the presence of a number of distinguished men representing so importantly so many American republics and the Empire of Brazil; a gathering such as never before have we had and such as will be a memorable occasion in the history of our city. And now that you have safely arrived, it is with the utmost pleasure that we meet and greet you as our guests. Since we know that we shall regret your final departure, so do we regret that your visit with us, in our beautiful city of Cleveland, is to be of such short duration that time will not permit us to do as we would like in extending hospitality or showing the extent and importance of one of the most progressive and enterprising cities of North America.

Fully appreciating the importance of the Congress and of the value of the impressions you may receive from viewing and in reviewing in debate, we are desirous of doing our part in the exhibit of material matter so mutually interesting to all good people. As you journey on you may possibly be impressed with the magnitude of the wonderful industrial development, the harmonious social and political system, the public benefits and the manner of living in this North America of ours. That we may add to a favorable impression we desire that you should know that there is scarcely another city in the Union that contains within its municipal limits so varied and so many industrial interests, whose people are more energetic, enterprising and progressive, or who more thoroughly believe in the conservation of the general welfare of

all the American States. It is but little more than fifty years since Cleveland's birth as a city, and less than forty years since that great aid to progress—the first railroad—gave us an impetus, and now, with a population verging on to 300,000 and a territory of thirty square miles, we are the home of the electric light and appliances, and of the Standard Oil Company, whose president thirty years ago was an employé here. We are constructing annually more tonnage in iron, steel, and wooden ships than any other city inland or coastwise; ships that for beauty and stability of lines, relative carrying capacity and speed, are the equals of any built in any part of the world; and in this connection we are the sellers, receivers, and shippers of many hundreds of thousands of tons of iron ore and coal annually. We have immense forge and blast works, extensive manufactories of sewing machines, tools, drills, and agricultural implements, not excelled; manufactories of steel screws and steel shovels; street railway cable and electric motor systems; manufactories of every manner of railroad construction supplies, and vast steel and iron products of every description; of scientific appliances, in one of which was constructed but recently the largest telescope in the world; and other manufacturing interests that at the moment I can not recall, whose products are all of a superior quality. I might mention right here that our young ladies are especially interested in one, because it is one of the largest manufactories of chewing gum in the country. Whether Para gum is a prominent ingredient or not I am not informed, but it is certain that Yucatan is the favorite brand, and that the ladies prefer it, as does the proprietor, who in an incredibly short time has accumulated an independent fortune from its sale.

We have thousands of happy homes in dwellings of modern architecture, owned as they are and occupied by contented mechanics and laborers, for whose children are provided the best school advantages, including manual training. To such a city we give you a hearty welcome.

We enjoy the feeling that social and commercial relations are most desirable with all America, and that it is not by forcible conquest that we would secure this, but by relations of the most friendly character. We know that your natural resources are very great, that your ambition is to keep pace with this progressive world, and we desire to go hand in hand with you for our mutual benefit. The opportunity is now a common one, and we have the liveliest anticipation, impressing us with a belief that something permanent of the greatest value to all will result from the conference in which you are soon to be engaged. May the highest expectations of the possibilities of future greatness to the three Americas be fully realized, so that a bond of sympathy may unite them in one grand, harmonious sisterhood of nations! [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. There seems to be some doubt as to what we are here for. If there is any one present who

can answer that question it is certainly our friend and former fellow townsman, Mr. William Eleroy Curtis.

Mr. Curtis said :

Perhaps it has not occurred to you, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, that under the folds of these dainty flags sit the representatives of sixteen independent nations ; the representatives of one hundred and twenty millions of the fairest women and the bravest men on earth !

And what are they here for ? What brings them together ?

Sympathy ! Brotherhood !

There are no quarrels to settle ; there are no injuries to repair ; but every man has a common purpose and that purpose the common good.

The world never saw an assemblage like this before ; and it is appropriate that the world should see it here, on the soil of the greatest of republics, the home of the oldest of the group. I thank you, sir, and the people among whom my boyhood days were passed, for your splendid hospitality and the welcome you have given these distinguished gentlemen.

They come from nations founded upon the same idea that caused ours to exist. Men of their race fought with our fathers for the freedom of this land, and before Simon Bolivar entered upon his matchless career he—the founder of five republics who are represented here to-night—visited the tomb of Washington and there consecrated his life to the cause of human liberty. [Applause.]

But, Mr. Chairman, our friends have furnished *us* examples also. Many years before the emancipation proclamation was signed by Abraham Lincoln every slave in our sister republics was free ; and within the present year the Empire of Brazil has released the last bondsman on this hemisphere. [Applause.] And it was they who inspired this Congress. Before you were born, Mr. Chairman, Bolivar proposed it, but the consummation of the purpose was left for Mr. Blaine. [Great applause.]

Thus, to-day we and our sister nations stand bound by every tie but that of trade. The fifty millions of people south of the Caribbean and the Rio Grande are engaged in a commerce that reaches a thousand million dollars annually, and has increased 43 per cent. since 1870, but of this vast expansion the United States has had but a trifling share.

Our own growth has been amazing. Our population has almost doubled in the last twenty years. The products of our manufactories have leaped from four to eight billions of dollars, and our national wealth from thirty to fifty-six billions. But amid this prodigious development our export trade to Latin America has stood almost still. It has increased but seventeen millions from 1868 to 1888, and the greatest gain has been within the last two years. Our import trade has grown more rapidly, until last year we bought 35 per cent. of what the other American nations had to sell, but sold them only 15 per cent. of what they purchased. This phenomenon is not new and it need not

be surprising. It has been exhibited for more than a quarter of a century, and since the close of our late war we have paid these friendly neighbors in the settlement of accounts a sum in cash greater than the principal of our public debt.

During the last twenty years the balance against us in our trade with Latin America has been nearly three thousand million dollars, which we have paid in gold. And they have spent the money in Europe for merchandise, 70 per cent. of which might have been purchased here of better quality and at similar prices. Take our trade with Brazil as an illustration. During the last thirty years we have purchased more than a billion dollars worth of her produce and have sold to her but \$216,000,000 worth of ours, and have paid in cash to settle this balance, the enormous sum of \$798,000,000, almost every penny of which has gone into the pockets of English merchants and manufacturers. Nor is this all. During these years we have paid British ship-owners, at the rate of \$10 a ton, \$24,000,000 for carrying this produce, and the bankers of London more than \$8,000,000 more as exchange.

Brazil is not to be blamed for it. It is our own fault. She wants to trade with us, but we refuse to furnish her the facilities. The British and German manufacturers have to forge our trade-marks to sell their goods in Brazil, and she gives liberal subsidies to our ships to which we refuse even the meager compensation that is paid the flat-boats upon the Ohio River. But for the broad-minded policy of that grand old Emperor, whose true throne is in the hearts of his people, we could send no mail to Brazil. It was his enterprise that established the present line of American steam-ships, and his generosity that keeps them afloat. [Appluse.] He paid them \$100,000 as a subsidy last year. The United States Government offered them \$11,000—\$1,000 less than was paid to the little steam-boat that plies six months in the year between Wood's Holl and Nantucket [laughter], but they declined it, and said they would rather carry the mails for nothing than accept such paltry pay.

To this policy, Mr. Chairman, on the part of our Congress, is due the condition of our foreign trade. We do everything to facilitate commerce upon land, but nothing to encourage commerce upon the ocean. We leave the ocean freights to the ship-owners of other nations, and pay them \$300,000,000 a year for our folly. Years ago our Government did something to encourage its merchant marine. In 1858 71 per cent. of our foreign commerce was carried in our own ships. Last year they carried 14 per cent. In 1858 the total cost of our mail service was \$5,000,000, and of this sum \$1,589,000 was paid the ships that carried our mails and our flag to Latin America. In 1888 the total cost of our mail service was \$56,000,000, of which the sum of \$48,966, was expended to maintain communication with all the foreign ports on this hemisphere, or within a few dollars of the amount paid for special mail service between Weldon, N. C., and Florence, S. C., and yet we wonder why we have no trade. [Laughter and applause.]

Until we resume our former policy; until we do as other nations do; until we afford the same facilities for reaching foreign markets to our merchants that the merchants of other nations enjoy, it is absurd for us to expect any different conditions or to attempt the extension of our trade. Every little hamlet that is born in the West is given a post-office and a mail by rail or stage-coach as soon as it is christened, no matter what the cost, but the moment an attempt is made to send a mail to these markets south of us, with a commerce of a thousand millions a year, somebody gets up and cries "subsidy!" and our cowardly Congress runs.

Do you know, Mr. Chairman, that we are the only people on earth that are afraid of that word? Do you know that the United States is the only nation that is ashamed to pay its ships decent compensation? Do you know what other nations pay? Here is a statement showing the amount of money paid last year (1888) by the several nations of the world as bounties, subsidies, and other forms of mail compensation to the ships that carry their flags and products upon the sea:

France, \$6,792,778; England, \$4,269,874; Italy, \$3,503,000; Germany, \$3,131,000; the Argentine Republic, \$3,000,000 [applause]; Brazil, \$1,700,000 [applause]; Spain, \$1,700,000; the Netherlands, \$775,000; Mexico, \$758,000 [applause]; Canada, \$730,000; Japan, \$500,000; Russia, \$454,000; Belgium, \$430,000; Austria, \$363,000; the Australian colonies, \$280,000; Chili, \$225,000 [applause]; Portugal, \$108,000; the little island of Trinidad, \$98,000; the little island of Barbadoes, \$90,000; the island of Jamaica, \$72,000; the other West India Islands, \$72,000; New Zealand, \$56,000; Norway and Sweden, \$41,000; Guatemala, \$34,000 [applause]; the little island of Tobago, \$25,000; San Salvador, \$24,000 [applause]; the Bahama Islands, \$18,500; Nicaragua, \$16,000 [applause]; Honduras, \$12,500 [applause]; Costa Rica, \$12,000 [applause]; British Honduras, \$7,500; and the United States, \$48,000! [Groans and derisive cries.]

I will not tax your patience longer than to say that the time will come when the shipping question will not be so deeply involved in our commerce with Central and South America as it is to-day. The time will come—we may not see it, but our children will—when a rolling hotel, like that which brought us here, will pass through Cleveland daily for Buenos Ayres and Valparaiso, with branch lines to other cities on the coasts of either sea, and find its destination at a little city called Punta Arenas, that lies like a lonely hermit in the Straits of Magellan.

And that is what we are here for! [Prolonged and enthusiastic applause.]

The CHAIRMAN: The entertainment will be diversified by a little music. "The Miller's Song" will be rendered by the Arion Quartette.

After the song was concluded and had been applauded Senator Payne continued :

On every occasion of this kind it is proper that the President of the United States should be remembered. The next toast is "The President of the United States." We have here to-night one of his appointees to the Federal judiciary, Hon. A. J. Ricks, who will respond to this toast.

Judge Ricks spoke as follows :

Whatever differences of opinion may have heretofore existed as to the best form of government for men to adopt, the tendency of the last century has all been toward self-government. As education becomes more general, the people contend for greater personal rights, and as rapidly as time and circumstances permit, the changes are all in the direction of enlarging those rights and making the authority of the rulers less and less arbitrary. In responding to the toast assigned me to-night, "The President of the United States," I speak of an office recognized throughout the world as representing the greatest number who have ever for so long a period demonstrated the success of a government "of the people, for the people, and by the people."

If I were to assume for our distinguished guests all the knowledge usually possessed by the most intelligent strangers, as to the extent of our territory, the thrift and prosperity of our people, the value and diversity of our productions, and the contentment and comforts of our homes, I would nevertheless be safe in supposing that they have already found their expectations realized and are now prepared for future revelations that will bring surprises and we may hope even amazement. If I am correct in this, I feel sure that they will not wonder if I presume to respond to this toast in the usual spirit of self-satisfaction and pride characteristic of the American citizen when called upon to express his opinion of the dignity, honor, and power that belong to the office of our Chief Executive. These attributes are the more readily conceded, because the office is within the proper ambition and reach of the humblest citizen, and is the pinnacle to which the young are continually directed as representing the sum of all their hope and ambition. You have been invited to meet the representatives of the United States and to confer as to the treaties and regulations that may be found necessary to more perfectly facilitate our commercial relations. You have been shown our varied industries, the skill of our artisans, and the enterprise of our producers, and all the advantages of the American markets will be put before you in the most attractive way. But we all, I know, concur in the opinion that with the nation as with the citizen there should be an aspiration higher than to multiply riches and to supply the markets of the world. A nation may control the money transactions of a continent and its commerce may whiten every sea, and yet the streets of its chief cities may be crowded

with idle workingmen and thousands of its homes filled with squalor. We hope you will find here the indications of a better national policy. We hope that your deliberations may result in such legislation and treaties as will prove of mutual good and the upbuilding in this continent of a better civilization than the world ever before enjoyed. We hope for such relations and intercourse between us as will build happy homes in North and South America, where want to the honest laborer shall never be known, and where the development of thriving industries shall keep pace with the blazing firesides around which gather a contented, educated, and christianized people. We hope the light from these homes, stretching from the frozen shores of British America to the southernmost shores of Patagonia, will be so radiant as to be a beacon to all the down-trodden people of all nations, towards which all may look who strive for happy homes, well-compensated labor, and self-government.

To attain such grand results is worthy the effort and ambition of a great people; and we know enough of the past life and high purpose of our present Chief Executive to know that he would promote such aims with all the power and influence of his high office. And how much influence for good a great and wise man in the executive office can exert was illustrated during the war, when one of the noblest and best rulers of all times, during seasons of distress and mistrust, led his people through the valleys of tribulation to the mount of hope and lofty patriotism, where the fiat of emancipation by the pen and sword was given vitality; where a race was liberated from servitude, and nation delivered from the perils of rebellion. Our political parties make vigorous and aggressive contests for control of the Government at the stated election periods, and the partisan controversy is often heated and passes the bounds of proper decorum. The liberty of the press is exercised with so much license that the private lives of candidates are put under a calcium light that brings to the surface all the actual shortcomings that ever existed and makes defects where none were ever suspected. But through the fiery ordeal the candidates pass, and when the struggle is ended and the successful contestant comes to assume the duties of office the people accord to him the support and loyal obedience which the law prescribes and the respect which his conduct merits. And I believe I can truthfully say to-night that no personally corrupt and profligate man has ever been called by the people to the Presidential chair. [Applause]. No barter and sale of Presidential favors has ever been made in the White House, and no American citizen has ever been humiliated at the thought that the channels of executive patronage have been polluted and the President made a beneficiary thereby. [Applause]. What people can recall the rulers of a century and say so much? What country can boast of a succession of kings, or queens, or emperors, whose personal characters would bear the test of personal criticism to which an American President is subjected?

I go further, and say that no President personally corrupt would ever

be permitted to serve his constitutional term. With daily papers in every community, leveling the electric kodak upon him, no man whose daily life was polluted could withstand the storm of censure, rebuke, and indignation that would be showered upon him and survive. He would call upon the mountains to fall upon him and bury him from public view. The White House would be worse than Hades and an uninsulated electric wire would not carry death to him fast enough to relieve him from the fury of an outraged public. We have had Presidents whose political policy has been the subject of severe censure and public trial—one whose failure to enforce the constitution and laws precipitated secession; but severely as history has condemned his want of courage, no one ever assailed his personal integrity or his personal conduct in the White House. A hundred years of executive rule, and yet not one established instance of personal corruption or profligacy in our Presidential successions! This is a reflection in which we may justly feel proud. I point you to it with gratification to-night, and I hope that in the long line of Presidents yet to come, Democrat or Republican, no one will be chosen who will break this uninterrupted line of honorable conduct. I need not invoke the charity of partisan criticism in unqualified praise of the personal honor, ability, or patriotism of the present incumbent of the Presidential chair. This is not the time or place for praise of his official record. But I can safely claim for him all I have said of his predecessors, and feel sure in predicting that whenever he may lay aside the duties of his high office he will retire with the undiminished admiration and respect of the American people for the purity of his private life and for the dignity, ability, and honor with which he will have discharged the duties of his great trust. This much I might say if I differed from him in political sentiment. To say more than men of such belief can concede would trench upon the proprieties of the occasion.

I beg, therefore, to say in conclusion, and to propose as the sentiment of all assembled: "The Presidents of the United States—a line of rulers whose private and official lives have thus far vindicated the wisdom of the American people in reserving to themselves the right to choose their own Chief Executive."

The chairman then said:

We have now reached that point in the programme where it is very proper for this company to express their opinion of what we are here for. It is to meet the distinguished and eminent men who represent our sister republic. The next toast, "Our Sister Republics," will be responded to by the eminent ex-President of Ecuador, Señor Jose M. Placido Caamano, and will be interpreted by Mr. Pierra.

Señor Caamano said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: Being a citizen of a foreign nation, I take the liberty, in this land of freedom, to address you with words in my own language, for although with some effort I might express

myself in English, I do not wish on an occasion like this to subordinate my heart to my head, but I feel that I must allow my ideas to flow freely and without obstruction.

Moreover, I speak in the language common to forty millions of inhabitants, most brilliantly represented here, and among whom are comprised the greater part of the illustrious representatives of the United States of North America and Brazil. It is only recently that I joined this body of gentlemen from the Three Americas, but nevertheless I have already had the opportunity to measure the virility of this nation, whose power is beyond encomium. The restless and amazing activity, the spirit of continual labor, her great common sense translated into the love of liberty and respect for her institutions; her enterprising genius, her manufactures, her charitable institutions, her schools, her inventions, her agriculture—all these impress and rouse the enthusiasm and admiration of those who have the opportunity to contemplate them. There is no limit, and there is no obstacle to the carrying out of her aspirations, and while satisfying them ever extending them to remoter horizons. [Applause.]

It seems as if she is ever attempting to possess herself of all the secrets of nature, and aspiring to realize impossibilities. This charming excursion gives us the opportunity to observe the value of time properly distributed and scientifically improved, and will furnish us with facts which will be factors not to be forgotten by us when engaged in the consideration of the subjects which bring us to this sister republic, whose generous and courteous welcome is fully appreciated by all the representatives of Mexico, Central and South America. I desire to speak in behalf of them all, because of having been selected to address you on the occasion of this magnificent banquet offered to us by this flourishing city. [Applause.]

The Arion Quartet then sang "The Star Spangled Banner," the entire assemblage taking up the chorus. After the applause had subsided, Senator Payne introduced Senator John Sherman, as follows:

Wherever veterans of the late war or members of the Grand Army of the Republic meet, there is a cheer and a hurrah for "Tecumseh," the General. So, wherever American civilians are found in any part of our country there is a welcome and an acclaim for John Sherman, the Senator. No person in the executive or congressional departments of our Government understands our foreign relations more perfectly than Senator Sherman. He has been for years the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, and so far as my observations extend he has never made a mistake. You will have the pleasure of listening to Senator Sherman. [Great applause.]

Senator Sherman's address was as follows :

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen : I have been called upon to respond

to the toast which my colleague has failed to read to you, but which I will read, and that is, "The Congress of the American States." This toast is but the expression of a hope that has been entertained by many of the greatest statesmen of the United States ever since the other American States renounced their allegiance to foreign powers. We have not, however, always kept to that faith or to that hope. Henry Clay, as early as 1818, when favoring the recognition of the South American States, declared that the time would come when these States of the American continents would be bound together by ties enduring forever and forever. President Monroe early in our history declared that the United States would never permit a European power to interfere with the autonomy or management of any American State. But we have not lived up to that dogma; and I must confess now, in the face of the statement made by my young friend here [Mr. Curtis], that the United States has not done its duty by the sister American States. We have failed to perform that duty which we owe to them as the elder sister. There is no question upon the statistics that he has given that this is true. But gentlemen from abroad as well as those at home must remember we have had our troubles here in America. We have had our differences as to the nature and form of our Government and as to the construction of the powers of the Government. We also have had of late years an unpleasantness that I do not care to allude to; but if it had happened to be settled differently from what it was settled, these United States would have been very uncomfortable neighbors to the South American States and of no use to them. But thank God and the courage of our people, that time has now passed. [Applause.] All the clouds that lowered upon our house are in the deep bosom of the ocean buried, and the United States of America, the first of this sisterhood of nations, is now strong and powerful and free, so that both North and South now unite together; and I can assure you, gentlemen, all who hear me, that now, without any division of parties, without any division of sections, by the unanimous vote of both Senate and House, we have invited you here to consider and confer as to what is best to be done for all the American States. [Applause.] And we have arrived at that condition where we are determined to do our part to reverse the record that has been here read against us. And I assure you that from this time forward the United States of America will be willing and anxious, without division of party or section, to do its full part to bring about the sisterhood of States we have been talking about. [Applause.]

Now, gentlemen, the Conference that is about to meet in Washington is in my judgment the most important political event that has happened on our continent since the declaration of American Independence. I look upon this Conference as bearing the same relations to the future of America as the conference of 1774 of the delegates from the thirteen British colonies of America bore to American Independence. That conference led to the Declaration of Independence; it

led to the Constitution of the United States; it led to American independence in all the South American States. But this Conference is more important than the conference of 1774, because now it affects the interests of one hundred and twenty millions of people, and that only affected the interests of three millions of people. This Conference affects the interests, not of thirteen scattered colonies—a small portion of the Atlantic coast—but the interests of three continents with sixteen Republics and one Empire, all of whom are now bound by ties which will grow stronger and stronger as time goes forward! [Applause.] And I say to the members of this Conference that if they perform the duties imposed upon them, if they are equal to the occasion, they will confer more blessings upon the people of these continents than any meeting that has ever been held in ancient or modern times.

Now, what are the objects of this Conference? First, we wish to establish the principle of pacific arbitration of all disputes that may arise between any of these American states; and that is one of the most glorious things that could happen. That is the way to disband armies, to convert naval warfare into pacific commerce. That is the means by which on this continent we may set an example not only to the nations of Europe but to the nations of all future ages in all parts of the habitable globe, that all controversies whatever between nations need not be settled by standing armies, but may be settled by the pacific arbitration of each with the other, and by kindly settlements without war and without armies.

Another thing that they propose to accomplish by this Conference is to increase our commerce by land and by sea. It is a disgrace to the American people, in speaking of the whole continent of America, that we have to depend upon Europe to carry the produce of Brazil to the United States and the produce of the United States to Brazil. We are able to do this duty ourselves, and one of the great objects of this Conference is to promote that free and direct commerce by American vessels on American waters from every part of this continent of ours to every other part. That is one great object.

Another is to remove all restrictions upon commerce, every impediment that will impede the free transportation of goods from one country to another, except such regulations as are necessary to protect the revenue laws of each, and to make those as liberal as possible. And I am almost willing to support the doctrine of free trade, when that free trade is confined to American States. [Applause.]

And that is not all. I want to see not only a commercial union between these sister States, but I want to see a union of hearts, a union of hands, and a union forever between the sister Republics, so that peace and plenty and prosperity may prevail, and each working in friendly rivalry may contribute to the prosperity and happiness of the other. Why, my friends, you gentlemen who compose this Conference, if you equal the opportunity that is now presented you will light a torch that will illumine the whole world, and confer untold blessings upon

mankind. You will make of American waters an American sea, not exclusive, not forbidding European vessels to come upon them, but you will make our trade so intimate and our relations so constant, that none but American means will be used.

Now what can be accomplished? Sometimes it is said that all this is a dream, and that we are walking in darkness, seeking the light vainly. I do not think so. The difficulties in the way of accomplishing all this are far less than were accomplished by the United States alone in the building of our railroads after the civil war. One thing we want is a railroad from New York to Buenos Ayres. Let us connect the Argentine Republic with the American Republic. Now, this is a far less difficult task than was done by the Union Pacific Railroad, because the links of this chain have already been largely forged. A railroad runs now to Mexico, and lines are already forming in South America. And whether done as a complete system or by connecting links, whenever that chain is completed we will then have transportation by rail from one end of this continent to the other, north and south, binding all these nations together, reaching by branch lines to the capital of every country. And I say to you, upon the statement of an eminent engineer, that the difficulties in accomplishing this work from Mexico south through Central America and right on down, will be easily overcome by the energy, the money and the united efforts of these American States, and it will cost less money and less physical labor than the work we have already accomplished in twenty years in the United States of America.

There is another thing we want; we want the construction of the Nicaragua Canal, or some other canal. Nature has planted in the Peninsula of Central America a fresh water lake, and it is connected by rivers, one to the Atlantic, and by a natural depression made for the very purpose of a canal from Nicaragua west to the Pacific Ocean. And American enterprise is now involved in building that canal; and I say to you that I know that that canal will be built, if Nicaragua and Costa Rica will do their part toward the enterprise. If there are any other modes of transportation across Central America which are feasible, let them be executed. It has been found that the Panama Canal can not be executed according to the original scheme, but let us put our shoulder to the wheel and do whatever can be accomplished. This Conference, although so modest and simple now, appears to me more like a grand Amphictyonic council of the ancient Grecians. Theirs was a conference to harmonize the interests of a few small nations; but this council is to cement the harmony between great and powerful nations, which twenty or fifty years from this time may contain from two hundred to three hundred millions of the freest and happiest people in the world. [Applause.]

Now, my countrymen, there is every reason in the world why we in the United States and why the people of these countries should carry out and carry on this magnificent and noble scheme. Our institutions

are alike. We all have free institutions, including the empire of Brazil, at the head of which is an intelligent and able and popular ruler. Our interests are of the same basis and the same plan. The difference in language is less on our continent than in any other; in Europe they have a dozen languages; in this country we have three, and I think we will melt them all into one grand American language before we get through with them. [Applause.]

We have no old feuds to quarrel over, as in France and Germany, where they stand with millions of men in arms ready to destroy each other; we have no such desire and no such intent. In the United States, where we have more population and wealth than the rest of the American States, we have no desire to acquire any portions of the territory of any other country in America; we are satisfied with our own. All we want is to help you and to secure the autonomy of your own countries, so that every nation in America may be sure that it has home rule for itself and non-interference from abroad! [Applause.] Now, I express the hope that this Conference—not a congress in itself, because I do not call this a congress—but that this Conference may lead to a Congress of American States, where chosen representatives from all the nations of America may meet together, take up these various questions, and decide upon them as we do in Congress upon matters affecting the interests of the people of the United States. When that good time comes, then America will be what it ought to be, a landmark and a light for future generations, an example to all the nations of the world; when sixteen Republics and one Empire may sleep together in peace and safety, without armies or war vessels, but only with the aims of modern civilization. [Long and enthusiastic applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. We have had the pleasure of listening to Mr. F. G. Pierra as the translator of another's thoughts. We will now listen to him in his own right, on the mercantile interests of the Spanish-American nations.

Mr. Pierra said:

Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen: It affords me very great pleasure, and it is an honor that I fully appreciate, to be accorded the privilege of addressing this audience on this subject. But as the hour is so late and I am fatigued I hope you will excuse me to-night, and to-morrow I think I will be able to state to you more clearly and intelligently than I could do now the aims and purposes of the Spanish-American Commercial Union. Meanwhile I ask you to allow me to offer this sentiment instead of the toast to which I was to respond: The flag which has no lion, no eagle, no beast of prey, but stars which illumine and stripes emblematic of the horizon of hope, freedom, and peace—such a flag as we hope we shall soon see waving in all parts of Spanish-America and Brazil. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The governor of the State has courteously consented to be present to-night and address us upon the subject: "The State of Ohio—its resources and institutions."

Governor Foraker, on rising, was greeted with enthusiastic applause. He spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen: I feel like following the example of the gentleman who has immediately preceded me. The hour is so late and we have heard so many excellent speeches that it seems to me impossible that I can detain you longer with either interest or profit. [Cries of "Go on."] I have a hesitation in going on for another reason. You are about to see Ohio; you are about to learn by looking at Ohio of her resources and her interests. It seems to me that in that way you are soon to learn better than I can express to you what Ohio has to offer in these particulars. And yet, if I must go on for the five minutes allotted to me, allow me to commence by reminding our distinguished guests of the evening that Ohio is the newest of all the States of the Union they may have yet visited. We are younger than the New England States, than New York, than Pennsylvania. We are just one hundred years old. Two hundred years or three hundred years after South America was pretty well settled, Ohio was yet but a wilderness. A century ago our 40,000 square miles of area were inhabited only by Indians and wild beasts. We had here then no great cities, no railroads, no telegraphs, no newspapers, no schools, no colleges, no evidences or monuments of civilization of any kind whatsoever. We had here no law, no civilization. In the short space of one hundred years, however, we have come from that state to the state in which you find us to-day. Where one hundred years ago we had only 40,000 square miles of wilderness, we have to-day 40,000 square miles of area, every acre of which blossoms like the rose. Where one hundred years ago we had no population, we to-day have 4,000,000 of happy, prosperous, contented, law-abiding, patriotic and liberty-loving American citizens. Where one hundred years ago we had no schools, we to-day have 13,000 school-houses. Where a hundred years ago we had no wealth, we to-day have five-thousand millions of wealth, not all of it on the tax duplicate, I am sorry to say, but we have it all the same. Where we had no industries we to-day have industries of every kind, of every character and of every description known in this great country.

We have more than 20,000 manufacturing establishments of various kinds, in which the people of this State have invested more than \$300,000,000 of capital—manufacturing establishments that produce annually more than \$400,000,000 worth of products, most of which, owing to the beneficent system pursued in this country, we sell at home in our own markets, but a liberal portion of which we send out in all the channels of trade and commerce, some to South America, as well as to other

portions of the world. In the short space of one hundred years there has been wrought here the greatest transformation ever known in the history of the world. This has been due in large degree to many fortuitous circumstances, if I may use such a word in this connection. In the first place, if you gentlemen who are now visiting here for the first time will but take the map of the United States and study it, you will find that Ohio is placed at the very center of the great business States of the American Union. New England, New York, and Pennsylvania lie to the east of us, while Indiana and Illinois and the mighty West are on the other side. And not only that; we have this beautiful and great lake on the north and 450 miles of beautiful Ohio river front on the south. The lake lets us out to the Atlantic, and the river points us down the Mississippi, to the Gulf, to Mexico, to the Central and South American States. We have an agreeable climate—not always quite as pleasant as you found it to-day—but it is as good a climate as can be found anywhere within the temperate zone. We have a fertile soil, almost inexhaustible mineral resources, and this beautiful city of Cleveland is only one of scores and scores of beautiful and great cities in Ohio.

But, my fellow-citizens—I have been addressing political meetings lately; I mean to say our distinguished guests of the evening—I would not do justice to Ohio unless I should say to you that Ohio has been more fortunate in other respects. Much as she has been favored with location, with fertility of soil, with great fields and rich valleys and mineral resources, she has been more favored in her population than anything else. We have the best people on the face of the earth. And I say that without fear of giving offense to any representative of any other people; for the people of Ohio contain among themselves the representatives of every other people on the civilized globe. We were so favored from the very beginning. When Ohio came to have her first settlement we had here in the Western Reserve the people of Connecticut; immediately south, the representatives of Pennsylvania, on what we call the seven ranges; and at Marietta, where the Ohio company made its first permanent settlement, we had the Massachusetts colony, who brought with them the ordinance of 1787, our first organic law, an ordinance that declared as essential to good government that we should have religion, morality, and knowledge, a standard that has ever been upheld; and I perhaps ought to say, in view of what has been said here to-night, an ordinance that contained another provision—the provision that forever consecrated this and all the Northwest Territory to human freedom. Going a little farther down the Ohio River we had our French settlements, and a little farther down the military reservation made for Virginia, and settled by some of the best families of Virginia; and a little bit farther south, at Cincinnati, we had the New Jersey people, who came with John Cleves Simms. So at the very beginning we had the best representatives of the best sections and the best people of all the United States at that time. And as they widened and broadened and ran into each other there came to

this State a mass of the representatives of the best countries in the whole civilized world. And so I say we have the best people, because the best commingling of people to be found in any State of this union or in any country on the face of the earth. They are a people who have an intelligent appreciation of this country and the possibilities not only of North America, but the possibilities of South America also; they are a people who understand and appreciate the fact that there ought to be in the future between the North American and South American States closer relations of friendship and business than have ever heretofore been enjoyed.

The people of Ohio have for twenty-five years been ahead of the Congress of the United States. It has been twenty-five years since Ohio had any fear of that word "subsidy" that we heard expressed here to-night. For twenty-five years the people of Ohio, Democrats and Republicans alike, have believed in the protection of our steam-ship and ocean commerce, as they have believed in the protection of our industries. Therefore it is that the people of Ohio, without regard to political differences or differences of any other kind, hailed with delight your coming among us at this time. They appreciate the nature of your visit and the possibilities of good that are to come from it. They trust that you will enjoy your visit to Ohio; they are ready to meet you with open arms, to extend to you every hospitality that it is possible for one people to extend to another. We trust that your journey may be a safe one and attended only with delights and enjoyments, and that this is but the beginning of closer and more sympathetic relations in a friendly way, and closer and more sympathetic and more prosperous relations in a business way. [Prolonged applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. The company is so much interested in any address made to us by these distinguished foreigners that I take the liberty of asking their indulgence to listen to another brief address by Mr. Zelaya, of Honduras, Central America.

Senor Zelaya spoke as follows:

The delegates who have come to this country have left their homes to come here to contemplate the wonderful and stupendous progress and the marvelous things that are to be found in this country. Moral greatness predominates here, and the nation extends to all its citizens its bounties and its goodness through her institutions of learning, of charity, and all those institutions that can contribute in any way to the well-being of all. Intellectual greatness also appears brilliantly in this country and flourishes all over the whole area of the nation. Here also we see the material greatness, because man, making himself superior to nature, dominates it to satisfy his wants and his needs. Here also is seen the political greatness, because of the generous institutions of the country and because here dominates the principle of

equality, and because there is a wide field for all the aspirations of man. Here also appears the greatness of generosity, because a nation that suffices to itself, yet offers a generous hand to all those that surround her, and invites them to partake in her well-being and prosperity. [Applause.] Let us hope that in practice the International American Congress may be what it ought to be—the bond of union through affection and through ties of mutual interest and convenience. We, the delegates of Spanish America and Brazil, should proclaim that the United States are not only the glory of North America, but the glory of all the continents of America. [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. We have present with us an ex-Congressman of the United States, Hon. M. A. Foran, who will respond to the toast, “The Congress of the United States.”

Mr. Foran said :

Mr. Speaker : I thus address you because this is a popular assembly—the popular branch of the International Congress. The Congress of the United States is composed of two co-ordinate branches—in the Senate the rules are not so stringent as in the House, the popular branch, and as I was a member of the House I will conform to its rules. In fact it has been suggested that I do so. I will assume, therefore, that we are in committee of the whole, and that general debate being closed, we are under the five minute rule. I will not, I assure you, ask unanimous consent to extend my time or ask for leave to print. [Laughter.]

“The Congress of the United States” is too vast a subject to be intelligently discussed in five minutes. I will not attempt to do more than to refer incidentally to a few of the salient features of the greatest representative body on this earth—a body that legislates for, shapes, and controls the destinies of sixty million of freemen—it is distinctively a representative body ; it feels the touch of public sentiment and responds to the command of the popular will more sensitively and more quickly than does any representative body in the civilized world. It comes fresh from the people every two years and clearly understands the wishes and desires of its constituency. If what Mr. Curtis has just said is true, that Congress runs whenever it hears the word “subsidy,” it is because the people run, for Congress only runs in the direction a majority of the people point out. Our distinguished and brilliant governor has just said that Ohio was twenty years in advance of Congress. This cannot be true, for Ohio Congressmen represent the present, actual sentiment of the Ohio people, and the native modesty of the Ohio member would, if the facts did not, prevent him from claiming such superiority over his fellows. Whenever the people of the United States desire free trade or reciprocity of trade with our sister republics the Congress will quickly act. The same may be said of subsidies or any other policy the people demand, for no body of men

that I know of are more sensitive to public opinion than members of Congress. The member of the lower House, or the Senator, almost invariably represents the sentiment of the people among whom he lives and to whose suffrages he owes his position in Congress. Being thus essentially representative, and coming, as I have already remarked, fresh from the people every two years, the Congress not only reflects the opinion and the sentiment of the citizens whose suffrages are sought at the time of his election, but in almost every instance, being desirous of being returned, he keeps fully abreast with the constantly changing and fluctuating public sentiment of the country.

The Congress of the United States is the real dominating, governing power of the country. It has encroached in years past and will continue to encroach upon the powers and prerogatives of the Executive; but in this respect, as in all others, it will go no further than the power behind it—the people—will permit or demand.

This wonderful body provides for the collection and disbursement of over \$350,000,000 annually of the people's money. Not an officer of the Government can be paid a cent of salary without the sanction and authority of the Congress; the acts and policies of every department of the Government, as well as that of the Executive itself, is open to the inspection and criticism of the Congress. For this reason the mere routine clerk, as well as the chiefs of division, the heads of departments, cabinet officers, and the President himself, all bow before the power and authority of this great representative body. The Congress of the United States differs from all other representative bodies. It derives its power and authority from the Constitution, it is true, but there are a great many rules and regulations of Congress that are based upon immemorial custom and usage and are as binding upon that body as the authority it receives from the organic law itself.

The stranger looking from the gallery upon the popular branch of the Congress, sees and hears nothing but confusion worse confounded, and wonders how anything in the shape of legislation can be transacted in so noisy and apparently so disorganized an assembly. Yet beneath all this noise and confusion those great and powerful organs of the Congress, the standing committees, are working out the will of the American people as accurately as an astronomer predicts the movements of planets. It is at once the most tyrannical as well as the most liberal representative body in the world. By virtue of the closure rule or the "previous question" it cuts off debate at any time, and by so doing exercises the most tyrannical power. At the same time any respectable minority of the Congress, by virtue of its rules, which are founded upon immemorial custom, can exercise and frequently has exercised a veto power upon the majority. The Speaker of the House is invested with almost absolute power, it is true, and yet there have arisen not more than two or three occasions during the century when this great power has been abused by the Speaker of the American Congress. And this is because the Speaker as well as the individual mem-

ber is fully aware and alive to the fact that each and every act of his is subjected to the crucial analysis of public opinion. The Congress is most jealous of its powers and its prerogatives.

Ever since Jefferson, in 1801, sent his message to the Congress in writing, no President has attempted to speak before that body in person. Ever since Hamilton, the first Secretary of the Treasury, asked the Congress whether it would receive his report or message in person or in writing—and the Congress elected to receive the message in writing—that precedent has been strictly followed. The President of the United States is never seen upon the floor of either house of the Congress. Cabinet ministers never speak before the Congress, and their recommendations are followed or rejected as the Congress sees fit. A great many prominent newspapers, and especially periodicals occasionally contend that the Congress of the United States does not represent the most intelligent or educated class of the people. It is true that members of Congress are not always professors of colleges or college graduates; yet Congress represents the highest, the brightest, the most progressive, and the sharpest practical intellect of the country; and we can point with pride to the fact that some of the brightest men of whom America is proud, graduated in this great representative school—such men as Calhoun, Randolph, Webster, Clay, Hayne, Stephens, and Sumner in the past, and in the present, such men as Breckenridge, Carlisle, Randall, Reed, and the brilliant McKinley of our own State, are members of the House.

In the Senate—a conservative body, it is true—there are many giant intellects, two of the most distinguished members of the Senate are present with us here this evening, Senators Payne and Sherman. [Applause.] One of these distinguished gentlemen has just addressed you. Though a Democrat myself, yet I desire candidly and freely to say that if it is our misfortune in the future to have another Republican President, there is no one I would like to see in that position so well as the distinguished and talented statesman who represents, in connection with your distinguished chairman here this evening, the State of Ohio in the United States Senate. [Cheers for Senator Sherman and loud applause.]

It may, perhaps, be true that some of the brightest and most intellectual Americans do not go to Congress. This is perhaps due to the fact that the disappointments, vexations and arduous duties of the member of Congress far outweigh the attractions of Congressional life and the meager salary attached thereto. [Laughter and applause.] However the people should not complain in this respect, because Congress is their creation, and whatever it is is due directly to them; and if they would raise or elevate its general tone, they can do so by taking a more active interest in the contest by which members of the House and Senate are elected. In conclusion, permit me to say, that this great representative assembly is not alone doing the work of the present, but that of the future as well. A century from now it will be shaping

the destinies and legislating for one-half the people of the civilized world. What mighty intellectual struggles, what interesting debates, what momentous and far-reaching thought will be displayed in the Congress, when the parliaments of the old world will have either sunk into insignificance or crumbled into dust! When that time comes it is my earnest hope and wish that every American Congress, or the Congress of every Republic upon these two continents, will, by their wisdom, their power and their prudence, demonstrate that republican and democratic institutions are the only ones under which liberty and equality can thrive, and under which all men can in reality be free and equal before the law! [Great applause.]

Hon. R. C. Parsons was called upon to respond to the toast "Brazil," and said:

Mr. President, I greatly regret the absence of the distinguished gentleman who was to answer to this toast this evening. I well remember that great Empire of Brazil, lying south of the equator, with its 3,000,000 square miles of area, large enough to make seventy States as large as Ohio. The gentlemen may well be proud of their country. It is a land of blue skies and perpetual summer, a garden of tropical magnificence. It is a land of stately palm-trees, of orange and lemon groves, of birds and flowers that put to shame the colors of the rainbow. It has one of the most delicious climates on the globe, and a soil unrivaled in fertility. It is a land of picturesque mountains and valleys, and great rivers. There is the mighty Amazon, 180 miles wide at its mouth, draining an area of 2,500,000 square miles of territory, and having within itself and its tributaries more than 20,000 miles of deep-water navigation. A voyage up the river discloses nature reveling in the most boundless profusion. At the Expositio Nationale at Rio in 1861, there were exhibited over 500 different kinds of wood of remarkable beauty from the valley of the Amazon. So prolific is the soil, so dense the growth of vegetation, that in places there is scarcely room for the smallest animal to penetrate. The woods are filled with parrots and birds, whose plumage is resplendent in scarlet and gold. The monkeys chatter in the branches and discuss their own state affairs without interruption, while here and there, winding its folds around the trunk of some tree, is the great boa-constrictor, waiting for its prey. All writers upon Brazil believe that the time will come when this vast silent valley will be the home of a wealthy and powerful people.

Brazil is the land of promising cities—of Para, Bahia, Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro. The harbor of Rio is the finest in the world. As the voyager enters this spacious enclosure he finds the sugar-loaf mountain towering upon his left, the White Fort on his right, before him a basin 30 miles in length, surrounded by the Organ mountains, which protect it from all dangerous winds. Here all the vessels of the world could meet and ride in safety.

Brazil is the land of the Southern Cross. At night, when the stars sparkle low in the sky, may be seen this matchless constellation, shining and glittering in unrivaled luster, every star a world, fastened by the Almighty hand upon the bosom of the universe.

Brazil is the home of free men and free women. In all the length of North and South America there is no room for the footsteps of a slave. [Applause.]

Brazil is the home of Dom Pedro, the profound scholar, the wise ruler, the humane magistrate; among the very ablest as well as the most democratic sovereigns in all the world. [Applause.]

Señores from Brazil and South America, "Cum Esta," I bid you a cordial welcome to our city. While acting as consul of the United States at Rio in 1861, under President Lincoln, I came to know that city well. I remember Botafoga, St. Christophel, the Rue d'Ouvidior, Tajuca Petropolis. I became greatly interested in the commerce of your country, and anxious that the United States should enjoy a larger share of its growing importance. We want more of your coffee, and sugar, and hides, and gold, and diamonds. You want more of our manufactures and cereals, and both of us need the other. Some years after my return home I drafted a bill to establish steam communication between this country and your own, carried it through both Houses of Congress, the President signed it, and it became a law. Under it for years Commodore Garrison maintained a line of steamers, but finally abandoned the enterprise.

Gentlemen, North and South America cover a vast continent. They are girdled on either shore by the same mighty oceans, and connected by natural ties, apart from the rest of the world. I hope the time will come when there will be railroad communication directly from New York to Rio Janeiro, to our sister Republic. Imagination can only unroll the map of the future and see these great countries populated by hundreds of millions of thriving, intelligent, industrious freemen. We are yet in our infancy as nations. But the history of the past gives splendid hopes for the future. I trust we shall learn to know each other better and keep step to the music of advancing civilization one in interest and one in fraternal feeling. Señores from South America, I give you a toast: "Your fair countrywomen! Their velvet eyes shine like the dews of the morning, their cheeks put to shame the pomegranates that grow on the garden wall, and their attractions rival those of their own tropical and beautiful country!" [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. John C. Covert, of the Cleveland Leader, will respond to the toast "A Free Press."

Mr. Covert said:

Mr. Toastmaster and gentlemen of the three Americas: It is certainly appropriate that the toast "A Free Press" should receive some consideration from the members of a congress assembled in the interests

of peace and to promote the greater development of the arts and industries of a hemisphere. That the press has wielded a mighty power in creating the present advanced state of civilization there can be no doubt. That a free press extends a potent influence in shaping the laws and customs of a people is also beyond dispute. A great British statesman, Sheridan, once said in the House of Commons: "Give me but the liberty of the press, and I will give to the minister a venal House of Peers, I will give him a corrupt and servile House of Commons, I will give him the full sway of the patronage of office, I will give him the whole host of ministerial influence, I will give him all the power that place can confer upon him to purchase up submission and overawe resistance; and yet, armed with the liberty of the press, I will go forth to meet him undismayed. I will attack the mighty fabric he has reared with that mightier engine; I will shake down from its height corruption and bury it amid the ruins it was meant to shelter."

A free press is the slow growth of time. Mephistopheles, while parading under the mantle of Faust, tells the student that "our laws, like our diseases, are inherited." The conditions surrounding, influencing, governing the press, are inherited, but they are constantly undergoing rapid modifications by the opportunities which the press gives the human mind to freely exercise its aspirations for a higher degree of equality and freedom.

No better illustration of the effect of tyranny upon the press can be found than in the publications of the *Moniteur Officiel* of Paris, during the latter part of the First Empire. When Napoleon left Elba the *Moniteur* declared that "the tyrant has escaped." When he reached France it said: "The despot has landed on our shores." As he marched toward the capital it shrieked: "The tiger is coming to seize his prey." The day after he entered Paris it announced: "His Majesty the Emperor of France is at the Tuileries."

But the steady, unquenchable aspirations for freedom which find their fullest expression through the press must at last break through the strongest power that despotism can rear. The tyrannical customs handed down by Napoleon the Greedy were active after the restoration and during the reign of Napoleon *le Petit*. But Constant, Emile de Girardin, Louis Jourdain, Prevost Paradol and other great editors, kept up a persistent assault upon the strongholds of despotism, and in the face of frequent imprisonments, under the bayonets of their tyrant, they laid the foundations of the present grand Republic of France. So must despotism everywhere finally bow to the freedom of the press.

In this country the press has been absolutely free since the establishment of our Federal Government. Even during the terrible struggle of the rebellion the liberty of the press was never suspended for a day. Two or three editors were imprisoned and one issue of their papers seized, for publishing forged proclamations attributed to the Government or for advocating armed opposition to the federal authorities. The full freedom accorded to the most opposite opinions of the war

seemed only to strengthen and to intensify the patriotism of the people. As a rule the press of both parties was loyal to the Union. It gave daily public utterance to the patriotic spirit of the people, strengthening the hands of the Government and creating a public sentiment that demanded a preservation of the Union and the abolition of slavery. Standing in the foremost ranks of progress, with nothing but the nimble lightning between them and the birth of events, the editors of this country have advocated, if they did not originate, every humane policy, every wise law which has occupied the thoughts of our people since the organization of our Government.

The first paper printed on this continent was called Publick Occurrences, bearing the date of September 25, 1690. Number 2 of this paper has not yet appeared. The press censors declared its publication wicked, unnecessary, and contrary to public good. At that time press censors were to be found in all the colonies, an office brought to this continent from the old world. During the war of independence, a little over a hundred years ago, the press was absolutely free to support the patriot army. A printing press was carried around with the army, and a paper issued as often as possible, encouraging the soldiers in their struggle.

During the last century newspapers have multiplied with the growth of the country, and now there are not less than 16,000 papers and periodicals published in the United States. Almost every town of 400 or 500 inhabitants has its home journal. If the people are not able to maintain a whole paper, half of it is printed in some large city. Such sheets are called home organs with foreign bowels. In our large cities the papers usually vary in size from four to eight pages, their extra editions frequently running up to 16, 24, and 48 pages. If the whole yearly issue of one of our great New York dailies were fastened together in one long sheet and stretched out, it would go three times around the globe. It is calculated by a curious statistician that if all the papers printed in this country in one year were put together on a ten-acre lot, they would make a pile higher than any mountain on the earth. Our newsgathers are everywhere, and like the English drum-beat, they follow the sun around the world. They often manage to get ahead of the sun; for example, if an important event has happened in London or Paris at 2 o'clock this afternoon, it would have been duly chronicled in all our papers at about 11 o'clock this morning. This, of course, is due to the superior enterprise of American editors, and not to the difference in time. I hope that this Congress will result in bringing the Three Americas so closely together in so improving the means of intercommunication, that we will have daily reports of all the important events in the great nations to the south of us.

The freedom of the press affords a powerful agency for binding a people together and strengthening the spirit of nationality. Besides giving all the news of the day it must inevitably reflect the best sentiment of a people, and tend to direct that sentiment in the best channels. It is the mirror in which the people can see themselves, the guide to

direct their political actions, the volume to which they can look for a record of current history. The tendency of a free press is opposite to war and violence. It aims to secure the sublime victories of peace. Its influence reaches out in every direction, penetrating every home, leaving its impress upon every mind. The freedom of the press has done much for this Republic; may it be equally potent in uniting the people of the Three Americas in the bonds of a common brotherhood! [Applause.]

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. James H. Hoyt, of the Cleveland bar, will respond to the toast, "What do you think of the banquet?"

Mr. Hoyt's remarks were as follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I have been both saddened and gladdened by what has been said here to-night by one of the very best governors the "best people of Ohio" have ever had. Saddened, because when he referred to the mineral resources of this State I was forcibly reminded that I myself had lately been connected with the enterprise for the development of those mineral resources, and that we failed to find any; gladdened, because his statement that a hundred years ago Ohio was a wilderness reminds me of a story which aptly illustrates my own feelings in being thus somewhat unexpectedly called upon, and so I am indebted to him for something to say; but this is not surprising, for I am not the first person to whom Governor Foraker has suggested ideas. The hero of this story was a gentleman who had been selected as the orator at ceremonies celebrating the completion of a town-hall in one of the villages of Ohio. He had carefully prepared himself for the occasion and had committed his oration to memory. He began with this sonorous sentence: "Fellow-citizens of this most magnificent village, of this most magnificent State, where this imposing edifice now stands was once a howling wilderness——" Here words failed him and he ran up against an aching void. After a frantic application of the spur to his reluctant memory he began again: "Allow me to repeat, fellow-citizens of this most magnificent village, of this most magnificent State, where this most imposing edifice now stands was once a howling wilderness——" Then another pause, and his treacherous memory still refusing to respond, with a dry grating in his parched throat, and with stars dancing before his staring eyes, he despairingly repeated: "I can not sufficiently emphasize this momentous fact, fellow-citizens; allow me to again call it to your attention: Fellow-citizens of this most magnificent village, of this most magnificent State, where this imposing edifice now stands was once a howling wilderness——" and then after a ghastly pause, the ideas still refusing to come, he desperately added this impromptu but realistic peroration: "And I wish to Heaven it were a howling wilderness now!" [Laughter.]

I have been asked by your toast-master to tell what kind of a ban-

quet we have been having here to-night. Now, as the body without the soul does not make a man, so viands, however bountiful and toothsome, do not make a banquet without the people who partake of them. The material elements going to make up this banquet you have already discussed. No words of mine can aid your digestion of them or your appreciation of them. In its material aspect the banquet has been magnificent, but it is also magnificent and indeed unique by reason of those who have attended it, and it is of these, with your kind permission, that I will speak. It has been suggested here that we who have met together to-night are representatives of different nations. This of course is true; but is it not also true in a very broad sense and in a very real sense that, representing different nations as we do, we also represent one common country. There are differences between us, to be sure. Some have been born under the brilliant skies, in the fragrant atmosphere, and amidst the rich vegetation of the tropics; others in colder regions, less fertile perhaps, and where nature is less bounteous; others still on the bleak hill-sides farther North, in New England, for example, where vegetation is so meager, that, if rumor be correct, those who dwell there are obliged to file down the noses of the sheep even, in order that they may pick out the scanty blades of grass struggling for light and air between the granite boulders. Some come from the land of Montezuma, some from the land of Peru, the treasure lands of the world, rich in exhaustless gold and silver (as I have been told by a Peruvian gentleman sitting beside me), but richer still in memories of gorgeous civilizations passed away, and yet brightened with rapidly-maturing promises of grander civilizations coming and to come; while others still have come from virgin regions, the wealth and development of which are prospective, the history of which is told only by the solemn whisperings of the forest primeval; written only on the scarred faces of the mountain and upon the swelling bosoms of the trackless plains. Some live under warm, some under neutral, some under cold skies; some in climates equable, constant, and favorable; others in climates capricious, inconstant, like that of Cleveland here; for when the governor of this Commonwealth praised the climate of Ohio, it was because he has not lived on the shores of the Great Lakes.

What he said is undoubtedly true of the climate of Columbus or of Cincinnati, but not of Cleveland. Why here the climate so coquets with the thermometer that it tries to freeze the mercury one minute and boil it the next; of course it does not succeed, but that is not the fault of the climate; it tries hard enough, and we who live here know that it is capable of blowing both hot and cold in the same breath. Some are governed by Presidents, and some by the most sagacious and intelligent of Emperors. Some are Catholic, and some are Protestant. One speaks in vivacious French; another in liquid Portuguese; another in the musical Spanish, and yet another in harsh but vigorous English. Tillers of the soil; delvers in mines; workers in mills and in factories, all the various pursuits of life, "all sorts and conditions of men" are

represented here. Yes, there are truly differences between us; but these very differences so marked, of soil, of climate, of government, of religion, of language, of pursuit, do not tend to divide or separate us, but to unite us the more closely rather; since they all help us to realize the vastness of our common domain, the grandeur of a common present, the dazzling possibilities of a common future. They but emphasize the solemn and significant fact that we who are assembled here and those whom we represent are joint heirs of half a globe. To paraphrase a familiar quotation a little—

No pent-up Utica contracts *our* powers
But the whole boundless continent is *ours*,

except, of course, that comparatively inconsiderable portion lying to the north of us, concerning the manifest destiny of which it would not be diplomatic to speak. But not only are we, who are assembled at this banquet, united by marked differences, but marked similarities bind us closely together as well. Whether we come from the South, the Center, the East, the West or the North of our common domain; by whatever designation we may be known, we are all, thank God, Americans. [Applause.] We are mutually interested in making the name of all America great and respected throughout the globe. And so, as we are children of a common mother, the success of any one member of our great family redounds to the credit and swells the honest pride of all. We of the North need you of the South and Center; you of the South and Center need us of the North. Our destinies are inextricably linked together; our sympathies are common sympathies. When one great American, Abraham Lincoln, struck the shackles from the slave, the shouts of joy that greeted that grand achievement sounded not only within the borders of the United States, but sounded on the shores of the mighty Amazon as well; and when that other great American, Dom Pedro, the Emperor of Brazil, issued the edict of freedom, the snow-crowned summits of the Rocky Mountains joined in the glad acclaim. Yes, in no small measure do the prosperity, the happiness, the welfare of each depend upon the prosperity, the happiness, the welfare of all.

But another thought suggests itself to me in thinking of this memorable banquet—thank God, none but Christian nations are represented here. We differ in creeds, in the forms of worship, to be sure; but with reverence I say, we all believe in “God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, and in Jesus Christ, His only Son, our Lord;” we all, wondering, worshiping, adoring, humbly kneel at the foot of the cross.

And now one other thought about this banquet, and I am done. The welcome which we of the United States are here extending to our honored guests is somehow different from any which we would extend, or could extend to visitors from across the seas. Warm and hearty as such a welcome would be, this welcome is, somehow, warmer and heartier. Brothers are welcoming brothers to-night. We are entertaining at this banquet members of a common family, not strangers or aliens.

Americans are greeting Americans; and with no unkind feelings toward other nations, and with no desire to disturb proper existing relations, can we not, nevertheless, unitedly rejoice in the inspiring thought that in certain emergencies and under certain conditions, our pulses would be quickened, our enthusiasm fired, our arms nerved, to united action for all America against the world. [Applause.]

FOURTEENTH DAY.

THE VISIT TO CLEVELAND—continued.

At an early hour on Wednesday morning there was a large crowd in front of the Stillman House, every person composing it anxious to catch a glimpse of the distinguished visitors. At 9 o'clock several of the guests appeared and then about one-half of the city police force, commanded by Deputy McMahon, assisted by Captains Hoehn, Madigan, and Hutchinson, gave an exhibition drill. The police were followed by the firemen, under Chief Dickinson and Assistant Chief Rebbeck. While the fire department exhibition was going on a salute was fired from two Gardner guns which were on the hotel lawn. After breakfast the visitors were escorted to carriages and, with Mayor Gardner and Jacob B. Perkins as guides, commenced a tour of the city. The iron-ore docks were visited, as were also the yards of the Globe Ship-Building Company. At the latter place several large steel boats were on the stocks and the inquiries of the delegates were answered by J. F. Pankhurst. There was a brief stop at Engine House No. 6, where an alarm showed the agility of men and horses. The works of the Standard Oil Company were then visited, L. H. Severance acting as cicerone. The products of the crude paraffine, which include candles and chewing gum, were shown and some of the processes of manufacture were explained.

There was luncheon at the Stillman House at 1 o'clock, and just one hour later saw the visitors once more in carriages, driving, this time out Euclid avenue. The drive was continued out to Lake View Cemetery, where the Garfield Monument was thoroughly seen and admired. The route back to the city was taken through Wade Park. Two

fine specimens of Ohio homes—the residences of S. T. Everett and Charles F. Brush—were thrown open for the inspection of the party. A brief halt was made at each place, and the visitors were shown every possible attention. Mr. and Mrs. Brush received their guests in the parlors and granted them the freedom of the entire house—license that was accepted and appreciated. It was 6 o'clock when the Stillman House was reached. Dinner was served at 7. At 8 the reception commenced. Before the delegates and attaches left the dinner-table, however, they received a huge box of boutonnieres, with the compliments of the Sibley Public School. Cheers greeted the announcement of this pleasant gift.

When the reception began, Special Agent William E. Curtis introduced the visitors to S. A. Fuller, Amos Townsend, and Wilson M. Day, who in turn presented them to fellow-committeemen and to the large number of Cleveland's best people who were present. A fine musical programme was rendered during the evening, the performers and vocalists being Mrs. S. C. Ford, F. Norman Adams, M. J. Marquardt, Homer A. Moore, and a male quartet. The reception closed at 10 o'clock, when the guests were driven to their train. They left at once for Detroit.

The general committee of arrangements at Cleveland was constituted as follows:

Hon. Geo. W. Gardner, chairman; Dan P. Eells, treasurer; Wilson M. Day, secretary; Jacob B. Perkins, chief of escort.

From the municipal government.—Hon. Geo. W. Gardner, mayor; Dr. George C. Ashmun, health officer; Hon. A. T. Brinsmade, city solicitor; W. P. Rice, city civil engineer; F. O. Spencer, president city council.

From the board of industry and improvement.—General James Barnett, president First National Bank, etc.; S. A. Fuller, esq., treasurer and manager Union Rolling Mill Company; Hon. John C. Covert, managing editor Cleveland Leader; Wilson M. Day, esq., president Cleveland Printing and Publishing Company; George W. Stockly, esq., manager, etc., Brush Electric Company; L. E. Holden, esq., proprietor Cleveland Plain Dealer, etc.; Frederick

Muhlhauser, esq., manager Northern Ohio Woolen Mills; Hon. C. C. Burnett, president Sturtevant Lumber Company; William Chisholm, esq., president Cleveand Rolling Mill Company; Hon. Amos Townsend, Ex-Member of Congress; J. S. Dickle, esq., manager J. L. Hudson, Excelsior Clothier; Leander McBride, esq., Root & McBride Bros., wholesale dry goods.

From the board of trade.—H. R. Groff, esq., Childs, Groff & Co., wholesale boots and shoes; Dan P. Eells, esq., president Commercial National Bank; J. B. Perkins, esq., president Walker Manufacturing Company, etc.; H. W. Avery, esq., president Avery Stamping Company; J. K. Bole, esq., secretary Otis Iron and Steel Company; R. H. Jenks, esq., Woods, Jenks & Co., lumber dealers; Thomas H. White, esq., president White Sewing Machine Company; William Edwards, esq., William Edwards & Company, wholesale grocers; M. B. Clark, esq., M. B. Clark & Son, Union Elevator, etc.; J. F. Pankhurst, esq., general manager Globe Ship Building Company; Sheldon Sickles, esq., secretary Union Steel Screw Company; Hon. D. A. Dangler, president Dangler Vapor Stove and Refining Company, and president Standard Carbon Company; N. D. Fisher, esq., president-Fisher-Wilson Lumber Company.

At large.—John Tod, esq., Tod, Stambaugh & Co., coal and iron; Capt. H. S. Wetmore, retired (formerly of Rio de Janeiro); L. H. Severance, esq., treasurer Standard Oil Company; Dr. Jamin Strong, superintendent Cleveland Asylum for the Insane; Frank Rockefeller, esq., vice-president Standard Oil Company.

FIFTEENTH DAY.

THE VISIT TO DETROIT.

The special train steamed slowly into the Michigan Central depot on Thursday morning at 7.45 o'clock. At 8 o'clock the reception committee—consisting of J. Logan Chipman, Senator Stockbridge, George H. Barbour, George H. Russel, William R. Farrand, John N. Bagley, Charles Wright, Capt. Joseph Nicholson, and Charles Moore—made its appearance and was at once introduced to

the members of the party. Breakfast was disposed of as soon as possible, and then, at about 9 o'clock, Senator James McMillan arrived. As chairman of the committee he at once took charge of the guests, and at once led the way to the foot of Third street, where the steam-yachts *Truant*, *Idler*, *Lily*, and *Pastime*, clean as new pins and decorated with bunting, awaited the distinguished passengers. The yachts were, respectively, the property of Truman Newberry, Senator McMillan, Alfred Brush, and Hiram Walker & Sons; they were commanded, as a fleet, by Commodore Truman Newberry. The fleet steamed at once toward Lake St. Clair and was saluted by a number of vessels and factories, among the former being the U. S. revenue-cutter *Fessenden*. Belle Isle Park marked the boundary of the voyage in that direction, and then the return was made, the trip taking in the whole of the river front as far as the exposition building. A landing was made at the foot of Third street, carriages were taken, and a short tour of the city made. At the High School the students, out at recess, acknowledged the passing of the delegates by cheers and by the waving of flags and handkerchiefs. Many of the business houses and private residences were the subjects of elaborate decoration.

The drive came to a conclusion at the residence of Senator McMillan, where a reception was in store for the delegates. The guests were received by the Senator, his wife and daughter, and were introduced to a large number of the more prominent people of Michigan, among them being Mrs. F. O. Davenport, Mrs. John H. Wendell, Mrs. W. J. Chittenden, Mrs. Truman H. Newberry, Mrs. J. J. Bagley, Mrs. Zachariah Chandler, Mrs. R. S. Willis, Mrs. Alfred Russell, Mrs. E. H. Butler, Mrs. William C. Williams, Mrs. Wallace Radcliffe, Mrs. Harry Sheldon, Mrs. Charles H. Wetmore, Mrs. Major Lydecker, of Washington, D. C., Mrs. Ducharme, Miss Ducharme, Mrs. H. B. Ledyard, Mrs. J. V. Moran, Mrs. Deming Jarves, Miss Newland, Miss Stanton, Mrs. Clarence Carpenter, Miss Lewis, Mrs. Alfred E. Brush, Mrs. Sherman, Mrs. H. M. Duffield, Mrs. John N. Bagley, Mrs. James F. Joy, Mrs. W. H. Wells, Mrs. W. K. Anderson, Mrs. G. V. N. Loth-

rop, Mrs. Wight, Miss Wight, Mrs. W. R. Farrand, Mrs. Cyrus E. Lothrop, Mrs. Luther S. Trowbridge, Mrs. H. F. Lyster, Mrs. Geo. H. Barbour and Miss Florine Barbour, D. M. Ferry, S. M. Cutcheon, F. W. Hayes, Alfred Russell, G. V. N. Lothrop, Emory Wendell, T. H. Hinchman, William E. Quinby, William H. Brearley, Willia C. Colburn, F. E. Driggs, R. W. Gillett, General L. S. Trowbridge, D. B. Duffield, E. T. Hance, General O. M. Poe, W. K. Muir, Dr. W. Radcliffe, William H. Wells, Fred K. Stearns, J. H. Hough, Jerome Croul, Alanson Sheley, R. Gillis, E. P. Allen, James O'Donnell, Herman Freund, Dr. Riopelle, W. K. Anderson, C. C. Bowen, L. T. Ives, Rev. J. F. Dickie, E. H. Butler, Magnus Butzel, C. A. Kent, Otto Kirchner, J. H. Hahn, R. E. Plumb, R. H. Fyfe, H. M. Campbell, C. B. Hull, David Carter, E. O. Durfee, W. W. Leggett, J. W. Hine, George H. Russel, John N. Bagley, Charles Wright, Charles Moore, A. E. F. White, D. J. Campau, Jay Hubbell, E. S. Barbour, F. F. Palms, J. V. Moran, H. Russel, Mayor Pridgeon, R. Storrs Willis, C. H. Buhl, J. H. Stone, J. L. Hudson, William Livingstone, jr., Hugh McMillan, M. W. O'Brien, E. W. Cottrell, B. Goodfellow, J. E. Clough, Colonel H. M. Duffield, Alexander Lewis, F. O. Davenport, William C. Mayberry, Bishop Foley, Dr. J. T. Plunkett, Bryan Walker, W. C. Williams, J. B. Moore, William A. Moore, W. J. Chittenden, Senator Stockbridge, Mark S. Brewer, Professor H. C. Adams, Hugh Capper, Judge F. H. Chambers, Rev. D. M. Cooper, Hibbard Baker, Levi L. Barbour, Rev. Howard Duffield, A. G. Boynton, Thomas Calvert, J. Finney, Jeremiah Dwyer, Ford Staring, S. B. Grummond, Harry Sheldon, Allen H. Frazer, E. Y. Swift, Harry C. Tillman, Colonel F. W. Swift, Waldo M. Johnson, J. Logan Chipman, William R. Farrand, George H. Barbour, Joseph Nicholson, S. D. Miller, J. F. Joy, George S. Davis, George B. Hill, J. Burtenshaw, W. A. McGraw, Cleveland Hunt. The ushers were William F. Jarvis, C. E. Lothrop, T. H. Newberry, Arthur Parker, William Aikman, jr., Howard Meredith, W. P. Stewart, John H. Bissell, and N. Williams, jr.

Luncheon and orchestral music were features of the re-

ception. The reception finished shortly before 3 o'clock and the members of the traveling party were taken in carriages to the Michigan Central depot. The train left precisely at 3 o'clock but not before the members of the reception committee had seen that every one of the strangers had been provided with a copy of Detroit's souvenir, a nicely bound and interesting sketch of the city.

AT ANN ARBOR.

Michigan's University city was reached at 4 o'clock amid such a storm of vocal enthusiasm as had not previously greeted the nation's guests at any stopping place. Everywhere there was an enormous throng of people and everybody seemed to be either cheering or waving flags or handkerchiefs. Ranged along the road side and stretching from the depot up into the town were the male students, more than two thousand of them and making noise enough for twice their number. Escorted by these, the visitors, first introduced to President Angell and the deans of the various departments, rode in carriages to the University. Class cries and 'varsity yells filled the air until the big building was reached and then the noise was transferred to the chapel. The faculty and the delegates were provided with seats upon the platform and from that point watched the students as they made boisterous entrance. To the front and on one side of the platform were the female students—the "co-eds"—and these greeted the strangers with a waving of handkerchiefs that must have involved no little muscular exertion; there were about three hundred of the ladies. It was in response to one of these handkerchief salutes that Mariano Velarde, son of the Bolivian delegate, drew from an inner pocket one of the silk flags given as souvenirs at the Cheney Mills; this he waved and in doing so gave every lung in the great hall another excuse for straining itself. The applause lasted for several minutes and would probably have lasted much longer had not President Angell stilled the complimentary tumult with a single motion of his right hand.

Then he delivered a brief address of welcome which he

commenced by saying, that if any of the Southern delegates had assumed that weak lungs were the heritage of this northern climate the assumption must have been dispelled. He expressed the hope that the visit of the representatives of Central and South America would conduce to the strengthening of the commercial relations between their countries and the United States and also the ties of intellectual brotherhood which stood above commercial relations and which were divided by no national barriers.

Whatever obstacles [said Dr. Angell] there may be to the exchange of the material products of your countries and our country, there is no obstacle to the exchange of thought. [Applause.] If I may draw an illustration from your own sphere of diplomatic literature, I may say that your Bello and Gaudó and Albertini and Alcorta and Itajuba and Calvo are as truly ours as yours, while our Kent and Wheaton and Lawrence and Dana and Woolsey are as truly yours as ours. So, too, you and we are one in the common inheritance of the literature of our fathers beyond the sea. Cervantes and Lope de Vega and Camoens are ours as truly as yours, and Shakespeare and Milton and Burke are as truly yours as ours. [Applause.] And the ancient classic literatures are the common treasure of all the world. As joint possessors of the rich intellectual treasures of each other, and of our great literary inheritance from the Old World, are we not members of one great intellectual household? We clasp hands as brothers, and we trust that your visit will do much to strengthen the bonds of our intellectual brotherhood. [Applause.]

Delegate Zegarra, of Peru, responded. He said:

We have been received with a pomp and magnificence—by your great, good, prosperous, and happy people—of which any monarch might be proud, during our tour through your great country. We have seen great cities, great factories, great industries, and great people. But we everywhere found the educational influence as the source of all the glory of the land. The brain leads all. [Applause.]

Between and after the speeches a glee club, conducted by Professor Stanley, gave admirably renditions of appropriate vocal selections.

A song closed the exercises and then the delegates and attachés were divided up in three parties and conducted to the residences, respectively, of President Angell and Professors Cooley and Rogers. When dinner had been disposed of the visitors went all through the more interesting rooms in the university and then assembled in the

rotunda of the library building where a reception had been arranged. This was a largely attended affair and in addition to the Ann Arbor people who were present there were several celebrities from a distance, among them being ex-Governor Alpheus Felch, Circuit Judge Kinney, Mayor Beakes, R. P. Williams of Detroit, and ex-regents Grosvenor of Jonesville, and Samuel Walker.

The reception closed at 9 o'clock and the party was driven to the train, followed in a little while by a company of students clad in white robes and hoods and bearing torches and Roman candles in their hands. Some weird music and eccentric maneuvering was exhibited and after two or three of the attachés had delivered themselves of speeches of thanks the train, at 10 p. m., left for Grand Rapids.

SIXTEENTH DAY.

THE VISIT TO GRAND RAPIDS.

Four hours of a run completed the 132 miles which separate Ann Arbor and Grand Rapids, and the train was sidetracked at the latter place. It was 8 o'clock when the reception committee called at the train and was introduced to the members of the party. The committee consisted of the following gentlemen: George W. Gay, J. P. Creque, E. H. Foote, C. H. Leonard, R. W. Merrill, I. C. Smith, H. Widdicomb, E. Crofton Fox, F. B. Wallin, Julius Houseman, T. Stewart White, Edward H. Stein, William H. Jones, A. S. Musselman, C. C. Comstock, A. J. Bowne, D. H. Waters, W. T. McGurrin, W. A. Berkey, G. N. Davis, C. B. Judd, J. G. MacBride, G. W. Perkins, Charles R. Sligh, John Widdicomb, J. D. Lacey, E. F. Uhl, J. Patton, jr., A. E. Worden, W. H. Stokes, D. J. Leathers, H. W. Long, J. W. Champlin, E. B. Dikeman, W. H. Powers, C. H. Rose, John A. Covode, W. S. Earle, A. B. Knowlson, Elias Matter, L. C. Stow, L. J. Rindge, C. E. Belknap, M. H. Ford, J. B. Griswold, O. A. Ball, L. L. Launiere, H. F. Hastings, H. F. Severns, D. A. Blodgett, C. W. Watkins, L. E. Hawkins, E. B. Fisher, E. D. Conger, F. W. Ball, W. B. Weston.

The committee and an artillery salute of sixteens gun

arrived simultaneously, and before the echoes of the last discharge had died away the excursionists were being escorted to the Morton House, where breakfast had been prepared.

After the meal had been eaten the committees—headed by Moreau S. Crosby, the president of the day, and H. D. C. Van Asmus and C. B. Morgan, marshals—went with their guests to the carriages which were ready for a tour of the city. The first place visited was the big furniture warehouse of Berkey & Gay. Next was the furniture factory of the Widdicomb Company, and there the delegates saw the triumph of machinery, not even the carving being done by hand.

Six hundred school-children then claimed the attention of the excursionists. Professor Morehead, Principal Barnhart, and a corps of teachers were with the little ones. They were all in front of the Union School building, and they sang two verses of "My Country, 'tis of Thee," with pleasing effect. Several of the delegates who were more intimately acquainted with England than with the United States wanted to know why the little ones were singing "God Save the Queen." The situation was explained to them and they bowed again and again to the children, who were then giving utterance to a succession of cheers for the Conference and for the delegates from the Southland. As the long procession moved away the children rendered another chorus.

The Bissell Carpet-Sweeper Company's factory was then inspected, officers of the company acting as guides. In the company's office the visitors were received by Mrs. Bissell and Mrs. Judd. Each of the excursionists was presented with a carpet-sweeper as a souvenir of the visit.

Nelson, Matter & Co.'s mammoth furniture warerooms was the next place on the programme and there the delegates spent as much time as possible, examining the beautiful specimens of furniture which were so attractively displayed. Refreshments were served on one of the upper floors. A visit was also paid to the salesrooms of the Phoenix Furniture Company, where the display of artistic furniture was much admired.

From the Phoenix warerooms a drive was taken to the bluffs overlooking the city and then rapid return was made to Campau Place where another section of the day's programme was to be given. The decorations in this vicinity were especially fine, the houses without exception being literally covered with bunting; many of them displayed complete sets of the flags of the countries represented in the Conference.

The parade consisted of police, militia, fire department, and the Grand Rapids Bicycle Club, several members of the later being ladies. When the procession had passed, an exhibition drill was given by Company I, Michigan State Troops.

Luncheon at the Morton House was followed by a drive to the fair grounds, where there were races both running and trotting. Several members of the party did not go to the fair grounds, being the guests of Ex-Representative Milburn H. Ford at the Peninsular Club, afterwards driving out with him.

Dinner was served at Sweet's Hotel, followed by a public reception at the City Hall. The committeemen previously mentioned with I. M. Turner, E. H. Donnally, F. A. Rodgers, J. A. S. Verdier, and A. G. Hodenpyl, committee on banquet, and the carriage providers, E. G. Studley and Fred. Saunders, did everything possible to make the visit a pleasant one, and when 10 o'clock arrived accompanied the party to the train which a few minutes later pulled out for South Bend.

SEVENTEENTH DAY.

THE VISIT TO SOUTH BEND.

Mayor Longley and the members of the South Bend reception committee were at the Michigan Central depot at 8 o'clock. The train had been there several hours but the hospitable people made no attempt to disturb the sleepers until the arrival of the appointed time. The committee, composed of the following, was presented to the delegates: Alex. Coquillard, J. M. Studebaker, Joseph D. Oliver, J. Ben. Birdsell, Leighton Pine, A. Eberhart, C. B. Van

Pelt, E. S. Reynolds, George W. Baker, Rev. Father Zahm, George M. Studebaker, J. B. Stoll, Alf. B. Miller, John R. Haughton, Schuyler Colfax, George Ford, P. O'Brien, D. S. Marsh, and L. R. Skerritt. The waiting carriages were speedily filled, one committeeman taking charge of three visitors. The huge steam whistle of the Singer works gave the signal that the procession had started and then every whistle and bell in the town was turned loose for about five minutes—an ear-numbing din.

The first halt was made at the Studebaker carriage repository, which had been transformed into a temporary exposition building. The following firms were represented in the display of what South Bend does for a living: South Bend Woolen Company; A. C. Staley Manufacturing Company, knit-goods; Wilson Bros., shirts; Singer Sewing Machine Company, machine cases; Roper Furniture Company, of Mishawaka; A. Coquillard, buggies and carriages; South Bend Cement Works; South Bend Seeder Company, seeders and potato-pickers; John Chockelt, wagons and carriages; Boyd & Hillier, sash, doors, and blinds; Charles Steele, harness; C. Liphart, furniture; O'Brien Varnish Works; N. P. Bowsher, combination feed-mills, speed indicator, etc.; Sibley & Ware, drill-presses and combination pulleys; E. S. Reynolds, paper-pulp and paper; Stephenson Bros., wooden pumps and turned-wood work; Mishawaka Knit-Boot Company; South Bend Toy Company; Mishawaka Pulp Company; A. Russworm & Sons, leather goods; A. Wells & Son, sliding blinds; Amber Bone Company, dress-stays; Birdsell Manufacturing Company, wagons, carriages, and clover-hullers; South Bend Medicine Company, Dr. Whitehall, and Dr. Miles exhibited patent medicines, while Flora A. Jones put up a display of complexion reviver.

Outside the building were exhibits by the Perkins Windmill Company, of Mishawaka, the Bissell Chilled Plow Company, the South Bend Chilled Plow Company, the Economist Plow Company, and the St. Joseph Manufacturing Company, of Mishawaka. Berger & Sousley showed a patent cultivator, while Westervelt's factory was represented by a riding-plow, drawn by a pair of goats.

In succession were visited the establishments of the Messrs. Birdsell, Studebaker Bros., Wilson Bros.' shirt factory, and the Oliver Chilled Plow Works.

Luncheon was provided at Tippecanoe Place, the home of Delegate Studebaker. The havoc caused by the fire was plainly visible all over the mansion, most of the rooms in which were blackened by flame and smoke. Enough repairing had, however, been done to make the place habitable and the guests were received in the entrance hall. They were presented to Miss Studebaker, Mesdames George M., P.E., J. M., and J. F. Studebaker, and Miss Milburn, by Special Agent Curtis. Then came the introductions to the Chicago committee, which was composed of Senator Farwell, Mayor Cregier, J. M. Clark, of the Union League Club, and chairman of the committee on reception; Lambert Tree, Potter Palmer, Andre Matteson, George F. Bissell, president of the Union League Club; General R. J. Smith, president of the Iroquois Club; W. Penn Nixon, George M. Gray, E. E. Wood, W. K. Sullivan, Representative Adams, General George B. Crook, A. S. Gage, Col. H. C. Corbin, and Capt. Philip Reade, of General Crook's staff; A. A. Sprague, John J. Glessner, president of the Citizens' Association; Osborne R. Keith, D. B. Fisk, E. F. Cragin, Ben. H. Campbell, W. J. Quan, H. S. Fitch, George M. Stiles, George W. Hoffman, and C. F. Kimball.

After a half hour of chat the entire party was notified that lunch was ready in the dining-rooms and to these apartments everybody repaired.

At the conclusion of the lunch Delegate Studebaker arose and said:

I bid you welcome to my home and to South Bend. As perhaps most of you know, my position is full of embarrassment and perplexity by reason of the fire which nine days ago, while I was absent traveling about the country with you, destroyed the better part of this house. But I have done the best I could, and I hope that the heartiness of our welcome will lose nothing in the insufficiency of our accommodations. To leave this not altogether pleasant subject, I feel that it is hardly necessary to say that the objects sought to be attained by this tour of observation that you are making are so well known, both to you and to the people of this country, that it is not necessary for me to advert to

them. But I can not forbear to say that one of the things we want to do is to promote international amity and to foster international trade. And in connection with this subject I must add that if Central or South America want anything in the wagon or carriage line all they have got to do is to forward their orders to South Bend, Ind., U. S. A., in care of the Studebaker Brothers' Manufacturing Company. [Laughter.] But, seriously, I hope you will like South Bend and find it attractive, and I trust that if you ever return to the United States you will want to pay South Bend a second and more comprehensive visit. And if you should I want you to remember that my latch-string is always hanging out, and that my doors will always open to you. [Applause.]

I now have the pleasure of introducing to you W. H. Longley, mayor of South Bend.

Mr. Longley said:

Gentlemen of the International Congress: On behalf of the citizens of South Bend I give you welcome to our borders. This city is not remarkable for its size, possessing as it does, no more than 26,000 inhabitants, but it is remarkable for the extent and diversity of its manufacturing interests. Besides wagons and carriages, we make yearly thousands of articles with an account of which I will not tire you, and the name of South Bend is known throughout the civilized world. You are about to see, this afternoon, some of our products in course of manufacture, and I am convinced that when you have finished your tour of inspection you will agree with me that there are very few cities on the face of the earth that can compare in many respects with that city, to which, gentlemen, I have the honor to bid you welcome.

Delegate Trescot proposed a toast to Mr. Studebaker, who typified the American idea of a man who could not only bear misfortunes but overcome them, and the toast was drunk in cold water to show, as Mr. Trescot said, the sympathy of the visitors with that element as opposed to fire.

In carriages the visitors were, after lunch, taken to the Singer Sewing Machine Works and from thence went on to the University of Notre Dame, where they were welcomed by President Walsh, Father Sorin, founder of the university, and a great crowd of strong-lunged boys. The interior of the building was inspected and then the party returned to the front of the university, where the Hayne Cadets, nearly one hundred strong, were drawn up in line. The priests and the guests of the occasion assembled on the portico, the cadets presented arms, and the Rev. T. E. Walsh made the following address:

He said:

Gentlemen, it gives us much pleasure to bid you a cordial welcome. With the object which your Congress has in view, and which we are assured it will realize, it is needless to say that we are in fullest sympathy. Whatever tends to break down the barriers that prevent men or nations from having and appreciating one another is a force that makes for progress; whatever tends to draw together more closely the nations of the hemisphere is something to which no American, whether his home be north or south of the Isthmus of Panama, can afford to be indifferent.

To you, gentlemen, who represent foreign nations, we trust that the visit with which you honor us to-day will not be devoid of features of special interest. You have seen on all sides during the past month proofs of the wonderful prosperity of our Republic; this afternoon it will be our privilege to present one of the many illustrations that might be given of the happy results effected during the course of a single generation by the spirit of the religion of your fathers, independent of State patronage and unhampered by State interference. The growth and prosperity of institutions like ours, and the confidence which they enjoy, we look upon as standing proofs that whatever may be said or imagined to the contrary, there is no hostility, no incompatibility between the old church, whose cardinal principal is authority, and those modern institutions based on the widest individual liberty. Our aim is to show to the world that true patriotism and religion go always hand in hand; the task which we strive to fulfill is to prepare a generation of citizens who will know how to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's without forgetting to render to God the things that are God's, and our proudest boast is that the nation counts no sons more loyal, none more jealous of her honor or more devoted to her interests, than those who go forth from these walls.

Gentlemen, in whose veins flows the blood of gallant Spain, you will observe in passing through these college halls that we have not been unmindful of the debt of gratitude which America owes to the land of your fathers. Isabella and other glories of your race are enshrined in the heart of every American; the veneration which their memory inspires is hemmed in by no geographical limits; and from the places of honor which we have assigned them and in which we aim to perpetuate the memory of their services and sacrifices, they will to-day add their welcome to ours.

The flags that float above your heads and the pictured scenes that will greet you will, we trust, pleasurably remind you that you have no reason to consider yourselves strangers in a strange land, and our highest ambition will be realized if we can flatter ourselves that your visit to Notre Dame has not been the least interesting feature of a trip destined, no doubt, to remain memorable in the annals of many peoples, and to mark the beginning of a new era of international peace, union, and prosperity. Once more we bid you welcome to Notre Dame

Father Walsh's speech was loudly cheered. When the applause had subsided, Eusebio Chacon, a resident of Trinidad, Colo., and a student at the university, delivered an address in Spanish; he, too, was loudly applauded.

The party then went to St. Mary's Academy, where they were welcomed by the Mother Superior and other members of the faculty. In the large reception were the lady students and these rendered a chorus of welcome. Miss Blanche Hellman, of Omaha, read a brief and flowery address. A vocal solo was rendered by Miss Minnie Leahey, of Warsaw. The chapel was visited and from thence the conference party and the Chicago committeemen were driven to the train.

AT CHICAGO.

It was 9 o'clock, thirty minutes later than the schedule, when the "special" reached the Twenty-second street depot of the Michigan Central in Chicago. Here the citizens' committee on the train was augmented by the appearance of George M. Pullman, Marshall Field, P. D. Armour, N. K. Fairbank, C. L. Hutchinson, General Stockton, G. F. Bissell, E. A. Hamlin, H. Spaulding, Paul Morton, A. C. Bartlett, J. H. Bradley, General Strong, A. R. Adams, T. B. Bryan, A. L. Seeberger, H. J. McFarland, Dr. E. J. Gardner, E. E. Ryer, C. H. Schwab, W. E. Strong, W. A. Fuller, Representative Abner Taylor, H. J. McFarland, L. R. McCoy, H. N. Higinbotham, C. L. Raymond, John B. Drake, General O. W. Ruggles, Charles Deering, Martin Hughitt, Norman Fraser, and H. S. Fitch.

The First Regiment of the Illinois National Guard, headed by a band, led the procession down Michigan avenue, Battery D meanwhile firing an artillery salute. The streets from Michigan avenue west to the Grand Pacific Hotel, were crowded with enthusiastic residents of the city who frequently gave vent to their feelings in cheers.

On the second floor of the hotel the excursionists gathered together and were addressed by Mayor Cregier as follows:

Gentlemen of the International American Conference, I respond to this call as an official duty, the pursuance of which I desire to sav

to you, as our guests, is also a sincere pleasure. I am aware that, after the fatigues of the day, and in consideration of the late hour, lengthy remarks are not in order. In an informal manner I therefore extend greetings to you, and offer you a cordial and hearty welcome to the metropolis of the great Northwest. Let me say in behalf of and in the name of Chicago that we sincerely trust that your sojourn here will be as pleasant to you as I have no doubt it will be to Chicago. Let me say, further, that the day some of our citizens spent with you in another city was one of unalloyed pleasure. I know this to be true because I have heard no other comment from those who were of the party. I can assure you that wherever you have been, or wherever you may go, you will find nowhere a more hearty welcome than in this young city of Chicago.

At the conclusion of the speech, which was well received, the tired excursionists retired to their several apartments.

EIGHTEENTH DAY.

AT CHICAGO.

The majority of the delegates rested until a late hour on Sunday morning, but there were several of them who were up sufficiently early to attend services in some of the churches. These returned to the hotel in time to meet the other members of the party at luncheon and to go with them on a visit to the Armour mission.

The hall of the mission, when the delegates arrived, was crowded to its utmost capacity and hundreds of apparently interested people were unable to secure admittance. Of the congregation of more than two thousand about one-half were children of the school. No special programme had been prepared and it was understood that there should be no speeches. The design was that the delegates should see the mission work in operation as on any ordinary occasion. Very much interested were they in the vocal exercises and when Master Blatchford Kavanagh sang "With Verdure Clad" they laid aside conventionally Sabbatic ideas and applauded the exquisite performance heartily.

Each of the departments of the great mission was visited, and just as the party was about to leave a committee-

man found Mr. P. D. Armour and introduced him to the visitors.

From the Mission the party drove to the water-works and thence through Lincoln Park. At Chicago avenue and Clark street the carriages were abandoned and the cable-cars boarded; the committee desired the strangers to see the cable system and the tunnel.

NINETEENTH DAY.

AT CHICAGO.

Before 10 o'clock on Monday morning a train-load of delegates, attachés, and Chicagoans was at the Union Depot ready for a day of sight-seeing. J. M. Clark, president of the reception committee, had as his immediate assistants the following gentlemen, many of whom were Army officers: Lieut. Gov. L. B. Ray, D. B. Fisk, C. L. Raymond, C. H. McCormick, A. R. Dyer, General W. E. Strong, W. K. Sullivan, Charles Fargo, J. Irving Pierce, Erskine M. Phelps, George M. Gray, J. Stiles, E. P. Wilson, C. A. Garcelon, P. E. Studebaker, George Ball, S. A. Maxwell, General Michael R. Morgan, Col. E. T. Hyde, Capt. Cyrus S. Roberts, Col. H. C. Corbin, W. J. Quan, A. S. Gage, Capt. Jacob F. Munson, Capt. Harry Reade, Capt. Charles A. A. McCauley, Lieut. C. E. Dentler, Lieut. F. G. Townsend, Lieut. T. F. Taggart, Lieut. Philip Reade.

The first stop made was at the McCormick Reaper Works. Only the most hurried kind of an inspection was possible, ten minutes being the period allotted it in the programme. C. H. McCormick used every moment of the time to the best advantage and managed to show the visitors a good deal that was interesting.

Then came the stock-yards and the smells. Every description of stench that offends the nostrils of the world and a few unique odors not known outside of Chicago were aggregated for the occasion; but every member of the party was interested in the business which was being done, and only a few of the more delicately constructed allowed themselves stomachic qualms.

The following gentlemen composed the stock-yards committee: W. L. Tombly, Irus Coy, G. T. Williams, R. Z. Herrick, David Wagoner, J. S. McFarland, Isaac Waixel, A. D. Lamb, W. J. Hong, C. W. Baker, H. L. Goodall, J. Rosenbaum, M. B. Buell, W. M. Darlington, W. M. McIlhaney, J. E. Wood, A. Gregory, T. Brown, jr., L. B. Dowd, M. Cudahy, G. F. Swift, Nelson Morris, R. Sprahorn, George Adams, J. Striker, W. F. Keenan, J. H. Wood, S. Waugh, H. P. Mallory, and C. Ingersen.

Accompanied by the majority of the before-mentioned, but under the especial guidance of G. F. Swift, Mr. Swift's establishment was visited. Some very rapid beef-slaughtering was done, all in the regular routine way; it was a slice of every-day business.

Libby, McNeil & Libby's was the next establishment visited, and there the mysteries of the meat-canning business were made plain to the visitors.

At the Fairbank Canning Company's establishment there was a series of object-lessons in the manufacture of cans, and when these had been glanced at the crowd walked over to Armour's. Pig-sticking as a high art was the attractive feature of the immense buildings, and several of the members of the party succeeded in losing themselves in endeavors to see all the interesting and extremely rapid operations.

The carriages were in waiting when the party emerged from Armour's, and a trip was made over the yards. Some of the fine stock—horses and cattle—was examined and admired, and then everybody went over to take a peep at Swift's retail meat market. A few went also to the Exchange Building, but did not stay long, because the train was waiting to take them to Pullman.

It was almost 1.30 when the train arrived at Pullman. Luncheon had been served on the train, so every one was ready to step out as soon as the train stopped. There was a delegation of citizens on the platform, headed by George M. Pullman, Capt. William Sessions, superintendent of the car-works, and W. H. Fenner, president of the Allen Paper Car-Wheel Company. Under the personal guidance of Mr. Pullman and Captain Sessions the various shops

were visited and the methods of car-construction explained. Especially interested were the visitors in the huge Corliss engine—the machine that furnished the power at the Centennial Exhibition of 1876. Mr. Pullman directed attention to the water and sewage systems, and on those subjects delivered an interesting little address. Then a special train over the Pullman road took the guests to the street-car shops, and on that short trip an opportunity was afforded the strangers to see the beauties of Lake Calumet and the parks and pleasure-grounds on its shores.

When the train-load had returned to Pullman a visit was made to the Arcade Building, in which are all the stores that are to be found in Pullman. A theater, a library, lodge-rooms, and offices are also within the structure. In the former the first speech-making of the day took place. Mr. J. S. Runnells, attorney for the Pullman Company, introduced Duane Doty, the chief engineer, and that gentleman gave a brief sketch of the history of the town of Pullman. Delegate Trescot responded.

Promptly at 3.15 the party started for Chicago, and twenty minutes later the visitors had left the train at South Park and, in carriages, had started for a drive through the city parks.

Before the hotel was entered at the conclusion of the drive Postmaster Sexton invited the delegates to inspect the interior of the city post-office. Several accepted and spent a few minutes in two or three of the more interesting departments.

The social feature of the stay of the delegates in Chicago was the reception tendered them by Mr. and Mrs. Potter Palmer in their magnificent residence on the lake shore drive. Shortly before 9 p. m. the delegates drove from the hotel and, in company with a large number of the more distinguished people of Chicago, were received by the host and hostess. The great circular hall was used as a reception-room, and in this stood Mr. and Mrs. Palmer, Mrs. A. C. McClurg, Mrs. H. H. Honore, Mrs. T. W. Harvey, and Mr. William E. Curtis. Members of the International party were introduced by Mr. Curtis. When all those who had been invited had arrived the scene was

a most brilliant one, the costumes of the ladies being of more than ordinary beauty and richness, while the display of diamonds and other precious stones was unexampled in the fashionable history of Chicago.

Among those present were: General and Mrs. Crook, J. G. Shortall, George Mills Rogers, W. W. K. Nixon, Ernest Smith, Judge and Mrs. Lambert Tree, General Joseph Stockton, Col. H. C. Corbin, Major Kirkland, Carter H. Harrison, N. K. Honore, Mr. and Mrs. George M. Pullman, F. M. Whitehouse, General George W. Smith, Charles P. Bryan, Mr. and Mrs. Volney C. Turner, Mr. and Mrs. John C. Black, Mr. and Mrs. Charles L. Hutchinson, Mr. and Mrs. Edmund Norton, Mr. and Mrs. James H. Dale, Judge and Mrs. Mason B. Loomis, Mr. and Mrs. Albert Keep, Dr. and Mrs. Owens, Mr. and Mrs. Carter H. Harrison, jr.; Dr. and Mrs. Isham, Judge and Mrs. Walter Q. Gresham, Judge and Mrs. McConnell, Judge and Mrs. Hawes, Mr. and Mrs. R. L. Henry, Mr. and Mrs. B. F. Ayer, Mr. and Mrs. F. H. Winston, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Cobb, Mr. and Mrs. R. R. Cable, Mrs. Henry Mason, Miss Bryan, Miss Seeberger, Miss Julia Rogers, Miss Keep, C. N. Fay, Marshall Field, General A. S. Chetlain, Dunlap Smith, Perry H. Smith, Arthur Tree, William Penn Nixon, Prof. David Swing, A. C. Honore, Cyrus H. McCormick, Cope Whitehouse, M. Bruwaert, French consul at Chicago; General W. E. Strong, Mr. and Mrs. A. F. Seeberger, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Henrotin, Mr. and Mrs. George L. High, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Larned, Mr. and Mrs. John Root, Mr. and Mrs. Wilmerding, Mr. and Mrs. George Armour, Mr. and Mrs. J. Young Scammon, Mr. and Mrs. W. K. Nixon, Senator and Mrs. Farwell, Judge and Mrs. Shepard, Judge and Mrs. Gary, Mr. and Mrs. O. W. Potter, Mr. and Mrs. Runnells, Mr. and Mrs. Erskine M. Phelps, Miss Walker, Miss Grannis, the Misses Fay, Miss Laura Johnson, the Misses Odell, Miss Larrabee, Miss Kirkland, Miss Greggs, Miss Hester Kimball, Mrs. Starring, Mr. and Mrs. N. K. Fairbank, Judge and Mrs. Egbert Jamieson, Mr. and Mrs. Perry H. Smith, jr., and Mr. and Mrs. Dunlap Smith.

TWENTIETH DAY.

AT CHICAGO.

The great wholesale dry-goods house of Marshall, Field & Co. was the first place visited by the excursionists on Tuesday after leaving the hotel. At the warehouse the long line of strangers was welcomed by Harlow N. Higginbotham, the manager of the busy institution, and his two assistants, D. A. Kimball and C. C. Lay. These gentlemen conducted the party over every floor of the immense structure.

Then came the ride to the Board of Trade Building and a volley of cheers from the crowd of bystanders that had congregated around the La Salle street entrance. In the board room Special Agent Curtis presented the delegates to President W. S. Seaverns, Vice-President E. W. Bailey, Secretary G. F. Stone, and Directors F. J. Schuyler, J. C. Rogers, B. A. Eckhart, Adolph Seckel, R. G. Chandler, J. T. Rawleigh, and others. Each member of the party was presented with a card souvenir on which was printed, in English and Spanish, statements of interest as to the great commercial business done in the city of Chicago. Secretary Stone then took the party on the "floor," where an immense crowd and an ear-splitting board-of-trade yell became apparent at the same time. Samples of grain were examined and as the visitors retired the assembly sang a verse of "My country, 'tis of thee." For some little time thereafter the delegates looked at the trading from the gallery.

After leaving the "bulls" and "bears" the next stop was made in front of the Adams Express building, where Secretary Cragin, of the World's Fair Association, gave each one a beautiful souvenir, illustrating the features of Chicago's boulevard system.

In response to a request made by Mayor Cregier, Delegate Romero, of Mexico, turned in a fire alarm at Panorama place and Michigan avenue. Chief Swenie was with the party and saw that it was done properly. An inter-

esting exhibition was then given of the rate of speed at which the Chicago fire department can and does work.

A few minutes later and the delegation stood in the great Auditorium building. Ferd. W. Peck, president of the Auditorium Association, and Milward Adams, the manager, received the guests at the main entrance and conducted them through it.

After examining the beautiful and varied stock of vehicles in the salesroom of the Studebaker Building next door, the party was driven to the Northwestern Depot, where it took a special train for Wayne, to visit Mark Dunham's stock farm. The farm, which is known as "Oaklawn," is said to be one of the largest and most completely equipped in the country. The guests on arriving were presented to Mr. Dunham by Capt. John G. Bourke, and in turn introduced to Mrs. Dunham, Mrs. Lewis Dunham, of Maquoketa, Iowa; Miss Von Schrader, of Ottumwa, Iowa; Miss Cooley, of Chicago, and Miss Waldron, of Elgin. Among those present from Elgin were Mayor Price, William Claudman, George Hunter, Alderman Bowles, Captain Wilcox, E. Waldron, and William Sherwood. Aurora was represented by Judge Wilder Gates, Postmaster J. F. Hodder, Andrew Welch, and F. A. DeWesa. While luncheon was being served the Elgin Watch Factory band rendered a number of beautiful selections.

When the meal was over the entire company repaired to the stable yards where a magnificent display of Percheron and other horses was paraded. The return to Chicago was made on schedule time and the travelers enjoyed an hour or more of rest before beginning to dress for the banquet.

The banquet was a superlative affair. The guests began to assemble in the corridor at the head of the Grand Pacific's main stairway soon after 7 o'clock but it was past the hour of 8 when the word was given to move into the dining-room, Senator Farwell and Delegate Romero, of Mexico, leading the way. Extremely elaborate were the floral decorations, exceeding in beauty, it was said, anything of the kind ever before attempted in the city of Chicago. Every one of the twenty-three windows was banked with

cut roses and ferns and in front of every mirror was a vase filled with La France roses. On one side of the room was an American shield of red and white immortelles and cape-flowers surrounded by the flags of the sixteen nations represented in the Conference. The flags were draped with smilax and illuminated by small electric lights. On the other side of the great hall was a floral map of the Western hemisphere constructed of cape-flowers. This was bordered with roses and smilax and illuminated by electricity. On the main table which extended the entire length of the hall were three floral pieces. The center one was a bank of American beauty roses, one thousand flowers of the most perfect description; this piece was 20 feet in length. At one end of the table was a large floral ship; at the other, a floral train.

The guests stood while the Rev. Dr. Bristol invoked the Divine blessing, and as they sat down the numerous electric lights in the decorations were suddenly turned on, and the beauty of the scene was materially added to.

Exclusive of members of the Conference excursion party the following is a complete list of those present:

Senator C. B. Farwell, General George Crook, U. S. A., Lambert Tree, Governor Fifer, J. M. Clark, James M. Arnold, A. B. Adam, J. P. Altgeld, J. E. Adams, E. E. Ayer, George H. Allen, A. J. Averill, G. E. Adams, D. H. Burnham, A. C. Bartlett, G. M. Bogue, G. F. Bissell, E. P. Bailey, W. T. Baker, James Barell, G. C. Ball, G. R. Blanchard, J. H. Dwight, Charles Deering, C. G. Davis, G. E. P. Dodge, Arthur Dixon, George R. Davis, W. F. Donovan, A. R. Dyer, M. W. Dunham, J. R. Doolittle, Henry Dunbar, J. N. Davis, John Evans, J. K. Edsall, F. S. Eames, H. L. Edwards, J. H. Hamline, John Hitt, O. H. Horton, George W. Hoffman, Kirk Hawes, Wash. Hesing, Dr. L. V. Hulburt, W. F. Henderson, H. J. Higgins, N. G. Inglehart, F. S. James, Rev. J. L. Jones, W. D. Kerfoot, W. H. Bradley, L. L. Bond, Cyrus Pentley, N. Botsford, E. K. Butler, M. C. Bullock, Thomas B. Bryan, James C. Brooks, S. B. Barker, T. Brennan, C. E. Bliven, J. R. Bensley, F. Biedler, H. M. Bigelow, O. F. Bane, Charles Bent, Rev. F. M. Bristol, Col. R. C. Clowrey, W.

J. Campbell, J. R. Custer, S. B. Fisk, C. C. Fuller, M. Fitzsimmons, C. Fitz-Simons, Marshall Field, M. Flower, E. H. Gary, George M. Gray, A. M. Gilbert, H. H. Getty, E. J. Gardner, E. F. Getchell, H. Greenebaum, H. F. Grey, C. F. Gunther, W. P. Keep, C. B. Kelley, O. R. Keith, W. B. Keeler, L. J. Lamson, George Lyon, Robert Law, J. H. Long, General J. B. Leake, E. F. Lawrence, A. M. Lewis, Col. E. J. Lister, W. C. Larned, Whitney Mockridge, C. H. Morse, T. S. Chard, R. S. Critchell, Irus Coy, Col. H. C. Corbin, F. W. Clark, John M. Clark, R. T. Crame, W. H. Colvin, B. H. Campbell, J. T. Chumasero, M. Cudahy, Eugene Cary, A. E. Carothers, E. F. Cragin, D. C. Cregier, A. J. Caton, W. A. Giles, J. F. Gillette, A. S. Gage, C. F. Gill, G. P. Holmes, M. B. Hull, W. G. Hibbard, H. N. Higginbotham, H. M. Higginbotham, Dr. G. A. Hall, R. C. Hannah, C. Henrotin, W. H. Harper, J. S. Hannah, C. L. Hutchinson, E. A. Hamill, A. J. Harding, T. W. Harvey, R. B. Martin, S. A. Maxwell, N. W. Munday, R. H. McCormick, J. J. Mitchell, Levy Mayer, C. H. McCormick, W. H. Moore, J. H. Moore, D. McWilliams, F. E. Morse, L. Manasse, W. J. Manning, A. J. Marble, C. B. Macdonald, E. G. Kent, R. A. Keyes, C. P. Kimball, S. B. Kimbark, J. W. Nye, O. W. Norton, Edwin Norton, W. P. Nixon, Murray Nelson, J. T. Noyes, W. Northrop, D. V. Purington, A. M. Pence, E. M. Phelps, S. A. Patis, W. D. Preston, Ferd. W. Peck, P. E. Studebaker, J. M. Studebaker, A. C. Soper, J. P. Soper, W. R. Sterling, George B. Swift, Joseph Stockton, H. A. Spalding, W. S. Seaverns, General W. S. Smith, W. H. Smith, G. F. Swift, W. C. E. Seeboeck, E. B. Sherman, S. T. St. Croix, Col. H. L. Turner, David Kelley, L. W. McConnell, A. Meeker, E. G. Mason, H. J. MacFarland, C. F. Pierce, J. Irving Pearce, G. M. Pullman, W. D. Porter, C. L. Raymond, M. A. Ryerson, Lieutenant-Governor Ray, E. Rose, C. D. Roys, J. W. Root, John A. Roche, J. S. Runnells, A. R. Russell, S. R. Raymond, T. P. Robb, O. B. Taft, Dr. C. I. Thatcher, M. F. Tuley, James Todd, Arthur Tree, J. Van Inwagen, E. H. Valentine, B. R. Wells, M. D. Wells, M. J. Wentworth, D. Wallach, G. H. Webster, T. H. Montgomery, J. K. Robinson, E. H. Schwab, General W. E. Strong, W. K.

Sullivan, J. H. Swan, G. Schneider, A. A. Sprague, R. J. Smith, R. Stone, J. G. Shortall, A. F. Seeberger, J. S. Sharp, J. C. Stirling, George N. Stiles, G. W. Shannon, O. J. Shannon, G. F. Brown, Henry Walker, jr., James R. Walker, General R. Williams, O. D. Wetherell, James H. Walker, E. Walker, A. F. Walker, J. L. Woodward, A. S. Wright, L. Wampold, T. S. Wallin, H. E. Weaver, W. S. Wallace, W. B. Walker, G. S. Willetts, G. T. Williams, C. T. Yerkes, H. B. Hurd.

The *menu* was an elaborate one, and between the courses instrumental and vocal selections were rendered, respectively, by an orchestra and by quartets from the Lotus, Buck, Weber, and Zoellner clubs. One of the vocal selections—"The Owl and the Pussy Cat"—was composed especially for the occasion by Reginald De Koven.

Promptly at 10 o'clock Senator Farwell secured silence and said:

Gentlemen: Having, I trust, satisfied your physical wants, I now invite you to a repast of a higher order. But before doing so I wish to say that I hope you have been pleased with what you have seen in our young city so much that you will come back again; that you will come to our fair, which is to be held here in 1892 [laughter], to commemorate the discovery of this hemisphere by Columbus; that this visit will be the first of a large number which you will make to us. It signifies much now, and I hope will signify more for the future. By it I hope that our commercial relations will be greatly improved and that we shall become fast friends.

I hope that your Congress, soon to assemble, will devise means which will be beneficial to us all. I do not forget, however, that much depends upon us. We must, as soon as possible, establish steam-ship lines to your countries and liberally subsidize them. We must offer to you our exports as cheaply as others do, and to that end I shall favor such legislation as will bring about this result, even to the extent of uninterrupted trade between all the countries of this hemisphere.

Gentlemen, it is an interesting fact that there are gathered around this table the representatives of seventeen independent nations, and friends; and it is not only proper but appropriate that I should propose the health of the Presidents of these sixteen American Republics and of Dom Pedro, that grand old Emperor of Brazil. [Prolonged applause.] This toast, gentlemen, we will drink in silence and standing. [Applause.]

Senator Farwell said: As our time is short, I may be permitted without further ceremony, to introduce our gov-

ernor to make the address of welcome. Gentlemen, I have the honor to introduce to you the Hon. Joseph W. Fifer, the governor of the State of Illinois. [Great applause.]

Governor Fifer said:

Gentlemen of the International American Congress: Four hundred years ago the first bark from Christian Europe anchored in the sea of an unknown and savage hemisphere. How brief in the recorded history of man is the little span of civilized America, yet how marvelous in the retrospect seem the triumphs wrought here by unshackled manhood in the four centuries since Columbus planted the cross upon San Salvador.

Following Columbus came the conquering Spaniard, the enterprising Portuguese, the acute and valorous Frenchman, the devout Puritan, the haughty cavalier, until at length all nationalities have here mingled in a congress greater even than yours—a congress of hardship endured together and courageous effort put forth in the transcendent cause of making a better and a freer home for mankind.

At the shore line of America fell the broken chain of feudalism. Despotism had its short day with most of us, but it, too, went down before the march of constitutional government, for which the conditions of America were so peculiarly favorable. Ceasing to learn from authority alone, man in the New World began to take counsel of nature and of himself. A hemisphere vast in extent, formidable in some parts by the very exuberance of its life and products, was subdued to the use of man; and here, imbibing the spirit of toleration from the very air, man first ceased to burn, and learned to love, his brother. In much travail we broke here the manacles of that inherited bondage which from the dawn of history had in every land festered in human limbs, and to-night, thank God, there reposes no slave upon the bosom of the continents discovered by Columbus.

Industry here found new incentives; enterprise and invention found large rewards; head and heart joined alike in the service of humanity, and the inanimate forces of nature, harnessed by the devices of free thought to the car of progress, carry to-day the burdens once borne by unrequited toil. The swift interchange of thought wherein, as by the lightning's touch, the heart-throbs of the nations are felt in pulses under the embracing sea, tends to make brothers of all mankind.

Now, after four eventful centuries, you, gentlemen, representing the free nations which embrace the vast domain of the Three Americas, exponents of the Christian courage and character which formed the civilization of a new world, have come together under the twin stars of fraternity and peace to hold a conference looking to the mutual helpfulness and common good of all. How sublime is the spectacle thus presented, where enlightened interest, justice, and truth, eschewing the subterfuges of diplomacy, seek to find their true formula in the federation of friendly powers.

Mine is not the task to advise, but to welcome you. In the name of the people of Illinois, whose executive head I happen temporarily to be, I hail and salute the delegates of the Three Americas. Cordially and heartily I give you welcome; a welcome unimportant as coming from me personally, but all-important as coming from this great and free Commonwealth, which gave to this nation in Lincoln, the emancipator, its greatest statesman, and in Grant, the preserver, its greatest soldier since the era of American independence. To that Commonwealth I bid you welcome; and in this city, second in population in the American Union, second in nothing except population, I ask you to study the spirit of enterprise, of industry, and of commercial thrift, the fruits of which, in the closer industrial relations to result from your wise counsels, it is our hope you may all share.

Senator FARWELL. One of our honored guests at this table to-night, and one who, I am proud to say, is not a stranger to Chicago, is Mr. Romero, of Mexico; he will respond to the greeting of our governor. I have the honor, gentlemen, of introducing to you the Hon. Matias Romero, delegate from the Republic of Mexico. [Great applause.]

Delegate Romero, speaking in English, delivered the following response:

Mr. President and gentlemen: I feel highly honored at being called upon to answer the hearty welcome to the delegates to the International American Conference extended by the distinguished governor of this great State. It is an honor which I fully appreciate to be permitted to speak before such a distinguished audience as is congregated here to-night, and it is also an honor to be the spokesman of the official representatives of all the independent nations of the Western Hemisphere. I have seldom regretted as much as I now do that my deficiency in the English language should prevent me from doing justice to this occasion.

The delegates of the International American Conference fully appreciate your thoughtful courtesy in allowing them the opportunity of meeting here to-night the representative men of Chicago, and they tender you their heartfelt thanks for your kindness and consideration. They understand that you fully sympathize with the object of their mission, and I hope will be permitted to refrain from dwelling upon the subjects that this conference has been called to discuss, as that would not be courteous to your own Federal Government, which invited the American nations to hold in Washington a consultation upon matters affecting the interests of them all.

Gentlemen, you certainly have every reason to be proud of your country, your State, and your city. Illinois was, when admitted to statehood, some seventy years ago (1818), so far as population is concerned, the last State in the Union, and sixty years later her growth

had been so large that in the census of 1880 she took fourth place among the States, and the great strides she has made during the last decade will, in all probability, give her nearly 4,000,000 inhabitants, and that will advance her to the third place among her sister States.

It is not only for the quantity of its inhabitants that Illinois is a great State, but for their quality too. Illinois has furnished the United States with some of its most extraordinary men. Of the three greatest men which this country has produced, and who have sometimes been called the fathers of their country, two came from Illinois—Abraham Lincoln, the statesman and patriot, who rid his country of the curse of slavery, and Ulysses S. Grant, the warrior, who by his victories restored the Union. There are a great many other distinguished men who have been and are proud to claim this State as their home. Stephen A. Douglas, the great statesman and orator, was a resident of this State and of your city; and that gallant soldier and true commoner, John A. Logan, was a native of this Commonwealth and a near neighbor of many of those now within the sound of my voice.

Chicago, when it was first settled in 1832, had but two hundred inhabitants; five years later, as an incorporated city, her population was 4,000. This rapid growth continued until it was regarded as a wonder even in this land of wonders. For thirty-four years there was a steady increase, but in 1871, when 300,000 people resided within your city limits, disaster came and a terrible conflagration destroyed practically the entire city.

A people less energetic than yourselves would at least have been discouraged in the face of such a calamity, but you have shown no signs of it in the eighteen years which have elapsed since that fire. You have rebuilt your city, have enlarged it considerably, and your population has almost trebled, making Chicago, in all probability, the second city in the United States.

I would take more of your time than I think I am entitled to were I to attempt to enumerate the many marvelous features of your city; you know them. I will only say that both the delegates who have seen it now for the first time and those to whom it is somewhat familiar are so much astonished at your wonderful growth, your extraordinary energy, your public spirit, your large manufactories, your magnificent public and private buildings, and your extensive parks and drives, that if we had not seen all we would be inclined to regard your history as a fairy tale, and even to doubt the possibility of what you have accomplished. You have made your city the second largest commercial center in your country, notwithstanding the remoteness from the coast; but as a railroad center and a grain and stock market you are supreme.

I could not, gentlemen, finish my remarks without expressing to you, in behalf of my colleagues and myself, our high appreciation of your courtesy to us and our sincere wishes for your personal happiness and prosperity and for the further progress of the welfare of the State of Illinois and the city of Chicago.

At the conclusion of Delegate Romero's speech, Whitney Mockridge, accompanied by W. C. E. Seeboeck, sang "Only a son."

Senator FARWELL. The next toast upon our programme is "Closer friendly and commercial relations between the American states," which will be given by the Hon. Lambert Tree, ex-minister of the United States to Belgium and Russia. [Applause.]

The Hon. Lambert Tree then spoke as follows:

I am sure that I voice the sentiment of every citizen of Chicago when I say that they feel proud that the delegation to the International Congress of American States have done them the honor to visit their city, not only because it seems to evidence the desire of such distinguished personages to witness what the people here are doing toward the creation of a metropolis in the heart of the country, but also because, by many travelers and students of our institutions, this city is regarded as in some respects typical of the rapid growth of the whole country during the last half of the present century.

I feel confident also that I am not mistaken in expressing the opinion that the people of this city and State sympathize deeply with the purposes of the International Congress, and hope that the questions to be considered by that body will be solved in such manner as to result in closer friendly and commercial relations between the states of North, South, and Central America.

Far removed from the surroundings and causes which endanger, from time to time, the peace of European nations, unhampered by the traditions and customs which make innovations and reforms difficult, it would seem that the peoples and governments of your countries and ours should be animated by the common purpose of extending and developing the advantages which situation and circumstance have given to us. In the execution of this common purpose it appears evident that these advantages would be immensely enhanced by greater facilities of communication by land and by water between the respective countries.

I think the honorable delegates from Mexico will agree with me when I say that we and our Mexican friends begin to understand each other better by reason of the railroads which now bind the two countries together, and the more familiar business and friendly associations resulting therefrom.

I hope the day is not far distant when the principal city of the Argentine Republic, that young giant of the south, will clasp hands with New York and the other cities on our seaboard by means of lines of ocean steamers. The rapid progress of that Republic, whose form of government is modeled after our own, and where the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States are received in their courts as au-

thority in construing constitutional provisions, has no more ardent or numerous admirers than in this country. Yet it is a melancholy fact that until now there is no regular communication and no commercial relations to any extent between two countries having so much in common of sympathy and interest. A citizen of the United States who finds himself in Buenos Ayres to-day and desired to transmit money to New York or Chicago must do so by draft on London, Paris, or Berlin; and what I have said with reference to the Argentine Republic is to a great extent true of the other nations lying to the south of us. Our commercial relations with them are not as intimate as the people of this country wish them to be, or as intimate as those which France, England, and Germany maintain with them.

This state of things ought not to exist. I do not believe that the people of the American nations south of us desire that it should. I believe that those people of the United States who have thought about the matter are mortified that such is the case. Candor compels me to say, however, that it is my country that is to blame for it.

It is time, high time, that Uncle Sam should cease the mere contemplation of the rooms in his own mansion and sometimes look out of his windows to see what is going on. I believe that he should commence to get better acquainted with his neighbors by encouraging the establishment of regular steam communication with their principal ports, by the repeal of the absurd navigation laws, so called, and by the adoption of such other enlightened legislation as will make commercial intercourse with our neighbors possible.

The countries of the two American continents are bound by a common destiny. They are mutually engaged in the noble work of cultivating the arts of peace and developing the avenues whereby the constantly multiplying inhabitants of the globe may acquire greater facilities for a comfortable subsistence. Possessing every variety of climate and soil, rich in precious and useful ores, penetrated by navigable rivers, bathed by two oceans, and capable of supporting easily hundreds of millions more of inhabitants than now occupy them, who will deny that the three Americas constitute the country of the future; countries which are destined to exercise a most important influence on the happiness and peace of the world under a wise governmental and commercial guidance.

The deliberations of the conference at Washington will be followed with deep interest by the people of the old as well as the new world, and it will have performed services of incalculable value to mankind if it succeeds in arriving at some basis upon which the friendly and commercial relations of the states of the three Americas can be drawn more closely together.

Senator FARWELL. From the other end of this hemisphere is the representative of the people who are proud to be known as the Yankees of South America, the Hon. Justice

Jose Alfonso, delegate from the Republic of Chili, who will respond to the toast Judge Tree has just given.

Delegate Alfonso then delivered an address in Spanish, of which the following is a translation :

I come, gentlemen, from a far-off land in the western part of the South American continent and stretching to the south as far as it goes ; a nation young and small, but rapidly developing and imbued with the spirit of energy and enterprise. With these common points of resemblance it can easily be comprehended that Chili contemplates with the deepest interest the career of the United States, a nation that has progressed with gigantic strides. It is not easy to foresee the measure of prosperity which the future holds in store for her. The field for study is interesting from its variable conditions. The plan of unity and fraternity which has been initiated by the Government at Washington in bringing together the International American congress has been a very happy one, and the delegates appreciate the offer which has enabled them to contemplate so many things, and among others this great city of Chicago—the most incontestible proof of the great results that can be realized by the labor, energy and activity of man. I must, with entire sincerity and frankness, confess that every thing that we have seen demonstrates that the reports contained in books of the resources of the United States convey but a faint idea of the reality. Nevertheless, it is only just to acknowledge that many causes have contributed to bring about the result. Some are natural causes. An Almighty hand has treated this country as a loving mother would treat her child, and this should not be lost sight of by those other nations that seek inspiration from the example of the United States, for when circumstances are dissimilar, imitations run the risk of being illusory and ineffective, if not absolutely dangerous.

The other causes have their origin and basis in the honesty and good will of the people of the United States toward mankind, and to them is owing, in a great degree, the prosperity which seems more astonishing as we contemplate it more closely. Examining the subject very closely and not superficially, my attention was called particularly to one point which I consider of the most vital importance. I refer to the correct proceeding, the just nature of all compromises, and what I may term the respect and sympathy for all humanity shown by the people. This is partly evidenced by the treatment accorded to the women in the United States. The respect and homage accorded them and the measure of distinction which they reach socially is an unmistakable sign that your society is approaching the perfect ideal.

In conclusion I propose the following toast which, more than a toast, expresses the real inspiration of my soul : " For the nation that, like this, cements its prosperity and its grandeur by proceeding always in a righteous and honest manner."

When the octet had rendered a selection Senator Far-

well said: The next toast is "International Reciprocity in Trade." It is with great regret that I announce the absence of Mr. Franklin MacVeagh who was to respond to this toast. He is unavoidably detained; but, at the same time, it is with great pleasure that I call upon Dr. Alberto Nin, of Uruguay, who has kindly consented to speak. [Great applause.]

Delegate Nin addressed the assemblage as follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: As the mountain can not come toward me I must needs, following a wise saying, go toward the mountain, and thus it is that, as this distinguished audience is unable to understand my language, I must endeavor to express myself in yours.

In the event of my mutilating it I do not doubt I can count upon your indulgence, as this is one of the instances in which the will may be taken for the deed.

And it is necessary that I should go to the mountain, because I wish to make known my deep gratitude to the people of the United States for the hospitable and cordial manner in which it has treated me since I landed on these shores.

Possessing no merits to deserve the regard and consideration with which I have been treated, it is my wish and duty to consider these as conferred upon my country, and it is in its name, and as a citizen of Uruguay, that I express my deep sentiment of gratitude.

I forward regularly to my country all the speeches that have been made among us since starting upon this interesting tour across the United States, and also cuttings from the press of articles relating to the same, and by this time, no doubt, our countrymen know that this people, as one man, has greeted us spontaneously, enthusiastically, and cordially, and feel sure I interpret my fellow-citizens' sentiments by affirming that their desire is for an opportunity to show you such hospitality as you have shown us.

More from what I have seen than from what I have heard I have been able to appreciate the great strides the United States have made toward peace; the active, intelligent, and laborious spirit of its sons, and its prosperity in general; a progress, I may add, which is well known to my countrymen.

It has been proclaimed as a fact, and with the object that the evil be remedied, that owing to few and deficient means of communication, the American nations are not known among each other. This fact is as evident as natural, because hitherto the American nations have devoted themselves almost exclusively to internal growth and development with the aid of the vast elements of capital offered by Europe; that continent overflowing with the accumulated wealth of centuries.

As regards Uruguay, I can assure you that the sister nations of America are well known there, and we cultivate and maintain with them

close political, commercial, and intellectual relations. Although our principal trade is with Europe, we receive products and manufactures from the rest of the world, as notwithstanding our small population and territory we are the people that trade most, produce most, and have most wealth per capita.

With a population of 800,000, Uruguay, having, as it has, the first factories of prepared beef and extract of meat in the world, such as Liebig, Cibils and others, could supply Europe for years and years.

I would like to state, for the benefit of those who are not acquainted with Uruguay, that Montevideo, its capital, by poets called "the Pearl of the Plate," and which, owing to its geographical situation, is undoubtedly one of the most beautiful of American cities, figures among, if not at the head, of the cities of Latin America, where art, science, and literature are cultivated most, and that last year it had the honor of witnessing the assembly of brothers of the south in an International Conference. To the wise deliberations of this Conference are due the eight treaties that constitute a code of public law, the application of which will give results the more transcendently beneficent, because the nations voluntarily assumed the duty of abiding by this legislation.

The republic of Uruguay, anxious to realize all that is great and beautiful, is open to all men of generous and elevated aspirations, as well as to all who wish to live in that genial climate where clear air and liberal laws and institutions prevail. For brains, muscle, and capital there are great opportunities.

It were not venturesome to assert that, at the end of this century, its population doubled or trebled, and its riches multiplied a hundred-fold, Uruguay will become as great a nation as its sister of the north is at the present day.

Our history is also great in sacrifices made to bring about our independence and establish our national constitution, a constitution that hardly dates back to the year "thirty" in this century. I could say much, but will only venture to remind you that Montevideo, like ancient Troy, stood with the greatest heroism a ten-years' siege to save, as it succeeded in doing, the liberties of the River Platte.

The history of my country has pages that are pages of America's history and while I am proud to say I am a Uruguayan, I am also happy to bear the title of American.

In conclusion, let me ask you to unite with me in the hope that the Congress of all American nations, brought about by the initiative of the illustrious Government of the United States, may terminate as happily as did the Montevideo conference in 1888; that the happiness may be extended all over the continent of Columbus, and that the Conference may be abundant in benefits to us all, whose aspiration it is to unite as brothers.

Senator FARWELL. Our next toast, gentlemen, is "The importance of the International American Conference to

the merchants of the United States," which will be responded to by Mr. Charles R. Flint, of New York, one of the delegates for the United States.

Delegate Flint said :

The assembling of the representatives of the nations of the Americas is fraught with great significance. The master-minds of this continent have always recognized the natural alliance which should exist between the independent governments of this hemisphere. Webster, Clay, and Adams all favored the idea of an International American Congress. Bolivar, the Washington and Lincoln of Spanish America, in 1818, foretold an American friendship of nations.

That far-sighted lawyer, publicist, and statesman, Samuel J. Tilden, shortly before his death began to formulate plans for the extension of our relations with Latin America, stating that it was one of the most important questions which the United States would be called upon to consider in the near future.

The act providing for the calling of the International American Congress was passed by a Republican Senate, a Democratic House, and made a law by the signature of Grover Cleveland. In order to insure a non-partisan representation, although not provided for by the act, Democrats as well as Republicans were appointed delegates by President Harrison.

Europe is the country of yesterday ; America is the land of to-morrow. With a population as dense as that of Belgium, the States of Latin-America here represented would have a population of 3,500,000,000; the United States, omitting Alaska, 1,580,000,000 more.

The development of the countries south of us is progressing with marvelous rapidity. Their fertile prairies, table-lands, and genial climate are attracting immigrants in large numbers from Europe. The immigration of the Argentine Republic, which has a population of 4,000,000, numbers one thousand per working day.

Europe is awaiting with deep interest the outcome of this meeting of the nations of the Western Hemisphere, and it is but natural that she should look for important results when she reviews the history of the past. Under the leadership of Bolivar, San Martin, O'Higgins, Sucre, Monagas, Belgrano, Lafayette, and Washington the Old World has seen the people of the Americas assert their political independence, and has looked on with wonder while we were successfully working out the grand problem of representative democratic government—a government based upon and sustained, not by standing armies, but by the will and patriotism of the people.

Although commercial relations with the Old World have been of great advantage to the New in supplying capital for the development of its vast resources, and while the representatives here to-night, in line with the march of civilization, have been and are leaders in simplifying and extending international intercourse, they must recognize

that it is in the interest of the Americas that in the industrial struggle which is waging the world over to-day we should establish our commercial independence.

Dealings between the peoples of the Americas should be direct, without foreign intervention. For want of a proper mechanism of exchange our purchases of produce from South America are paid for by drafts on London bankers for our account, we paying them \$1,000,000 annually in commissions on this business alone, not for any advance in cash, but simply for their autographs, as we place the cash in London to meet such drafts on or before maturity. We should establish our own standard and if this Congress formulates a system of inter-American exchange, and provides for the coinage of a dollar which shall be a standard for dealings between the countries whose representatives are here to-night, it will accomplish a practical result and will place in the possession of the people a coin symbolizing the national fraternity of the Americas. That would be a medal worthily commemorating a meeting of nations.

Within a few years this country has determined the question of a monetary circulation between the States of the United States. We are now free to take up the question of developing an international currency and exchange between the States of the Americas.

The consideration of such questions was not possible when the American Congress was called in 1825. At the outset there was the insurmountable difficulty of an institution existing at variance with the principles of a republican form of government—that of slavery—which most of the Spanish-American republics, be it said to their credit, were consistent in abolishing simultaneously with declaring their independence and which this country abolished later at the cost of hundreds of thousands of lives. The people of Brazil, by force of a noble public sentiment, personified in that “model ruler of the world,” Dom Pedro Segundo, last March completed the emancipation of slaves in that country. It is a happy omen that in this, the year of the meeting of the International American Congress, the abolition of slavery on this continent has been consummated, and that we meet at a time when we can truly say that all Americans are free and equal. But apart from the difficulties of the slavery question, in 1825, an international conference was not possible in the way it now is, because of the absence of the means of rapid transportation and quick communication. To-day Uruguay, 8,000 miles distant, is nearer than Chicago was to Milwaukee twenty-five years ago. The representatives of sixteen nations have not only been brought promptly to the place of assemblage in Washington, but they can and do daily confer with their governments.

The able address of our honorable Secretary of State to the delegates on their assembling in Washington was published in full in all the papers on this continent that same evening, and on the day following, from every country in Latin America, the cable flashed a hearty approval of the sentiments which he so well expressed for his country-

men. The people of the United States should particularly appreciate the value of facilities for transportation and communication. The dangers which menaced our Union in the past arose from sectional differences. The dangers which our giants in statesmanship pointed out but could not successfully deal with disappeared before the enterprise of the inventor, the mechanic, and business executive. By the utilization of steam and electricity in transportation and communication not only has the West been brought into close relation with the East, the interests of the North mingled with those of the South, and each with all, but such facilities have been and are the basis of our commercial prosperity. The same forces will as surely cement the commercial union of the Americas as that we are bound together to-day in friendship and live upon a single continent.

For the last century the people of the United States have been developing their immense resources and have been absorbed in solving domestic questions in politics and trade. But now that those questions have been largely disposed of; now that American capital is in a condition to look abroad for investment; now that our "infant industries" have grown up and we have become "overproducers," we must prepare for a new future.

For years the States to the south of us have been concerned primarily with their own affairs. While a country is occupied in developing its own resources it neglects to facilitate communication with its neighbors, but when it and its neighbors begin to grow nearer together because of the development of both, when all find that the larger the markets the wider the field of intimate intercourse, the better for each and for all; then, through community of action, it becomes possible to extend trade between neighboring States.

But we have been met by the statement that the members of the International Congress are wasting their time in endeavoring to extend trade with the United States until this country admits South American produce free of duty. In reply I would call your attention to the fact that the United States has already reduced its tariff, so that over 80 per cent. of the produce coming from the countries represented in this Congress is admitted free of duty, which leaves less than 20 per cent. with which to trade for reciprocity. We purchased last year from the countries south of us produce to the value of \$181,000,000. What is deplorable is that to pay for that produce we had to remit \$112,000,000 in cash to Europe, where our southern neighbors purchased over 85 per cent. of the manufactured goods which they required from abroad, our sales to them last year amounting to only \$69,000,000. Instead of sending their orders to Europe and forcing us to remit \$112,000,000 cash to Europe for their account, we ask our southern neighbors to purchase of us, in exchange for what we purchased from them, the dry goods, hardware, lumber, railroad supplies, agricultural implements, and other manufactured products which we are showing them in this visit to the industrial centers of our country.

Extended commercial intercourse with the countries of the South will benefit not any one section of this country only, but the entire land. And in moving to extend our commercial relations let us proceed in a way characteristic of the intellectual breadth, enterprise, and energy of people of new and rapidly developing countries by simultaneously developing facilities in many directions, as every one supplements every other; by perfecting international system of exchange; by showing that we can produce honest goods at a fair price and uniting in the protection of honest goods by American trade-marks; by creating a system of banking to facilitate the extension of credit; by reciprocity treaties; by improving communication by mail and by cable; by recognizing the true value of facilities for transportation by sea and by rail; by showing the products of the Three Americas in 1892, and wherever it is, whether in New York or Chicago, the Spanish-American States and Brazil will send an exhibition of their products that will be worthy of those great nations and of the celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of the Americas by one of their heroes.

And mention of this great celebration brings to mind the fact that all the delegates to whom I have spoken on the subject say they are for Chicago as the site for the World's Fair. [Tumultuous applause, which no one tried to control, and which lasted for three or four minutes.] But (continued Mr. Flint, as soon as he could be heard) I ought to state that I have only spoken to two of them, and they have not seen New York. [Groans.]

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen: Expressing our appreciation of your generous hospitality, permit me in closing to offer a sentiment:

Senores: Por la fraternidad entre los pueblos de America; por la Estrella del Norte que guia al puerto seguro; por la Cruz del Sur, emblema de paz y concordia entre los hombres.

Gentlemen: To the national fraternity of the Americas; to the North Star, which is a sure guide; to the Southern Cross, emblem of peace and good will to all men.

"It is very appropriate," said Senator Farwell, when Whitney Mockridge concluded a vocal solo that followed Mr. Flint's speech, "that a railroad man of the experience and ability of George R. Blanchard should be selected to respond to the toast 'International Communication.' I take great pleasure in introducing to you George R. Blanchard, chairman of the Central Traffic Association." [Applause.]

Mr. Blanchard's address was as follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the International American Congress: The carrying interests centered at this transportation heart of North America unite in welcoming the nation's guests, who seek with

us to create closer relations between 115,000,000 of people in the two Americas.

National and international community depend upon the means by which people meet and communicate, and the quickest exchange of their products at the lowest cost, assuming like qualities and dealings. How shall these results and intercommunication by mail and telegraph be accomplished and maintained with the countries of our guests?

The influences, successes, and failures which have heretofore attended this greatest of state problems must answer the inquiry.

In his last message to Congress George Washington advocated the James River Canal and the policy of assisted internal water-ways.

Charles Carroll, of Carrollton, when the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, subscribed to the stock of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, influenced States to subsidize it, and laid its cornerstone. The nation built the highway from Washington to Indianapolis which gave path to the Cumberland wagons which rumbled a pioneer trade to and from present industrial empires.

New York State built the Erie Canal in chain with our great lakes and it has poured more wealth than water. The national land grant to the Illinois Central Railroad gave impetus to this great State and city. The three thousand miles of land between the Missouri River and the Pacific Ocean were undeveloped for many years except by pioneers whose homes were wagons, whose roadways were plains, and whose markets were camps. The nation gave its credit and charter to the Pacific railways in 1862 and they were opened in 1869, more than seven years before the time Congress allotted for their construction.

Abraham Lincoln fixed their point of junction and testified his opinion of the national value.

Our townships, municipalities, States, and nation acted wisely to assist financially various internal rail and water lines, because transportation facilities must precede the actual needs of trade. The traffic must grow to them, and as commerce must "follow the flag," we must first send the flag.

Those truisms built railways in the waiting West before they could pay dividends and interest, but they paid instant large returns to the purse of the Commonwealth. The assistant States and the whole people may point with pride to the successes in both interior and exterior market communication to which they contributed. We no longer have any eastern and western frontiers but the oceans; the people are unified in interest and pursuits, and the borders of Canada and Mexico grow dim in the light of increased commercial unity.

Trade is the life-blood of nations, and it has flowed through our arteries with a richness that has made us, the youngest of the great peoples, possess 48 per cent. of the railways of the world, and they charge 30 per cent. less in rates than the other 52 per cent. do.

Transportation has mainly achieved this, and whoever may cavil at the public generosities of the past, whether they be called subsidies,

aggrandizements, or benefits, their permanent values outmeasure and will long outlast their temporary evils. They were justified then, as aid to South American union would be now.

Railways are the shuttles with which one may weave the fabrics of the national looms, and I advocate their union with the railways of South America by the subvention, if requisite, of international lines.

We reached the City of Mexico by rail in 1884, and our commerce with the land of the Montezumas, which in 1860 was in the ratio of one and six-tenths, rose to nearly nineteen in 1888.

This fact says, push onward over the DeLesseps trench to greater results. Less than 1,600 miles will reach the Panama Railroad, and 400 miles more will connect our States-Mexican system with South American rails. Doubtless many here to-night will yet ride on the North and South American limited express from Chicago to Buenos Ayres. The South American powers have granted liberal concessions, under which railways are rapidly extending northward from the River Plate to Bogota. When completed to the Isthmus they will intersect 600,000,000 of internal commerce, and if it grows as has ours with Mexico, who can estimate what traffic will follow those longest railway lines of the world five years after their union? They will traverse immense lumber groves, historical mines, millions of acres of coffee-fields, the vastest grazing and arable acres of the world, and forests of manufacturing chimneys as their locomotives whistle through the lands of Bolivar, Pizarro, and Dom Pedro to the beautiful airs of the Argentine Republic.

Mr. Chairman: Can a railway policy which has developed internal resources beyond precedents in both North and South America become paradoxically unwise when applied to foreign commerce? The answer of all national logic and the statistics of the able monograph of Mr. Curtis answer No.

The United States in 1888 exported as much value to Belgium as to all South America.

In 1886 the exterior commerce of Latin-America was \$973,000,000, being \$473,000,000 imports, of which only \$69,000,000 were from the United States, while of the \$500,000,000 exported by them the United States bought \$244,000,000, \$175,000,000 more than they paid us.

With a gain of \$264,000,000 in their commerce from 1870 to 1888, the increase in our exports to them from 1868 to 1888, was but \$15,000,000 per annum.

Of our imports from South America in 1888, \$28,500,000 was in American vessels and \$55,000,000 was in foreign vessels, and this brings us to ocean subsidies. The five little Central American States pay \$71,000,000 annually to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, while the forty-two great United States of America pay their own ships but \$49,000 yearly to sustain our commerce with all Central and South America, who pay roundly \$5,000,000 annual subsidies, or eleven times more than we do.

Thirty-five million dollars of subsidies are annually paid by maritime countries—France \$6,750,000, England with \$4,500,000, and Brazil \$1,750,000, we standing twelfth in this honorable list. Let me broaden these figures to our carrying relations with all powers.

In 1858 our flag covered 71 per cent. of all the values we imported and exported. This was lowered to 14½ per cent. in 1888, so that our commercial flag is much below half-mast. As our national independence in all other respects became assured, our dependence upon foreign carriers became greater. Standing first in the wealth of nations, and sending and receiving more freight than any other sender or receiver, we owned less vessels to carry it.

No American merchant would deem this a wise individual policy, and how can it be collective wisdom? We now have but 56 American steam-ships in international trade, represented by \$15,000,000 capital and 158,000 tons, while England's merchant fleet is 5,196 steamers, with 7,500,000 tons, represented by \$1,100,000,000 capital. We paid foreign vessels last year \$170,000,000 and our own ships only \$29,000,000. This disparity and parsimony permeates our treatment of foreign mails. In 1855 we paid for mail service to vessels carrying the Stars and Stripes \$1,937,000, while in 1888 we paid only \$87,000, or less than one-twentieth as much. In the same year England paid \$5,250,000, of which \$550,000 was to carry American mails. In 1870, when our total mail-service cost \$24,000,000, we paid \$800,000 for carrying mail to Spanish-America. In 1888, when our mail-service cost us \$56,000,000, we paid one-sixteenth as much, or only \$49,000, or less than to Chesapeake Bay steamers, and we paid one small steamer to Tampa and Havana \$58,000 for Cuban mails alone. Touching telegraphic communications, we connected our wires in 1882 at Galveston with South American telegraphs, but we yet cable largely via Lisbon.

These are regretful statistics and why should they continue?

Our naval constructors have proved we can build fleet ships—witness the *Charleston* and *Chicago*. Those who sailed and battled with Perry, Foote, and Farragut, have long proved that we can man ships with brawn and bravery equal to all emergencies of those who “go down to the sea in ships,” but our legislators have not been energetic.

It is the irony of commerce that we raise vast crops and send them to the Atlantic in our land vessels, there to transfer their carriage to foreign flags, whose freight we pay either in money or decreased sale prices. Since June, 1873, when we abandoned the policy of subsidies, England has paid \$225,000,000 in subsidies avowedly to enlarge its commerce. The Cæsars assisted the tiremes of Italy to Albion with the products of the earlier Mediterranean civilization, and England seems to have made this its trade legend and policy. It has the smallest home domain, but the largest commerce, and Threadneedle street thereon fixes the rates of exchange which govern finance. It bought the Suez Canal to touch the mercantile pulses of the East. It lends its credit to Indian carriers and irrigation canals, and the influence of Manchester and Liverpool

are greater than were Waterloo and Sebastopol. English lips are prouder to call their land "The Mistress of the Seas," and to say that "the sun never sets upon its flag," than of all its battles.

Merchants know that one-half cent per 100 pounds will turn goods from one line to another equally good. When, therefore, foreign ships with subsidies rival non-subsidized American ships the sequel is our discomfiture because their rates are and will continue lower to competitive markets.

If when our nation assisted internal transportation it had adopted a broad creed for aiding external transit thousands of millions more would now be in our treasury; we would have firmer holds upon the world's markets—would exercise more power and command more legitimate instrumentalities of national riches and security. We stride with our internal marches, but we limp in the maritime procession, both naval and commercial. Let us prudently but fearlessly award some of our unprecedented surplus to develop and retain external commerce. As Admiral Porter said, "What would \$10,000,000 a year be to this country if given by Congress to help build up our commercial marine? It would more than return an equivalent in customs dues."

Our guests to-night, although our friends, are yet our competitors, and they are to be feared in the races and rivalries of nations when their grain-fields and pastures give forth their increase. The Amazon and the Platte drain double the square miles of the Mississippi Valley, and have the advantage of being navigable to larger ships for longer distances, thus reducing land carriage and cost. They have our diversities of soil, climate and production. Between their 3,500,000 square miles in the valleys of its two great streams, and the 1,250,000 square miles of the Mississippi Valley basin, and the enormous interests of our coast and work-shops, vast exchanges of traffic must, however, flow in the future. Our 14,000,000 acres of cotton land will have intimate relations to their coffee and grain fields and timber forests, and our cotton should no more go to England, to be thence resented to South America, than should the coffee of Rio go to England to be roasted for American breakfasts, or their mahogany go there to be made into chairs upon which we sit to drink it. To whatever extent these, our friends, succeed in diverting our trade, it is our duty to replace it by increasing other commercial exchanges with them in the fields of invention, in machinery, in agricultural implements, and lesser products, and a broad legislative wisdom should aid to open channels there for our labor and capital.

If the South American States already have foreign purchase markets which sell rival products cheaper than we can, it is more our duty than theirs to encourage and equalize, but so far, be it to the credit of our guests, they have done more than have we to aid commercial union, as witness the subsidies they pay. We will meet great difficulties in recovering carrying trades needlessly lost with the Old World, but we should secure and hold fast transit lines with the lower half of our own world.

Canada gives vast bounties to the Canadian Pacific Railway partly to divert our trade. Why should not this rich nation give richly to divert British trades and establish new ones?

England's shibboleth is "Free Trade," but no nation so well protects its ships; our tocsin has been "Protection," but no nation so neglects its ships. We protect the iron-master and the wool-grower, why not now the ship-owner? We vote money to the inventor of guns; let us aid those who make their use unnecessary by carrying the clearance instead of the cartridge. We wisely assisted the Eads jetties and thereby deepened not only a river but a national commerce. We spend vast annual sums for rivers and harbors, some of which money is charged to dewy creeks with apocryphal channels. Why not give the open oceans some encouragement and pass the bounty bill which allows a rate per ton carried to competitive subsidized ports? The sole reply to these queries has been our general prosperity. That is no longer reason or refutation; it is procrastination, and President Harrison and his great Secretary of State are pledged to oppose it.

The World's Fair to be held here in 1892 will mark the four hundredth year since Christopher Columbus began to trace the map of North America with his deathless hand. One hundred and fifty years later and two hundred and fifty years ago the Pilgrim fathers gave larger impetus to home development of external commerce by the hardihood of their lives, labors, and principles.

The coming of our present guests may prove as important as those earlier events. Like Columbus and Miles Standish, they come for discovery, not conquest. This is not a meeting of emperors; they bring and we give welcome instead of wiles. They and we seek fraternity through the enlargement of the arts, the exchange of labor, and the removal of all fictitious and unjust barriers to inter-American commerce.

Incomparable Shakespeare said: "Welcome ever smiles, while farewell goes out sighing." We look to these welcomes and farewells to incite a more intimate acquaintance, an increased interchange of the essentially luxurious arts between naturally related markets, to improve the qualities of manufacture and to cheapen fabrication, thereby promoting that more perfect intercommunication, which means closer international brotherhood, the wane of war, and the perpetuity of the garlands and benefits of peace.

Senator Farwell, at the close of Mr. Blanchard's address, said: "Gentlemen, the last thing on the programme is music by the octette; but that shall not be the last thing. The band will play "America," and I will ask everybody to stand and sing."

At the conclusion of the octette's selection the banqueters arose and joined in the singing of the national hymn.

Mayor Cregier then arose and said:

Mr. Chairman : As the city's representative I had the honor to receive these distinguished men from abroad, and now, sir, I ask all present to join with me, on their departure, in giving them three hearty Chicago cheers.

The mayor led the cheers, with which the hall resounded, and the festivities came to a close.

TWENTY-FIRST DAY.

THE VISIT TO MILWAUKEE.

It was 10:15 a. m. when the special train pulled in to the depot at Western Union Junction, where the Milwaukee reception committee was waiting for the city's guests. The committee was composed of Mayor T. H. Brown, H. C. Payne, George J. Obermann, Capt. Fred. Pabst, Col. John L. Mitchell, E. D. Holton, I. M. Bean, George H. Heaford, Maj. C. C. McConnell, August Uihlein, John Johnston, C. A. Chapin, A. W. Rich, C. E. Andrews, John R. Goodrich, Col J. McC. Bell, Dr. Byron Kilbourn, T. L. Kelly, and Col. J. A. Watrous. At the depot in Milwaukee this committee was re-enforced by the following gentlemen, all wearing distinctive badges: W. P. McLaren, George H. Benzenberg, Eugene S. Elliott, Charles Ray, H. L. Palmer, Horace Rublee, B. K. Miller, Sidney Hauxhurst, John Black, H. J. Hilbert, A. L. Worden, John S. George, F. L. Gilson, George W. Peck, Max Landauer, Charles Allis, George W. Porth, H. M. Mendel, and Christian Wahl.

In front of the depot the Light Horse Squadron was drawn up in line, a fine body of civilian soldiery. On the lake front was the Light Battery hard at work firing a national salute. Near the cavalry troop was the exposition band. A procession was speedily formed, with the band and the horsemen at the head of it. Two of the visitors and two committeemen were in each carriage, and in this order the parade continued to the brewing establishment of the Pabst Company. Here the visitors were presented with artistic souvenirs. Half an hour was spent in watching the manufacture of Milwaukee's staple product, and then

the drive was continued to the Schlitz Hotel, where Mr. Uihlein had prepared a luncheon for the party. The banquet, for such it really was, was the first ever served in the hotel, and every energy seemed to have been bent to make it a success.

When the menu had been discussed Mayor Brown said:

GENTLEMEN: No event of current times has engaged general consideration as has the Congress of the Three Americas. The capabilities and possibilities of America united in the bonds of amity and commerce are unmeasurable. That the Congress may be endowed with the wisdom to inaugurate measures which shall bring prosperity to all, is the sentiment of every true American. Judged by this standard, the citizens of Milwaukee are all true Americans, and in their name it is my pleasing duty to extend to you a most cordial welcome. Time will not admit of long speeches. Time will not admit of our showing all that you would like to see. A few words are therefore necessary to explain to you the capacities and capabilities of our city. I therefore give you this toast: "Milwaukee, the abode of intellect, of industry, of frugality, of law, and consequently the home of happiness and progress;" and I call upon John Johnson to respond.

Mr. Johnson said:

Mr. Chairman, illustrious guests, and gentlemen: I shall occupy your time but a few minutes in responding to this sentiment, and I crave the indulgence of our distinguished visitors if in my reply I transgress the rules of the strictest courtesy.

It is hardly polite for a host to entertain his guests with a speech filled with facts illustrative of the beauty, the healthfulness, and the substantial character of his own home, and if I am guilty of something like this in the few remarks I shall make, it is because the distinguished gentlemen who are our guests here to-day come for the express purpose of ascertaining all they can about our city, and the few hours they are with us will be wholly insufficient to give them, from personal observation, any adequate idea of the varied, vast, and growing industries of this, "The fairest city of the lakes."

I trust, therefore, our guests will not regard it as a breach of courtesy if I detain them with some facts about Milwaukee.

Within the memory of living man, the site where this city with its 225,000 inhabitants now stands was known only as the trading-post of Solomon Juneau. The name Milwaukee signifies "the place of the beautiful bay, or hollow," and the high ground around the city was a favorite gathering place of the Winnebagoes, the Pottawatomies, the Menominees, and the Chippewas when they held their councils of war or smoked the pipe of peace.

Since then the nations of Central and Northern Europe, as well as New England and New York, have sent hither some of the best bone,

sinew and brain, and it has become the home of men combining untiring, plodding, determined, persevering industry with strict frugality, at the same time not destitute of great public spirit and enterprise, tempered, however, more with caution than with boldness.

Milwaukee is probably the least known of any city of its size in this country. It does not fire a gun every time a new factory is established or blow a horn whenever there is an addition to the population. It has never had a great "boom," and has escaped the never-failing consequent collapse. It has had no chills and no fever, but pursues the even tenor of its way through periods alike of national inflation and national depression.

Some fifteen years ago it awoke to the fact that it must be a great manufacturing center or nothing. It chose the first alternative, and with quiet determination set about the fulfillment of its mission.

Between 1870 and 1880 the population increased somewhat over 60 per cent., while the number of those engaged in manufacturing increased during the same time over 150 per cent. In 1870 there were only 8,000 persons employed in manufactures here, while in 1880 there were 20,886. The national census of 1880 showed the average number of hands employed in factories in Milwaukee to be almost as great as in Cleveland, and greater than in Buffalo, Louisville, or Detroit. It also showed that there is a larger percentage of the population engaged in manufacturing here than in any city northwest of Philadelphia, with the exception of Pittsburgh. It is also worthy of remark that while in Pittsburgh one-half is employed in manufactures intimately connected with the iron industry, our manufactures are of the most diversified kind. To use a homely phrase, "our eggs are not all in one basket." Although the number of hands employed here in manufactories in 1880 was very large in proportion to the population, the increase since then has been immense. I will not weary you with many figures, but I may mention shortly that a large number of our industries have more than doubled the number of their hands during the last eight years. The number of employes in the lines of labor mentioned has increased as follows in that period: Machinery, from 1,467 to 5,311; breweries, 1,040 to 3,000; tanneries, 407 to 1,260; furniture, 497 to 1,393; sash, doors, etc., 512 to 1,358; boots and shoes, 526 to 1,050; printing and lithographing, 744 to 1,334; knit goods, to 1,404; tinware, 150 to 750; brick, 389 to 730; trunks, 263 to 700.

The same ratio of increase is seen in ship-building, carriages and wagons, tobacco, and others. The production of flour has increased from 637,000 barrels in 1880 to three times that amount, placing our output of flour second only to that of Minneapolis and St. Louis, while the annual production of our cement works has increased from 100,000 to 400,000 barrels.

The remarkable prosperity of so many and so diversified industries is to be accounted for by the favorable conditions for manufacturing to be found here. Milwaukee possesses a healthful site, cheap real estate,

low rents, a skillful, industrious, and saving population which owns the houses in which it lives, and last, but not least, Milwaukee is not surpassed as a point for the reception of raw material and the distribution of the manufactured product throughout the Northwest, as well as along the shores of the great lakes.

Lake Michigan—on whose western shore our city stands—300 miles in length, 90 miles in width, and 1,000 feet in depth, is a grand reservoir of perennial health. It not only furnishes pure, cool water the year round, but tempers alike the heat of summer and the cold of winter, while the hills on our north and west shield us from those harsh winds which, after sweeping over hundreds of miles of prairie, are so distressful to some of our western cities. There is hardly a day in the year when a workman can not work diligently and comfortably, so far as the climate is concerned. A record of twenty years shows the average mean temperature of our coldest month, January, to be 23 degrees Fahrenheit, and of our warmest month, July, to be 70 degrees Fahrenheit, while the average of the whole year for twenty years has been 47 degrees, an excellent temperature in which to work well.

It is a ground of complaint in some quarters that our real estate is lower than in many other cities, but I am not sure that this is not an advantage. Low-priced real estate makes low rents, and in the fierce competition which rages all around us that merchant and that manufacturer whose rent is low has a decided advantage over him whose rent is high.

As a distributing center, both by land and water, the facilities of our city are unsurpassed. In the valleys of the Milwaukee, Menominee, and Kinnickinnic rivers we already have 25 miles of dock room, with the possibility of ever so much more if required; while along these docks are the tracks of five great systems of railways, owning 15,000 miles of road, stretching over the entire Northwest, embracing a region half the size of Europe, with as rich a soil as can be found on the globe. I sometimes think we fail to appreciate the advantages of our position as a great lake port. We are connected by the cheapest kind of transportation with the iron, the copper, and the lumber of northern Wisconsin and Michigan, as well as coal of the Middle States.

It is a great boon to participate in the mighty commerce of the great lakes, which far exceeds the entire foreign commerce of the United States. The tonnage entered and cleared in the ports of Lake Michigan alone is greater than that of the foreign trade of New York City, while the tonnage which passes Detroit River is equal to the whole foreign commerce of the nation, and is three times as large as that which passes through the Suez Canal. I believe at no distant day a great ship-canal will connect Lakes Michigan and Erie, and that another will connect the great lakes with the city of New York, so that our largest ships can go unvexed to the ocean.

I will not tax your patience by bringing forward still more facts about this the fair city of our habitation, with its happy homes, its

broad streets, its spacious lawns, its magnificent shade-trees, its beautiful bay, its commanding views, its art gallery, its museum, its public library and schools, its varied industries, and all the evidences of intelligence, taste, contentment, and thrift which are manifest upon every side. We deeply regret that your visit in our midst is so short, for we would have had much satisfaction in showing you our stores, our manufactories, our schools and our homes, which would have spoken to you far more eloquently than words.

You will pardon me if I say that the citizens of Milwaukee take the deepest interest in the object which occupies the attention of our distinguished guests, and it is our hope that there may be such a broadening of the commercial policy of this country as will result in enlarged intercourse with the other nations of America, embracing as they do over fifty millions of people and a territory twice as large as the United States, even including Alaska.

While our engineers are tunneling the mountains and bridging the rivers, and our business men and men of science are covering the surface of the ocean with steam-ships and its depths with electric wires, it is pleasant to find the statesmen of America are ready to help on the good work of removing those barriers which tend to prevent that friendly intercourse and enlarged trade which should exist between their respective peoples. It is to be hoped that the time is not far distant when the nations of Europe, looking from beneath the dark clouds of military despotism, under which so many of them live, shall see an unbroken band of light stretching from Baffin's Bay to Cape Horn, and on that light they can read, "Friendship and freedom, prosperity and peace."

Mayor Brown then called upon Delegate Romero, of Mexico, who said:

It is my pleasant duty, on behalf of the delegates to the International American Congress here assembled, to express our thanks for this hearty reception. It has been our fortune to be met everywhere by your people with cordial greetings. I beg to be allowed, before I resume my seat, to say that I have been at Washington so long that I consider it my home. We of the East speak of everything as concentrated there, but we have been surprised to find that it is not so. We have seen, among other things, buildings twenty-two stories high in the West. It is a wonder to us how you have been able to attain such a high standard of excellence. Allow me, once more, to thank you for your kindly hospitality and to assure you that you have our best wishes for a continuous and growing prosperity such as even you have scarcely hoped for. [Loud applause.]

E. D. Holton briefly described the courtesy once extended to him and to Mr. Black by Senor Romero, then Secretary of the Treasury, when they were traveling in

Mexico some years ago. Mr. Holton called for three cheers for Senor Romero and for Mexico. The response was gratifyingly noisy.

Mayor Brown proposed the health of August Uhlein, the host of the occasion, and after George J. Obermann had said a few pleasant things about that gentleman, the toast was drunk standing.

J. V. Quarles was introduced by Mayor Brown. He spoke as follows:

Gentlemen of the Pan-American Congress, and fellow-citizens: It is sad, yet not surprising, that the distinguished gentlemen who are the nation's guests should suffer from our misguided zeal and mismanaged banquets. There is a limit to which a man may eat, even though he be hospitably inclined.

To have surfeited our guests with viands is bad enough, but we are subjecting ourselves to a still graver responsibility. Who shall answer for the mental dyspepsia which may result from this constant diet of ill-digested oratory?

The notion that a banquet without a speech is as insipid as corned-beef without mustard and champagne without bubbles, is somewhat peculiar to us as a people. The torrent of native eloquence that our Southern friends have inspired may well-nigh overwhelm them, but this is one of the inevitable penalties of greatness in this latitude. The only defense that we can urge in the premises is our innocence of purpose.

Perhaps, as against our friends from Mexico, we might set up a counter-claim, as the lawyers say. Some years since, several of our Federal officials had occasion to visit the land of the Montezumas. So generously were they entertained and so mellowed by Southern hospitality that they spent most of their time under the table.

They could look with steady gaze upon "the wine when it was red." They had communed with the gentle spirit of the golden barley. They could gather with steady nerve the aroma of the nodding rye, but they fell down directly under the bewitching spell of pulque and mescal.

Some of the newspapers called it malaria, a disease quite prevalent, by the way, at Washington, but we knew it was maguey juice and not malaria that ailed them. So you see we were not the first to err on the side of liberal hospitality.

We beg that you will not pass judgment upon us as a nation of oratorical bores without hearing all the evidence. The post-prandial oratory that has invited your just criticism has originated solely with gentlemen. In the interest of justice, wait until you meet our ladies; you may then suspect that up to this time there has been a conspiracy to foist upon you dull and ponderous eloquence and so keep you in ignorance of the fact that the bright, the witty, the charming talkers of this country are its women. The ladies of Milwaukee will rally to

our relief to-night, and may break the spell of dullness and retrieve the reputation which we have put in peril.

Gentlemen, there is one sentiment which my anxiety to be brief will not justify me in omitting.

The welcome tendered by the people of this commonwealth to their Southern neighbors is as genuine as it is enthusiastic. It is born not of courtesy, but of conviction. Gentlemen, the hand of this Republic is extended, and behind it is the warm heart-throb of a free people—a people not fickle in purpose or mercurial in temperament but as constant to its friends as it is loyal to its convictions.

Your presence has electrified the nation. No civil event has for many years so engaged the whole people. The merchant in his store, the farmer at the plow, the brawny artisan and even the school-boy who dreams over the maps of the three Americas—all catch the inspiration of the new evangel, "Pan-America." How grand the conception! Involving so much of domain, so much of destiny. A congress of sovereign nations not concerned in enlarging boundaries, but in extending trade; advocating concession rather than coercion; an intelligent effort to formulate an American policy by deliberation. Surely this is an indication that the world moves.

God, who made us neighbors, decreed that we should be friends.

Let us cherish the hope that, as the result of your wise deliberations, this goodly group of nations may stand sponsor to a broad and enlightened scheme of civilization which shall eliminate the scourge of war and yield the fruits of peace, progress, and prosperity from Alaska to Patagonia. [Applause.]

It was nearly 4 o'clock when the guests were escorted from the dining-room to the carriages. The atmosphere was quite chilly but all the members of the party wrapped themselves up and evinced a determination to do the whole of the programme. The sound of martial music and the booming of cannon greeted the long procession as it entered the grounds of the National Soldiers' Home. Governor Knox and staff were at the main entrance and were introduced to the delegates. The veterans impressed the strangers with the warmth of their welcome and did themselves honor by the flag decorations which were so apparent on all the buildings at the Home.

With planing-mills, furniture factories, tanneries, and numerous other centers of industry on either hand the party rode on to the Allis Iron Works. These they examined with a good deal of apparent interest and when the tour of the buildings had been completed were driven directly to the Plankinton House for dinner.

There was a tremendous crush at the reception given in the evening by Mr. John L. Mitchell, many of the Milwaukeeans invited being unable to secure admission to the beautifully illuminated and decorated mansion. Members of the Conference party were received, primarily, by George H. Russell, Frank B. Keene, Clarence S. Brown, Fred. B. Ricketson, Fred. Magdeburg, Otto Falk, William Mitchell, and William Miller. The introductions were by Captain John G. Bourke. The ladies who assisted Mrs. John Mitchell in receiving were Mrs. John Johnston, Mrs. C. E. Andrews, Mrs. H. H. Camp, Mrs. T. A. Chapman, Mrs. L. J. Petit, Mrs. William Bigelow, Mrs. E. C. Wall, Mrs. C. A. Chapin, Mrs. Max Landauer, Mrs. James S. Peck, Mrs. E. S. Elliott, Mrs. William E. Cramer, Mrs. Frank Falk, Mrs. G. J. Oberman, Mrs. J. L. Colby, Mrs. W. G. Fitch, Mrs. William Plankinton, Mrs. J. G. Jenkins, Mrs. E. W. Coleman, Mrs. James M. Pereles, and Mrs. William Passmore. Among the more distinguished citizens of Wisconsin who were present was Governor Hoard.

At midnight (via the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway) the special train left for St. Paul.

TWENTY-SECOND DAY.

THE VISIT TO ST. PAUL.

The welcome accorded the visitors by the State of Minnesota commenced at Red Wing, where a reception committee from the city of St. Paul was awaiting the coming of the special train. The party was composed of D. M. Sullivan, Gen. C. C. Andrews, W. B. Dean, Judge C. E. Flandrau, Charles Nichols, Capt. G. H. Moffatt, James Lockey, W. S. Morton, D. H. Moon, J. L. Plinkinton, A. S. Tallmadge, Thomas Cochran, jr., James Suydam, and R. C. Jefferson. The depot at St. Paul was filled to overflowing with an immense and interested multitude, the component parts of which were very enthusiastic in their greeting. From the depot the party proceeded directly to the Young Men's Christian Association building, at the corner of Tenth and Minnesota streets, to witness the laying of the corner-stone. At the building there was an-

other immense crowd which filled the streets. The building and the heavy machinery for hoisting were profusely decorated with flags, conspicuous among which were the colors of the South and Central American States, represented in the delegation of distinguished visitors. The pupils of the high school were present, and so were the officers and delegates to the Grand Lodge of Railway Brakemen, the latter having adjourned their session for the purpose of honoring the occasion.

James Suydam, president of the Young Men's Christian Association, conducted the ceremonies. In a few appropriate remarks he welcomed the delegates to witness the laying of the corner-stone. Following this there was an invocation by the Rev. W. W. Dawley, of St. Paul. Thomas Cochran, jr., chairman of the building committee of the Young Men's Christian Association, then made the following statement:

A leading newspaper of this country, the Boston Herald, has lately said in its columns: "A Young Men's Christian Association without a building is like a carpenter without tools—of little value. It must have some place where it can be found, where its efforts for good are planned and developed, and from whence its influence spreads. It must have not only a pleasant home, attractive to young men, where all the Christian virtues are taught, but the structure should also be supplied with all the conveniences and equipments for its multifarious work."

In pursuance of their belief in the sentiments so well expressed, the St. Paul Young Men's Christian Association bought this lot on which we now stand about two years ago, and agreed to pay therefor \$51,500. The lot is one hundred and fifty feet square and is being improved by a building to cost, when finished and furnished, \$100,000. The building is to have a frontage of one hundred and forty-five feet upon Tenth street, by seventy feet on Minnesota street, with an L extending back upon its eastern side eighty feet, devoted to one of the largest and finest gymnasiums in the country. The building is to contain, besides the gymnasium, all the usual working conveniences found in buildings of this character throughout the continent, namely, reading-room, library, members' parlor, committee-rooms, toilet rooms, large and small lecture rooms, and several shops to be rented for the purpose of securing an income. The upper stories of the building are to be devoted to lodging-rooms for the members of the Association, and in this respect the building will be almost unique, there being but one other in the country, the one in the city of Milwaukee, which furnishes like accommodations.

The sum of \$67,000 has already been subscribed for the building fund, one hundred and forty-nine subscriptions having been made, one hundred and twenty of which are by members of the association. There have been up to this time two \$10,000 and one \$5,000 subscription, and from these large sums they have ranged all the way to one cent, which was the first money actually given for the enterprise by a Christian newspaper man of this city, and which original one cent is to-day to be deposited, with other articles of interest, in this corner-stone. Nearly \$28,000 has been contributed by the younger members of the association in small sums and at much personal sacrifice.

Upon the progress of this building we invoke anew, and in this presence, from the time when the corner-stone shall be laid, and so long as it shall be used for the benignant purposes to which it is to be dedicated, the blessing of Almighty God, praying that its influence may contribute to the upbuilding of the kingdom of Jesus Christ upon this continent, and to the making of the young men of St. Paul Christian citizens of the best and highest type.

It was expected that Delegate Studebaker would be present to speak, but private business prevented him from leaving home. He sent the following to be read for him:

In behalf of my associates, the gentlemen of the International American Conference, and for myself, I thank you for honoring us with an invitation to participate in these ceremonies. It gives pleasure to assist in so momentous a work. Your people have made us royally welcome to your beautiful city. You have made us feel that our lines here have fallen in pleasant places. Our cup of creature comforts has been made to run over, but you have done even better by us than merely to feed us sumptuously and pamper us with luxury and ease. You have given us something to do. You have kindly permitted us to share in the labor of placing the corner-stone to this building. All honest toil is manly, and dignifies the worker; but to lay a corner-stone, to contribute something even as a formality toward the erection of an imposing edifice—this is honor indeed. The honor becomes peculiarly distinguished when the building is being raised to serve the lofty purpose of benefiting mankind.

I will not take up your time by telling the story of Young Men's Christian Association work. Others are better able to do the theme justice than I am. There is but one aspect of this question that I will touch upon—its relation to the business world. Perhaps some one will say that the Young Men's Christian Association work has no relation to business; that its field is purely one of moral sentiment. Some are doubtless shortsighted enough to think that the commercial world is not debtor to the Young Men's Christian Association organizations. I believe this is a mistaken idea. I think no class in society reaps a more

certain or direct reward from the influence exerted to Christianize young men than those who are engaged in mechanical arts, matters relating to transportation, and in merchandise. A few words only will suffice to show this to be true. The very groundwork and prime essential of these lines of business is security. Man, in his natural state, is a savage. His law is his present need, or passion, or desire. He owns no authority but force or fear. Christianize him and his whole being is revolutionized. His moral nature is then awakened and educated. He bows to a new factor, whose name is conscience. To perform duty is now his aim. Right is the principle that governs. No longer is he a slave to ignorance. Prejudice and evil relax their grasp on him. No longer does he steal, burn bridges, block railway trains, tear up tracks, apply the torch, or resort to the knife or dynamite. Peace hath now her victories, and the fruits of these are generous increase, abundance, and blessing.

I do not mean that manufacturers, traders, and the managers of the great lines of transportation are alone interested in the work of reclaiming and improving the condition of young men. Every man, woman, and child in the universe is deeply concerned in the matter. Indeed, unless manufacturers may peaceably pursue their vocation, unless railroad and steam-ship lines can safely carry passengers and freight, and unless the busy marts of trade are unmolested in the operation of their vast exchanges, subject only to the proper legal restrictions, chaos will come again, and general hardship involve all classes and people alike. But it may be fairly said that the banker, the grocer, the dry-goods house, the carriage-maker, the railroad president, and all managers of great commercial interests are especially concerned in whatever tends to humanize, to educate, and upbuild physically, intellectually, and morally the young men of to-day. Remove evil from the earth and Eden will bloom again. Give the world plenty of young men of high and sturdy character and republics are safe. So to every Young Men's Christian Association organization I say God be with you and prosper you. For you in particular my prayers will be offered. Your mission is a high one.

Let us say to the business men of St. Paul, and to every one interested in the permanence and success of your important institutions and the future growth and progress of your magnificent city, give a helping hand to your Young Men's Christian Association. As bread cast upon the waters often returns to bless the giver, or as the bounty of harvest rewards the sower, so you will as a city and a people receive back in material advantages and blessings many times multiplied the largess that you may bestow in aid of your Young Men's Christian Association.

In the absence of Mr. Studebaker, Ex-Senator S. J. R. McMillan, a former president of the St. Paul Young Men's Christian Association, conducted the formal ceremony,

assisted by Captain Berkey and R. C. Jefferson. The following is the substance of Mr. McMillan's address:

More than one thousand eight hundred years ago the great apostle of the Gentiles stood in the Areopagus, and, addressing the learned audience before him, proclaimed to them the true God and the resurrection of Jesus from the dead, and declared to them that this God had made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth, and had determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation. In this declaration of the being and fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man the great preacher gave to the world the fundamental tenets from which have sprung the Christian civilization which now blesses the world and is destined to shed its benign influence over every nation on the globe. The Christian principle is not only the preservative element of civilization, but it invigorates, expands, and develops it. Its very essence is to purify and elevate the intellectual and moral nature, and to dignify and ameliorate the physical condition of man. Its unselfish nature finds in every man a brother, and delights in every act of love or mercy. It is ingenious to bless mankind. The temples of Christian worship, the colleges and schools, the hospitals, asylums and Christian homes, and helpful institutions of every variety are the manifestations of its influence. Among the later of its beneficent results is to be noticed the organization and development of Young Men's Christian Associations, which have for their object the care and the cultivation of the moral, spiritual, physical, and social welfare of young men. Strangers in a strange land find helpful friends. The unwary are protected, the tempted are delivered, the sad are comforted, and the sick are ministered to. To-day, the twenty-fourth day of October, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-nine, is the occasion of the laying of the corner-stone of the Young Men's Christian Association of St. Paul. Let it be laid reverently in "His name." May the structure rise in its strength and beauty and remain a monument of the Christian civilization of our land.

The corner-stone was then laid in place, and after the completion of the ceremony Delegate Bolet Peraza, of Venezuela, was introduced. He spoke as follows:

Before I utter the few words I shall say let there be a salute on behalf of the delegates to the International Congress for the noble and generous people of St. Paul.

A series of loud cheers followed, and then Delegate Peraza continued:

It is a circumstance to be noted that the warmth of greeting and the heartfelt interest of the American people towards the representatives

of the southern countries increases as we come westward. In the New England States we were received as cherished guests. In New York and Michigan they treated us as friends. In Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota we have been received as brothers. You have not been content simply to treat us with hospitality; you have gone further than that, and now admit us as participants in events which are to become historical. You invite us to take part in a ceremony that will be remembered for years to come. I hope you will tell future generations of the men from the south countries who came here, who spoke a language you could not understand, but whose intense gratification you could discern by their smiling faces and the flashing of their black eyes. I trust you will tell to your children how these foreigners—not strangers, but brothers—visited your city and admired your institutions, rejoiced in your liberty, and wondered at your commerce. Tell your children also that this group of men proceeded to Washington, and there assembled with representatives of your own country, for the purpose of putting into practical shape the sentiment and the ideas aroused by what we have seen, so that this wonderful stream of commerce shall spread over all the continent we love so much. Bring your children to this spot, and tell them that one of these foreign brothers put his hand upon this stone, and in the name of the Three Americas invoked blessings upon this enterprise and wished a Godspeed for all these generous people. [Prolonged applause.]

Grand Master Wilkinson, of the Brotherhood of Railway Brakemen, was then introduced. He said:

Words can not express my appreciation of our reception here. This is one of the brightest days in our record. May the city fully reap the benefits of this grand enterprise, and may all the glory redound to the praise of Him in whose name this work is undertaken.

The multitude joined in singing "My Country, 'tis of Thee," Rev. Dr. Heath pronounced the benediction, and the proceedings came to a conclusion.

It was noon when the City Hall was reached. Governor Merriam, with the following members of the reception committee, were waiting in the mayor's rooms: Ex-Governors Ramsey, Sibley, and Hubbard; Senator McMillan, Archbishop Ireland, Bishop Gilbert, Dr. Christie, General Johnson, Hon. Albert Scheffer, State Auditor Braden, State Treasurer Bobleter, Secretary of State Mattson, Attorney-General Clapp, Hon. Gordon E. Cole, William M. Bushnell, D. A. Monfort, and R. A. Finch. When the delegates had been introduced to the members of the

committee Mr. D. A. Monfort stepped forward and delivered the following formal address of welcome:

In welcoming you to the State of Minnesota and the city of St. Paul I have the honor of conveying to you an expression of the pleasure your visit causes our citizens, and the gratification they experience in thus having an opportunity afforded them of meeting so many distinguished representatives of our sister States, and also of manifesting their appreciation of the importance of the subjects you will soon meet to consider and discuss.

Before proceeding to more particular introductions, it may not be inappropriate for me to say that among those gathered here for the purpose of welcoming and greeting you, and whom you see before you, there are some who, among our most honored and distinguished citizens, in addition to being the very earliest pioneers of civilization in this entire region, and who, within the period of their own lives, have seen its marvelous transformation from an unbroken wilderness, occupied only by wild beasts and warlike savages, into the fruitful and populous country you now behold. There are at least some among them who, almost on this very spot, where now stands a city of 200,000 inhabitants, have endured not only the privations and hardships common to all settlers in a new country, but who often have been solely dependent upon their own watchfulness and courage for the protection of their lives against the bullets and scalping knives of savage and vindictive foes. The record of the early lives of these men would be a reflection of forms and conditions of life which have now ceased, in a great measure, to exist here or elsewhere, and it may be especially interesting to you to meet with them as representatives of a class to whom, by reason of the changed conditions consequent upon the rapid extension of modern civilization, there can be no successors on this continent.

There are here present the first governor of Minnesota under its Territorial organization, its first governor under a State organization, and its present governor. Between the administration of the two first and that of the last there intervenes a period of less than half the ordinary span of a man's life, and yet it has sufficed to produce changes in the territory which has been successively under their respective jurisdictions greater than has perhaps occurred during the same interval in any other equally extensive area on the face of the globe. We attribute this unprecedented development of the material resources of the State and the happy and generally prosperous conditions of our people partly to our system of government, partly to the richness of our soil and the salubrity of our climate, but also largely to the character of our citizens as formed by our system of public schools and general education. I again beg to express to you on behalf of the people of St. Paul the pleasure your visit affords them, and shall now have the honor of introducing you to a number of our citizens, who desire to extend to you their personal welcome and greetings.

The council chamber was the next place to be visited, and in that great apartment had been aggregated a remarkable collection of the products of the Northwest: Grain, grasses, vegetables, minerals, wool, and manufactured articles were attractively displayed. General Immigration Agent Groat and W. M. Bushnell gave the visitors all desired information.

Luncheon was served at the residence of Governor Merriam, and was a magnificent affair. Among the prominent citizens present were: Archbishop Ireland, Judges Collins, Mitchell and Dickinson, Senator Sabin, James J. Hill, State Superintendent Kiehle, Hans Mattson, W. W. Braden, Public Examiner Kenyon, ex-Senator McMillan, Rev. S. G. Smith, Adjutant-General Mullin, Secretary Tallmadge, Alderman Bickel, Alderman Sullivan, and George R. Finch.

At 2.30 o'clock carriages were at the door and the party went out for an afternoon drive, in the course of which an exhibition of fire-department agility was witnessed.

A full dress reception at the Hotel Ryan commenced at 9 o'clock, and was a most popular success. The reception committee consisted of Governor and Mrs. Merriam, Mayor and Miss Smith, General and Mrs. Ruger, Judge and Miss Nelson, Judge and Mrs. Gilfillan, Mr. and Mrs. W. B. Deane, Mr. and Mrs. George R. Finch, Mr. and Mrs. T. L. Schurmeier, Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Tarbox, Mr. and Mrs. F. Driscoll, sr.; Mr. and Mrs. Lewis Baker, Col. and Mrs. D. A. Montfort, Mr. and Mrs. C. Livingstone, Mr. and Mrs. W. A. Norton, and Mrs. Pope.

TWENTY-THIRD DAY.

THE VISIT TO MINNEAPOLIS.

Minneapolis had its representatives at the Hotel Ryan early on the morning of Friday, October 25, and when the train bearing the excursionists left the smaller for the larger of the twin cities it had on board Mayor Babb, C. M. Loring, F. L. Greenleaf, C. A. Pillsbury, G. A. Brackett, Charles R. Chute, G. B. Kirkbride, and B. F. Nelson. A multitude of Minneapolitans received the party at the

depot, and the greater portion of the crowd accompanied the visitors to the Chamber of Commerce, where, after the introductions had been made, Mayor Babb delivered himself of the speech of welcome, as follows:

I have heard it said that you have been sufferers from overmuch oratory. I am determined that whatever complaints you may see fit to make against Minneapolis you shall not say that we bored you with speeches. I have already registered my vow with Mr. Curtis that you should not be troubled in any such way. Gentlemen, we will make no formal speeches, but we will present to your attention some facts in the way of buildings and public improvements more eloquent than words. Doubtless, in the course of the day, you will hear some extravagant stories of the development of Minneapolis, but if you will confine your attention to what you really see you will receive enough to impress the least lively imagination. I want you to understand that this is a city which in twenty years has sprung from 8,000 people to 250,000. Such figures as those are more eloquent than any words I could utter. In this room where we are now standing more wheat is sold in one day than in any other city in the world. We will show you two flour mills with a daily capacity of 12,000 barrels. We will show you a high school that is second to none in the country; it is the stepping-stone to the State University, which is also situated in our city, and which we would be glad to show you if there were time. The weather is somewhat against us; that is a matter that with all our appliances we are as yet unable to control. I entreat of you that you do not let this gloomy day color your impression of Minneapolis. We would have been glad to welcome you in our glorious Indian summer, an institution that is peculiarly North American, but as it is I hope the warmth of our greeting will make you forget that the day is rainy and disagreeable. In the name of the 250,000 citizens of Minneapolis, I welcome you.

Delegate Trescot responded in the following terms:

All I can say in reply to the welcome of your good mayor is that we have been so heartily welcomed in every city we have visited that we have exhausted the three languages in our replies. But, nevertheless, on behalf of my brother visitors, I thank you sincerely and heartily. After this visit here we shall abandon the Northwest and proceed homeward. I thank the cities and the people for their generous and unstinted hospitality. May the cities of the glorious Northwest grow in strength, and may this great expanse of country widen and grow prosperous until they have expanded to their uttermost, and become the richest and most prosperous spots on earth.

First among the institutions of Minneapolis to be visited was the High School, where the visitors spent a pleasant hour or so. Then, forsaking reluctantly the interest-

ing aggregation of feminine beauty, the delegates and their attachés were taken to the great Washburn "A" flour-mill. Souvenir pamphlets were distributed to the party and the establishment was hurriedly inspected. The Pillsbury "A" mill was next visited and a good deal of time was given it because it was the largest mill on the face of the earth. Each of the strangers received a hearty hand-shake from C. A. Pillsbury, the head of the firm, and when the company had been suitably subdivided guides were assigned to make all things plain.

Luncheon was served at the West Hotel at 1 o'clock. An hour later and the visitors were in carriages once more, off for an inspection of the Hall & Shevlin saw-mill and for a ride around and through the residence portion of the city.

Members of the city council and a number of other distinguished Minneapolitans sat down to dinner with the guests of the day at the West Hotel early in the evening. The affair was informal in every respect and was most thoroughly enjoyed. A song and a story by E. B. Hay, of Washington, were welcome contributions to the occasion, much appreciated and loudly applauded.

The social feature of the day was the reception, which was attended by a large number of the more prominent people of the city. Introductions were attended to by Charles R. Chute, of the executive committee, and the following-named members of the reception committee: Mayor and Mrs. E. C. Babb, Mr. and Mrs. E. M. Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. J. T. Wyman, Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Gale, Mr. and Mrs. F. L. Greenleaf, Mr. and Mrs. Dorillus Morrison, Mr. and Mrs. C. A. Pillsbury, Mr. and Mrs. C. M. Loring, Mr. and Mrs. George A. Brackett, Mr. and Mrs. R. B. Langdon, Mr. and Mrs. A. J. Blethen, Mr. and Mrs. James S. Bell, Mr. and Mrs. W. W. Eastman, Mr. and Mrs. John De Laittre, Mr. and Mrs. E. M. Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Haskell, Mr. and Mrs. W. L. Bassett, Mr. and Mrs. A. B. Jackson, Mr. and Mrs. E. H. Moulton, Mr. and Mrs. M. B. Koon, Mr. and Mrs. C. M. Palmer, Mr. and Mrs. C. McC. Reeve, Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Steele, Mr. and Mrs. F. M. Semple, Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Trues-

dale, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Hill, and Mr. and Mrs. J. W. Raymond.

The reception closed shortly before 11 o'clock, at which hour the special train pulled out for Sioux City over the tracks of the Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railway Company. Acting as an escort were Mayor Cleland, of Sioux City, J. P. Allison, and James E. Booge. Other members of the reception committee which went to Minneapolis to meet the delegates were Aldermen W. E. Cody and W. E. Powell, John Hornick, James V. Mahoney, and J. R. Kathrens; these followed immediately after the special train.

TWENTY-FOURTH DAY.

THE VISIT TO SIOUX CITY.

The city of the Corn Palace was reached shortly after 8 o'clock on Saturday morning, and within an hour of arrival the delegates were admiring the appearance of the mounted Knights of Pythias and of Company H, Iowa National Guard, as the procession moved toward the Peavey Grand Opera House, where a formal welcome was extended the party. The opera house, which had been tastefully decorated for the occasion, was crowded to its utmost capacity, and a great multitude of ladies and gentlemen were unable to obtain admission.

The proceedings were opened by Mayor Cleland, who said:

Brother Americans: We are here this morning to welcome you to our city and to our State and to the great Northwest. It, perhaps, would be proper upon an occasion of this kind to advert generally to our local importance, and so forth, and while I have some carefully prepared statistics I feel sure that you will pardon me if I do not read them. I understand that you have heard something of them. I have the pleasure of presenting Governor Larrabee, who will say a word of welcome on behalf of the State.

Governor Larrabee said:

It gives me great pleasure, on behalf of our people, to meet you and to greet you this morning upon your first entrance to this great gateway on the northwestern border of our State. It would have pleased our people very much could you have made it convenient to spend a

few days within our borders, and I regret exceedingly that we can not have the pleasure of welcoming you to our State Capital. While we have much to show you there, it would have been exceedingly pleasing for us to have extended our cordial greetings there. We have two million people in Iowa, and if you judge of their enterprise and progress by what you see in this beautiful Corn Palace City, I think you will get a fair estimate of what we are doing in this State. These people have selected our distinguished Senator, William B. Allison, to welcome you, whom I take great pleasure in presenting to you, and I can assure you that our people will endorse most heartily what he will say.

Hearty applause greeted the governor's remarks, and the sounds of approval continued until Senator Allison was fully ready to speak. The Senator's remarks were as follows:

Gentlemen of the International Congress of America: We cordially greet you in this portion of our country and congratulate you that before entering upon the great beauties which you have before you you are to see much of our people and much of what we are doing here. We anticipate from this Congress great results. Our country, like yours, is a new country, compared with the Old World. We are engaged here, as you are south of us, in developing a civilization that is entirely new. You have seen something of our progress as you have passed through our country. You are now in the midst of an agricultural country. The State of Iowa is especially so. We regard corn here as king, and you will have the pleasure of visiting his palace in a few minutes. We have watched with great interest the development of Central and South America. We have seen that while we are growing and developing in the North, you, too, have within the last few years enjoyed a growth and development marvelous in its character and nature. You have many things that you produce that we do not and can not; we have some things that we produce that perhaps you do not and will not. Ours is a country of peace; it is a Republic governed and controlled by an enlightened public opinion; we are glad to know that all of the countries south to Patagonia, although not all republics, are likewise, practically, governed by an enlightened public opinion, the people controlling their destinies and their policies. Now one trouble that we have had in the past is that if we should desire to make a journey to you, or you wish to make a journey to us, we were obliged to cross the ocean and then re-cross it. I think I speak for the enlightened public opinion of America when I say that rich as we are and strong as we are we are now more ready than ever before to establish between your countries and ours such cordial relations as will enable us to engage in direct commerce with you. [Applause.]

I know in this regard and in this wish you have been far in advance of us hitherto, but I think we are rapidly coming to your views in that regard. We are also cherishing the sincere hope that in the very near future we may be able to unite the two great oceans by means of an interoceanic canal, which will bring the people who dwell upon the Pacific side of South America and Central America in more cordial relations with those of us who dwell nearer the Atlantic, and that our commerce on both shores of these two great oceans will mingle as their waters in a few years. [Applause.] These are some of the things we can look forward to, I think, in the near future. I will not anticipate your deliberations by saying what you can do or will do in this congress about to assemble; I can only say that the American people hope that from it and through it and out of it may grow more cordial social and commercial relations with all of our neighbors who dwell south of us. [Applause.] We know how long it takes to deliberate upon the details of this hoped-for cordial, social, and commercial intimacy, but I think I can say for those who dwell here in Iowa that we hail with gratitude and gladness anything that you may or can do in that direction.

Although you are now in the heart of our continent, yet it is true that we are as near to the capital of your Colombia as we are to Portland, one of the places you have visited on this journey. We are here on the banks of the Missouri River, a river that is navigable for more than 1,000 miles beyond where we dwell. Its waters flow into the Mississippi and through that into the Gulf of Mexico. We lie here between the Mississippi and the Missouri, in Iowa, these two great rivers forming our east and west boundary. Therefore it is that our people feel in this heart of the continent that we are your near neighbors and wish to be your friends. We go by water into the Gulf of Mexico, and by easy sailing into the Caribbean sea, thence to you. We not only have that, but to-day we have all-rail communication, owned by a single railway under a single management, from this city to the city of New Orleans. Therefore you can see how near these great questions are to the hearts of the people of Iowa, and we bid you Godspeed in the great work that you have in hand. We are in hearty sympathy with it, and desire by every means practicable to promote a cordial, sincere, commercial, and social friendship with you.

Now, on behalf of all our people, I extend to you a sincere and hearty welcome. I am sorry that your rapid flight through these prairies and states of the northwest will prevent you from seeing what we are and what we do, but we hope that you will see something from the faces that gladden you and welcome you of what our people are and of what we feel towards those who come among us from our neighboring sister States. Therefore, in conclusion, I welcome you heartily and sincerely into our country and into this State. It is but a type of our country. [Applause.]

Mayor Cleland then introduced Carlos Martinez Silva,

of Colombia, who responded in behalf of the visitors. He was frequently interrupted by applause, and when he closed the large audience cheered him enthusiastically. He said:

Mr. Mayor, Mr. Governor, Mr. Senator: It is a cause of lively satisfaction and of high honor for us that, upon our arrival in this interesting city, the address of welcome should be made by one so distinguished and eminent as yourself. You doubly represent your people on this occasion. Your amiable and cordial expressions are the faithful echo of the sentiments of those in whose name you speak.

We know by experience the worth and significance of your words. Among this great American people—noble, simple, and generous—out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh, as say the scriptures.

Our vocabulary of thanks is already exhausted, but our hearts reveal from day to day a sentiment of fraternal sympathy, of warm esteem, for the people of this great republic, which we have always regarded as a friend, but which from to-day must forever be our elder sister.

In the name of my colleagues, overpowered with gratitude, I beg you to receive a cordial grasp of the hand, and to believe that we, the Americans of the south, in whose veins flows the blood of Castile, have one virtue which is our seal of honor; that of knowing how to love and how to thank.

Hon. John A. Kasson was called for. He was presented by Mayor Cleland and, when the plaudits which greeted him had ceased, said:

Brothers of South America: It is deemed appropriate by our friends assembled that a response to the generous sentiments expressed by your representative should be made, and I have to say, in the moment that I shall speak, that within my knowledge of diplomatic history there has been no event so significant in the series of events of which this is an illustration. Diplomacy as illustrated by the Republics of the American continents comes to us now not merely with the credentials of the Government, but with the credentials of the masses of the people. It speaks not alone from the intellect, but it speaks from the heart. [Applause.] For the first time in the history of nations diplomats unseal their lips, take from their communications the seal of confidence, and from the heart of one liberty-loving people there goes to the heart of the other liberty-loving people the sentiments of fraternity and good-will, not envious of the prosperity of each other, but with the desire for the prosperity of all and of each of the countries represented. You, sir, who have represented the other American delegates on this occasion, have spoken in that manner to the American people, and your sentiments are appreciated by your colleagues. Let us all have the high gratification that this international confidence marks an era in the rules and annals of diplomatic

history. It tells us that we, who have our own grand institutions, have not only set examples in the past for the struggling nations of the older world, but have given them a new example of Christianity's advancement in a union of the hearts and sentiments of the people, determined to establish peace among the nations of the two western continents, an example to be emulated by Christianity throughout the world. [Applause.]

Here in Iowa the sentiments to which I have alluded have a their source in the hearts of all our people, without exception, and I am glad to see, gentlemen, that you are working in that aspect and direction as heartily as in the aspect of the material interests of the country which you severally represent. Since 1821, when the Monroe doctrine was announced, the heart of the American people has responded to every movement of liberty and progress in all the States of South and Central America. God grant that you may be successful in the direction to which I have alluded, and that those material means for bringing about the results to which Senator Allison has alluded will be successfully employed both on the Atlantic and Pacific coasts. Let us know each other better, and we shall love each other, I am sure, with all our hearts henceforth and forever. [Applause.]

At the conclusion of Mr. Kasson's speech James V. Mahoney, who was sitting near the stage, rose from his seat and addressing the Mayor, said:

The people of Sioux City are desirous of seeing and hearing from Mr. Curtis, who has charge of this excursion.

The Mayor brought Mr. Curtis to the foot-lights, and he was greeted with applause. Mr. Curtis bowed and said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: I have nothing to say except to return thanks for this kind welcome.

The visitors and the committee then filed out by way of the main entrance, the majority of the large audience considerably remaining seated until the distinguished party had left the Opera-house.

The trip from the Opera House to the Corn Palace was made in carriages, the occupants of which were constantly saluted by the populace that crowded the sidewalks. At the palace everybody in the procession alighted and entered the unique structure, where many of the prominent people of the city were in readiness to receive them. The building and its corn-constructed works of art were admired and praised without stint until the time

arrived for departure. Accompanied in the majority of instances by ladies, the members of the party walked to the depot and reciprocated some of the kindness shown them by displaying the beauties and comforts of the special train. Before leaving each of the excursionists was presented with a solid gold "Corn Palace" medal.

A reception committee from Omaha was ready to take charge of the delegates as soon as Sioux City released its hospitable grip. The committee consisted of D. H. Wheeler, Euclid Martin, C. F. Goodman, Benjamin Gallagher, James Stephenson, W. E. Annin, W. N. Nason, J. L. McCague, P. E. Iler, E. Rosewater, H. H. Meday, H. G. Burt, H. S. Jaynes, Col. C. M. Terrell and Max Meyer.

Departure took place according to schedule at 11 o'clock. At 11.45 a stop was made at Pender, Nebr., where a number of Omaha and Winnebago Indians danced after their own fashion and greeted several of the dignitaries who got off the train to witness the performance. Each of the visitors was presented with a badge by the citizens of Pender.

When the train stopped at Florence to allow the delegates to see Omaha's water-works other members of the reception committee than those already named were in waiting. They were Mayor W. J. Broatch, chairman, Senator Paddock, John McClintock, J. A. Creighton, M. Lee, G. W. Holdredge, Representative W. J. Connell, Ex-Representative J. A. McShane, General J. R. Brooke and Thomas L. Kimball.

The Webster street depot was reached at 3.30 p. m. A number of prominent Nebraskans boarded the train and continued with the party while a trip was being made to South Omaha and the stock-yards. The later arrivals were Representative Dorsey, Councilmen C. L. Chaffee, E. W. Davis, Jacob Counsman, and F. E. Bailey; Charles Dewey, Frank Colpetzer, B. B. Wood, W. N. Babcock, C. N. Dietz, Fred Gray, J. J. Brown, Thomas Orr and J. A. Wakefield. The Department of the Platte, U. S. A., was represented by Major Peter D. Vroom, Major Benham, and Captain John Snipson.

There was no stop made in South Omaha and the packing-houses were inspected from the windows of the moving train, much to the disappointment of a great many people. Unavoidable delays earlier in the day caused this excision in the programme; it was necessary that the party reach the hotel in time for dinner.

Carriages were taken at the Union Pacific depot and the visitors were driven to the Paxton Hotel. The rotunda and main staircase of the hotel were most elaborately decorated with bunting and with palms and other growing plants. The numerous pillars were adorned with a profusion of roses and smilax. While the band of the Second United States Infantry rendered appropriate music the delegation, accompanied by a number of committeemen, ascended to the balcony above the rotunda.

The great crowd was called to order by Mayor Broatch, who, addressing the distinguished visitors, said :

Gentlemen, it affords me great pleasure to welcome to our city our distinguished guests. I need not say to the gentlemen who have done us the honor of this visit anything in favor of Omaha, for she speaks for herself. We are here within 200 miles of the center of the continent, and you of our sister States in South America who are here to-day are only half way across this great continent of ours. Although, as a rule, you speak a different language, we feel that you are bound to us by the ties of kinship and that our interests are common. Those interests should be fostered and encouraged, and we are as anxious as you can be to join hands in encouraging our business and social relations.

We are slightly disappointed at the fact that you will not allow us to banquet you, although we are glad that you have been treated so kindly in other places that such a proceeding is unnecessary. We expected to feed you on the speckled mountain trout that leaps from pool to pool in the streams of the Rockies. We anticipated that you would be delighted at the antelope from the plains. We thought you would smile as you partook of the flesh of the bears that roam at will over the snow-clad peaks of the far unbounded West, and that you would praise the flavor of our American champagnes. But, as you have seen fit to will otherwise, so be it. You are welcome. We are glad to see you, and hope that you will enjoy yourselves while you remain.

Governor Thayer was then introduced. He said :

I am proud, as governor of the great State of Nebraska, in the name of our people to welcome you here and to greet you as honored repre-

representatives of our sister American nations. I hope, with the people I represent, that when you leave your visit will be fraught with pleasant memories. It is one of vast importance to this country and to yours. It will bring us nearer together, as we should be. Nebraska is a part of the Louisiana purchase, made by President Jefferson. It belonged once to the crown of Spain, to which we all owe a certain allegiance. As brothers we should all unite in doing each other good.

Some years ago I had the pleasure of meeting the honored Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro. I am glad to-day to welcome the representatives from his country, and I only hope that the day may not be far distant when we shall see the American flag on a thousand vessels plying between here and South American ports.

Delegate Calderon, of Colombia, responded as follows :

Mr. Governor and gentlemen, it is very pleasant for me to thank you in behalf of my colleagues and the countries we represent for your kind and generous reception. Our visit to the great West has been for us a series of surprises. This region is no longer that "far West" which we of Latin-America not long ago thought a mysterious and inaccessible land—something like that Dark Continent which an American citizen has made known to the world.

Through American energy and ingenuity we see to-day these immense prairies cultivated, presenting to the sun their golden harvests, and here are these magnificent cities, sprung up as if by enchantment, which the steel bands of railroads have brought into communication with the rest of your powerful union.

Through your energy and labor you have taught mankind what man is capable of, and the prodigies which intelligence, noble ambition, unbending activity, and free institutions can achieve.

On behalf of Latin-America we congratulate you on your success in the work of civilization, and we express our sincere desire that your prosperity may remain unclouded and the great West continue to add new and brilliant stars to the American flag.

After supper many of the excursionists and members of the reception committee went to the Grand Opera House and saw Margaret Mather in "Leah, the Forsaken." When the performance was over the theater party, reinforced by a number of other delegates and attachés, inspected the magnificent building of the Omaha Bee. The various departments of a great newspaper were thoroughly inspected and the courtesies of the proprietor, Mr. E. Rosewater, thankfully recognized. The building of the New York Life Insurance Company—a very fine structure—was also visited by a number of the city's guests.

TWENTY-FIFTH DAY.

THE VISIT TO OMAHA.

Despite numerous well-directed efforts to the contrary, Sunday was a busy day. The programme opened with a visit to the smelting works, through which the party was conducted by Guy C. Barton, Captain Rustin, K. C. Barton, and others connected with the concern. At noon the delegation drove away from the smelters and went as rapidly as the public safety would permit to the residence of G. W. Lininger, where an hour was spent in Mr. Lininger's art gallery. Fort Omaha was the next place to be visited, and the visit was made additionally interesting by the fact that the prohibition of Sunday dress-parades had been suspended for that day only, so that the nation's guests might have an opportunity to see what the soldiers of the regular Army looked like. An artillery salute announced the arrival of the excursionists, who were officially received by General Wheaton. When the dress-parade came to a conclusion the ten companies on the ground were reviewed by Delegate Caamaño, of Ecuador.

The Sunday evening dinner at the Paxton was quite an elaborate affair. Before the coffee was served several members of the various committees presented to each member of the visiting party a polished horn, products of the South Omaha stock-yards. The interior of each horn was filled with little satin bags containing specimens of Nebraska corn, wheat-barley, oats and rye. A ribbon attached to each horn enabled the recipient to sling it over his shoulder after the fashion of a hunter's powder-horn.

Dinner was hardly over when the delegates were taken in charge by a committee from Council Bluffs, consisting of Mayor Rohrer, J. L. Stewart, T. J. Evans, J. W. Peregoy, and John T. Stewart; the latter president of the Omaha and Council Bluffs motor line. The party was gathered together and escorted to two motor trains of five cars each. A chilly ride to Council Bluffs and return—ten miles in all—occupied the time until after 6 p. m., when everybody was landed at the Paxton, tired out. Later in the evening several of the delegates visited the homes of some of the more prominent citizens of Omaha.

The following is a complete list of the Omaha committees:

Arrangements.—D. H. Wheeler, chairman; W. N. Nason, secretary; W. E. Annin, treasurer; Board of Trade: Euclid Martin, P. E. Iler, G. M. Hitchcock, Jos. Barker, A. T. Rector; C. C. Brown, J. A. Wakefield; City Council: D. H. Wheeler, F. E. Bailey, J. M. Counsman, I. S. Hascall, Charles Van Camp, W. J. Broatch, Michael Lee, Frank Colpetzer, John Savage.

Escort from Sioux City to Omaha.—D. H. Wheeler, Max Meyer, Euclid Martin, C. F. Goodman, James Stephenson, Benjamin Gallagher, W. E. Annin, W. N. Nason, P. E. Iler, J. L. McCague, E. Rosewater, H. H. Me-day, H. G. Burt, Col. Charles M. Terrell, H. S. Janes.

Reception.—Mayor W. J. Broatch, D. H. Wheeler, Senator A. S. Paddock, W. N. Nason, P. E. Iler, H. H. Me-day, John McClintock, Edward Rosewater, Euclid Martin, J. A. Creighton, Senator Manderson, Michael Lee, H. G. Burt, G. W. Holdrege, James Stephenson, W. E. Annin, Representative-elect W. J. Connell, Representative John A. McShane, General John R. Brooke, W. N. Babcock, Thomas L. Kimball, J. L. McCague, C. F. Goodman.

Finance.—J. A. Wakefield, G. M. Hitchcock, Frank Colpetzer, William Wallace, Max Meyer, W. V. Morse, C. H. Brown.

Carriages.—James Stephenson.

Route.—M. Lee, James Stephenson, J. M. Counsman, Isaac Hascall, F. E. Bailey.

Music.—W. E. Annin.

Badges.—W. N. Nason, W. E. Annin, Max Meyer.

Entertainment.—Saturday: Judge J. W. Savage, J. A. Wakefield, G. M. Hitchcock, Max Meyer, Capt. Edward Ruger, W. V. Morse, Charles Brown, Frank Colpetzer, Representative-elect Connell, Senator Paddock, C. S. Chase, M. Lee, W. N. Babcock, Fred Davis, William Wallace, B. B. Wood, L. M. Bennett, Joseph Barker, Charles Dewey, Udo Brachvogel, W. A. Paxton, C. B. Rustin, L. H. Drake, Chris. Hartmann, Ernest Riall, D. M. Smith, S. W. Croy, George I. Gilbert, Dr. J. J. Saville, W. H. Hall, General Frank Wheaton, U. S. A.

Entertainment.—Sunday: Senator Manderson, Representative McShane, General J. R. Brooke, G. W. Holdrege, E. P. Davis, Thomas Kilpatrick, Maj. John McClintock, F. E. Bailey, Isaac S. Hascall, C. N. Deitz, M. Barlow, J. M. Counsman, H. W. Yates, Charles Van Camp, Alfred Millard, C. L. Chaffee, Byron Reed, J. S. Brady, Joseph Garneau, jr., George A. Joslyn, Guy V. Barton, W. V. Morse, E. M. Morsman, J. J. Brown, George V. Mills, W. R. Vaughan, Fred Gray, Thomas Orr, H. B. Smith, Maj. J. C. Wilcox, H. C. Janes, George W. Lininger.

Governor Thayer and Attorney-General Leese were with the party while it was in Omaha.

At about midnight the special train pulled out for St. Louis, going over the tracks of the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Road.

TWENTY-SIXTH DAY.

TRAVELING TO AND ARRIVAL AT ST. LOUIS.

There was a brief stop at Des Moines, Iowa, and another at Keokuk. Shortly after leaving the latter place Mr. S. W. F. Draper presented to each member of the party a souvenir book of tickets from the Pennsylvania Railroad Company. There was a ticket for each of the roads over which the party traveled from October 3 to November 14. It was a handsomely-bound and much appreciated memento. At Keokuk a Missouri delegation boarded the train for the purpose of welcoming the travelers to Missouri. The gentlemen composing the delegation were General James M. Lewis, Col. William Bull and Col. C. P. Ellerbe, of St. Louis; Col. John H. Garth, of Huntsville, and Col. John Carroll, of Unionville; all members of the staff of Governor Francis.

The Union depot at St. Louis was thronged with patient humanity for some time before the special train arrived at the big Missouri city. It was after 7 o'clock when the delegates alighted and received the greeting of Mayor Noonan and the members of the reception committee. Governor Francis was present, busily engaged in seeing that everything necessary was done for the comfort of his guests. The committeemen who did active service were President Charles A. Cox, of the Merchants' Exchange,

L. D. Kingsland, ex-Governor E. O. Stanard, John I. Cahill, Louis Fusz, S. L. Bigger, Hugh Rogers, H. C. Pierce, C. P. Walbridge, L. M. Rumsey, S. W. Cobb, Nathan Cole, J. G. Niedringhaus, R. C. Kerens, George D. Barnard, Daniel Catlin, James Bannerman, H. L. Fox, and C. H. Turner.

As the long procession of carriages passed the Four Courts Battery A, of the St. Louis Light Artillery, stationed in Washington Park, and commanded by Capt. S. D. Winters, fired a salute of twenty-one guns.

On their arrival at the Southern Hotel the excursionists were shown to their respective rooms, and as soon as the toilets were completed supper was served.

The social and business elements of St. Louis were well represented on the floor of the Merchants' Exchange as early as 8 o'clock, and until nearly 10 they waited patiently for the coming of the belated and distinguished ones. The decorations of the great room were of the most elaborate description, electric lamps of many hues entering largely into the display.

When the delegates arrived they were met by Chairman Frank Gaiennie and the members of the reception committee. As soon as they had taken the seats allotted them on the platform, President Charles A. Cox, of the Exchange, delivered the following speech of welcome:

Allow me, in the name of the Merchants' Exchange of St. Louis, and the people here assembled, to extend to you a hearty and cordial welcome to our grand hall—changed from its usual appearance of busy trade to one of festivity—filled with ladies and gentlemen who have come here solely to honor our country's distinguished guests. When it became known that our Government proposed by this excursion to show its guests a portion of our country, the Merchants' Exchange, recognizing the importance of this congress and the character of the gentlemen composing it, hastened to invite them to visit our city, feeling confident that, situated as we are in the center of the largest and richest valley upon the face of this globe, capable of producing and furnishing materials to manufacture every article that can be produced or manufactured in the north temperate zone, no city can be better fitted to open up and make profitable an interchange of products with the Central and South American states than St. Louis. With the completion of the canal across the Isthmus and the proper improvement of the Mississippi River, both of which are only questions of time and a

little money, St. Louis will possess in a superior degree the cheapest of all transportation—direct deep-water communication with all the countries here represented.

But, gentlemen, what is more to the point and of more practical value in opening up commercial intercourse, you now begin to meet with people who stand ready and willing to trade with you upon equal terms—freely and fairly, as Missouri trades with Illinois, Texas, or Louisiana. We of the West and South would throw aside all restrictions upon trade with our southern neighbors and treat them as brothers. When our invitation was accepted we insisted upon at least three days of your time, but we were allotted only two. One of the two days we surrendered at the urgent solicitation of our sister city upon our western border, that you might see the extent and richness of the grand old State of Missouri. Your limited stay has forced us to so curtail our original programme that we can not properly show you the extent and beauty of our city or the hospitality of her citizens. Right here let me state to you, in justice to our people, that our clubs and social organizations, as well as our wealthy citizens, have vied with each other in earnest applications to be allowed to entertain what they recognize as the most distinguished body of foreigners that ever visited this city. Gentlemen, while we can not show you gigantic monopolies built up by class legislation and unjust discrimination, we can show you a busy, prosperous, and happy people who stand ready and willing to extend to your people the right hand of fellowship, and to do all in their power to make your short sojourn a pleasant one. With the assurance of our hearty co-operation in promoting the objects of this convention, and promising our aid in establishing the closest fraternal and commercial relations with your people, allow me to again welcome you to our State, and introduce, in behalf of the State, her young governor, Hon. D. R. Francis.

Governor Francis said:

Gentlemen of the International American Congress: The assembling of the first congress of independent American nations, composed as it is of men eminent in commerce, law, literature, and statecraft, marks the beginning of a new era, not only in the social, political, and commercial relations of those nations, but in the material development of the Western hemisphere. The attention of your people, and of ours as well, has been so thoroughly absorbed in latitudinal directions, when looking beyond the confines of their respective countries, that they and we have overlooked the resources, the progress, and the civilization to the north and the south of us. To such an extent has this tendency grown with us that even in the United States there have been commercial and political leaders who contended that the unalterable and inevitable lines of commerce follow the course of the sun. The time has come, however, when mutual interests must draw nearer together the northern and southern continents of America. Problems of govern-

ment have engrossed us hitherto. All other subjects dwindle into insignificance in America when liberty is jeopardized.

In this country we have celebrated not only the centennial of our independence, but the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of the first President of the Republic, after having determined, by four years of sanguinary civil strife, the relations which, as indestructible States, we bear to an indissoluble union. We feel flattered that our institutions have served as a model for the forms of government adopted by the free and independent Republics which you so ably represent, and are proud of the belief that your independence was achieved the more speedily in consequence of the American doctrine enunciated by our immortal Monroe. We have followed with interest your struggles for self-government, and have observed with pain and regret your internal dissensions and sectional differences. We are proud to claim Bolivar, Juarez, Prado, Hidalgo, and Dom Pedro as Americans, and trust you join with us in spirit in paying homage to Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Clay, and Lincoln, to whom the causes of liberty and freedom in the New World owe so much.

Peoples and countries are never more closely allied than when bound together by commercial ties promotive of mutual interests. Our trade relations in the past show that we have annually consumed \$175,000,000 more of Latin-American products than you have taken of ours, but while hoping that this condition may not continue, we do not object so much to its existence as to the fact that the interchange is made almost entirely through the medium of the Old World, and that that medium exacts tribute thereon. If the Conference succeeds in relieving us of this unjust and unnatural burthen it will confer a lasting benefit on the Three Americas, and redound to the everlasting credit of those who were the originators of this Congress, as well as to the renown of the able and distinguished men who compose it. Your deliberations will be followed with the keenest interest by Europe, as well as by your respective countries, and it is the sincere desire of all who have the true welfare of this country at heart that you may succeed in breaking down and obliterating all traces of the barriers which have hitherto so effectually separated us. If latitudinal obstructions to trade are to be preserved, let us enjoy the blessings of a free interchange of products on longitudinal lines between peoples of the same faith, the same government, the same civilization, and with the same aims. With our 14,000,000 of square miles of territory the American continents are four times the size of Europe, their natural resources are much greater than those of all the countries of the Old World combined, and their productive power capable, as statisticians show, of sustaining 3,000,000,000 human beings, or about five times the entire population of the entire globe. In such a country there is room for the Saxon and the Latin to live in peace and harmony, and to prosper in fraternal and commercial intercourse.

As from the tiny seed deposited in the earth springs forth the noble

tree, rich with autumn fruitage, so may we hope that the seed of this visit shall germinate into a fruitful growth of friendship and fraternal love. In this northern country we have found the fruition of our hopes in a union of interests. The lesson of the past is that in union there is strength. God Almighty, it seems to me, secluded this glorious hemisphere until the time arrived in the growth and evolution of mankind when its existence became a necessity. And here in America we have the theater in which may be played the drama of the race. Already we have shown to the world that there can be a government without guns. We have passed through the pain of infancy, and now, in the sturdiness of our youth, we should gather together and form a union of interests where there can not be a union of States. It was not intended that we should be strangers, for are not these twin continents united by a ligament that has so far refused to be severed? I hope ere long to see the iron bands of commerce vein and bracelet the isthmian arm. For one I desire that the word American shall not be distinctive of any one people of any one of the Americas, but of all of them. We have a common interest, and should have a common destiny.

For the past twenty-five days you have been traveling across the eastern half of the North American continent, and have now reached the southwestern limit of that trip which has been mapped out by the United States Government for your entertainment and information before beginning the arduous labors you have been delegated to perform. Human endurance has its limitations, still it can not but be a matter of regret with the people of this portion of the country that your trip was not extended a little farther west and a little farther south. For today, gentlemen, you stand at the threshold of a territory that was once the possession of your sires. That chivalrous Spaniard, De Soto, who was the first white man to set eyes on the majestic Father of Waters, crossed to its western bank and penetrated as far in this direction as New Madrid, in Missouri, within a few miles of this city. Less than nine decades ago St. Louis was a part of Latin-America, and the United States were to the east of us. Here you place your feet upon a spot that may well be called home. As your visit to our country is not alone for the improvement of national relations and the cultivation of closer commercial intercourse, but for the creation of a social feeling that shall unite us closely when other interests may clash, I feel myself honored to be the spokesman of a people who, akin through associations and ancestry, extend to you a welcome not only of the lips but of the heart. We of Missouri desire you to feel at home on this soil.

From this point you are nearer your own dominions than from any place you have visited on this tour. On the bosom of the river that flows by our State you may float into the waters that wash your continent. By land there is a beaten path, now covered by the shining rails of commerce, that leads into the first of the great Latin Republics, Mexico. And we shall all, I hope, live to see the day when the excur-

sionist from Chili to the United States, instead of taking a perilous ocean voyage of months' duration, will board a train in Valparaiso and in a few days step from it in St. Louis.

Your visit to us should be followed by one from the people of the United States to the people of Mexico, Central America, and South America. We should know each other well, commingle freely, learn to rely upon each other, and the establishment of those relations may be followed by an event that will mark a decisive epoch in the world's history, the federation of American Republics.

In extending to you a cordial greeting on behalf of the people of this commonwealth, permit me to express regret that your stay among us is so limited. The short time allotted to Missouri is wholly inadequate to admit of exhibiting to you the wonderful and varied resources for which the State is noted. Here is the center of the civilized population of the North American continent, and hereabout is the geographical center of its arable lands. Here are the fertile valleys of the Mississippi and Missouri, the typical food-producing sections of the world. And here are a people brave and true, generous and hospitable, who feel honored by your presence and salute you as brothers. Here is the heart of the northern half of America. You have been skirting the edges of this magnificent Republic. It has been aptly said that the rind is good, the rind smells sweet, but the juice of the thing is in the core. Here is the center of transportation, from which radiate the iron wheels of commerce to the Atlantic and the Pacific, to the British Possessions and the land of the Montezumas, and by which flows from the Lakes to the Gulf an inland sea greater than the Amazon, watering a valley no less productive than that of the Nile, the Orinoco, or the Rio de la Plata. Here is where we expect to celebrate in 1892 the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by an exposition of the arts and industries of the world. The greatest exhibit which the country can then make as has been well expressed, is the country itself.

On this occasion the open-hearted citizens of our State have conferred upon you the highest distinction they can bestow, and man can receive no higher. They have manifested their pleasure at your coming by the presence of their fair ones and earth produces no fairer. This opinion will surely be concurred in by those of your number who, having taken wives from the North, have cemented the two continents by union at the domestic shrine. We welcome you, therefore, not only to our State, to our commercial, agricultural, educational and industrial centers, but also to our firesides, our homes and our hearts.

When the applause which followed the Governor's speech had ceased Chairman Cox presented Mayor Noonan, who was most heartily greeted. Mayor Noonan said:

Worthy guests from the Republics south of us: You will at least have heard when your trip is over one brief speech. To each one and in a

few words, let me welcome you to the city of St. Louis; let me welcome you to this city as the representatives of a cultured, a generous, a strong people, coming, as you do, from the southern part of the continent. The purpose of the people of this city, through their committee, is to make your stay here one of a social character, and therefore you see here to-night our wives and daughters, who represent the beauty, culture and refinement of the community. As I said, gentlemen, I will be brief. Queridos amigos, adios.

Prolonged applause followed the mayor's speech and its Spanish conclusion.

The closing speech was by Delegate Zegarra, of Peru, who said:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen: The welcome we have received in your midst is in perfect unison with the greeting that has cheered us in our travels through all this marvelous country, and it has filled our hearts with gratitude and inspired us with confidence in the ultimate success of the measures to be presented to the International American Conference. No other official scheme has ever received such a hearty indorsement by a great and mighty people, and it can not but be fruitful in the most beneficent measures. We are but the instruments selected to contribute our mite toward the accomplishment of these great objects. We may be said to understand your relations and ours. We understand the ways we have to employ to reach you, and we know that the mighty river which waters your city is showing you the way to our homes and our markets. [Applause.]

Brothers and friends of St. Louis, we grasp most heartily your hands in friendship for your fair wives, for your grand city, and for all those things which tend to make a people great, prosperous and happy. [Loud and prolonged cheering.]

At the conclusion of the oratory, Mrs. Kate C. Brainard's quartette rendered a pleasing vocal selection, after which general introductions and dancing occupied the time until after midnight.

TWENTY-SEVENTH DAY.

AT ST. LOUIS.

A fire-alarm, set in operation by Delegate Calderon at 9 a. m., was the opening feature of Tuesday's programme.

The department was prompt in its response, and for half an hour gave an interesting exhibition of agile ability. First among the manufacturing establishments to be in-

spected was the mammoth St. Louis Stamping Works, where, guided by Thomas Niedringhaus and Capt. H. C. West, the delegates were given every opportunity to see how granite-iron ware is made. At Kingsland & Douglass's there was a great display of agricultural machinery in operation and no end of decoration on the exterior of the building. A comparatively lengthy stop was made at the Dozier-Weyl Cracker Factory. The various processes of cracker manufacture were explained and then a lunch of fancy crackers and champagne was served. While cigars and cigarettes were being lighted, Governor Francis said a few words about the pleasure it gave St. Louis to entertain such distinguished people, and then introduced Delegate Calderon, of Colombia, who said:

Gentlemen of St. Louis, I wish I could give expression to the feeling of gratitude which fills the breasts of the delegates to the International American Congress. We appreciate everything that has been done for us, and will return to our homes with nothing but the highest and most favorable opinions of the people we have met here and in this country, and remember with pleasure our many happy moments with you. Our entire trip has been a succession of agreeable surprises, not only on account of the boundless hospitality of which we have been the fortunate recipients, but at the extent and prosperity of this great Republic. Everywhere we have met with evidences of that progressive spirit which, when aimed in the proper manner, always accomplishes great and good results. In conclusion, let me say again I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your kindness. In doing so, I am sure I also express the sentiments of the gentlemen who accompany me.

After the applause which greeted Delegate Calderon's address had died away, the party once more entered the carriages and were driven to the Hamilton-Brown shoe factory, where each member was presented with a gorgeous badge. Then the Manual Training-School of the Washington University was visited. From thence the visitors were driven to Mary Institute. The students had all been assembled in one of the large class-rooms, and on the entrance of the delegation they sang "My Country, 'tis of Thee."

Prof. James Dellard, superintendent of the institute, welcomed the delegates in a few appropriate remarks, to

which Delegate Zelaya, of Honduras, responded as follows:

Ladies and gentlemen, if we have everywhere admired the wonders afforded by this nation, great above all things for the freedom enjoyed by her citizens, it is more gratifying to us to contemplate the spectacle presented here by this famous institution, dedicated to youth and beauty, by this magnificent school where woman's moral endowments are perfected and her intellect developed, and where she is prepared for society and the home. Woman is certainly not to-day what she was in antiquity in her abject position: the slave of man. She is now the tender and loving companion and the best friend, and among modern women none take a higher rank—indeed, justice compels me to say the American woman stands at the head of her sex for her virtues, for her independence, and for all those qualities which make her the equal of man in intelligence and force of character, and his superior in every other amiable quality. To woman with her virtues, no less than to the opposite sex, do these United States owe that freedom and prosperity which are the admiration and wonder of nations.

The young lady students were very enthusiastic in their applause of Delegate Zelaya's sentiments. The drive was continued to the Fair Grounds, passing the Stoddard School, the pupils of which were drawn up in line on both sides of the street to cheer the procession as it moved onward.

The Jockey Club did the honors at the Fair Grounds, providing its guests with a hearty welcome and a fine luncheon. There was an entire absence of anything like formality or speech-making, and when the repast was over the committee in charge of the visitors moved them on to the Anheuser-Busch Brewery. Through this immense establishment the party was conducted, employes acting as guides. The inspection having been concluded, the delegates and their escort gathered together in an apartment where numerous souvenirs of the occasion were liberally distributed. President Adolphus Busch saw that there was no lack of refreshment, a duty he did not neglect even when Vice-President Krumsick made a brief speech, in which the closest commercial relations between the Republics of the Western Hemisphere were advocated.

In response to a general invitation Mayor Noonan made a brief speech, as follows:

Gentlemen of the Three Americas, the trail of sticks formerly indicated the way through Mexico, but to-day you follow a trail of empty

beer bottles. The beer of this association has penetrated to every part of the civilized world, and not a few semi-civilized countries are awakening to its merits. But leaving this important beverage out for the present, I predict that golden day in the near future when the States of the American continent, North and South, will clasp hands in the same friendly manner, and know one another as intimately as this present company. In the mean time, gentlemen, enjoy while you can the largest hospitality of the most hospitable city on the earth.

An immense throng of the best people of St. Louis made brilliant the Marquette Club House from 3 p. m. until midnight. As a social event the occasion was not surpassed by any similar affair during the season. For the delegates and numerous members of the local committees a great table had been spread on which was a variety of edibles and liquids. The ladies and their escorts, as well as the local visitors, remained in the club rooms and were there served with supper.

When the delegates and attaches had gathered about the banquet table President R. C. Kerens addressed to them a few words of welcome. The occasion, he said, was a social event. It bore no relation to trade or traffic, and as the gathering was in no sense a commercial one, he begged leave to introduce the moderator of the club, Rev. James Hoeffler, who would talk to them of club life as exemplified by the Marquette.

Father Hoeffler said that the spirit animating the Marquette was easy to explain. The impulse that had organized it was of a social character. They had started out with the intention of bringing together the Catholic gentlemen of the city, gentlemen who were interested in discussing the affairs of the church, and they had succeeded beyond all expectation. At the head of the club had stood the prince of St. Louis gentlemen, and a physician who ranked among the best medical men of the country—Dr. Gregory. At the head of the club now stood another man (Mr. Kerens), who might rightly be considered a power behind the throne, and perhaps before the throne. [Laughter and applause.] The day was not far distant when Catholic clubs would flourish in all the large cities of the country, just as the Marquette flourished in St. Louis. More than this; the speaker said he would go fur-

ther, and say that the day would come when representatives from all the Americas would meet in a great Pan-American Catholic Congress.

Mr. Paul Fusz was the next speaker. He said that he had almost expected to be called upon for a French speech, and had been much gratified at learning what an excellent knowledge of the English language was possessed by the distinguished delegates. He was glad to be able to testify to the relations recognized as existing between the people of North and South America, to the appreciation of their development and progress, and he wished to remind the visitors that in no place on the continent could they rightly expect a more heartfelt welcome than in the city whose traditions were linked with the history of the South and Central American races. Mr. Fusz then dwelt at some length on the discoveries of Ferdinand De Soto and of his progress from the swamps of Florida to the valley of the Mississippi; on the explorations of Vasquez, whose adventurous spirit was deemed bold, even now in a time when boldness was no rare characteristic; on the aid lent by the French army and the Spanish fleet to the cause of American independence; on the perils braved by the Jesuits and French missionaries, including Father De Smet and Father Marquette. These were some of the ties that bound the several nations, said Mr. Fusz, and which made the present gathering a family meeting, where the members were alike proud of their country and jealous of its liberty. All that was needed was a better acquaintance, and the knowledge that had been acquired by the people of the United States of the music and paintings of the South Americans had served to excite a desire for closer commercial union with a country almost laved by the waters of the Mississippi.

To the toast, "Our sister Republics," Delegate Cruz, of Guatemala, made eloquent response. The speech, which was as follows, was frequently interrupted by applause:

It is for me a matter both of high honor and of sincere gratification to be called upon to respond in behalf of my colleagues to your warm and hearty address of welcome. I am glad to say, and I feel quite sure that this is the sentiment of all the Spanish-American delegates, that

during this splendid and skillfully conducted complimentary excursion through many of the States of this wonderful nation, which might be considered by itself as a world of powerful and flourishing nations nothing could be harder for us than to decide where, when, and by whom we have been tendered the kindest and most generous hospitality. We have found in each and all of your innumerable cities many things that strike our eyes and our minds; here the largest and wealthiest factories in some of the different branches of human industry; there the more extended and successful agricultural enterprises; in one town the most excellent schools and universities, in the other the highest buildings and the most elegant residences; everywhere marvelous machinery, some of it so perfectly devised and fitted that one feels inclined to believe it endowed with an accuracy and intelligence superior to that of man, did we not remember that they are but instances of what human brain and energy can do in this wonderland.

You all feel proud of your nation, and we honestly acknowledge that you are but right in feeling so, because you have the most prosperous and desirable country. You are proud of your State because each of the States has a prominent feature which entitles it to a prominent standing in the Union, and consequently in the world. You are proud of your cities, and you are only right, because every one of them possesses something either in the way of letters, or industry, or agriculture, or commerce, or shipping, or natural beauties and resources that surpasses all the rest. So we account for this national spirit of yours which we so much admire, and makes you consider and love your own city far more than all the other cities, your own State far more than all the other States, and your nation far more than all the other nations in the world. Happy in your home, you feel that there is nothing superior to your home; happy in your city, you feel that nothing can be compared to your city; happy in your State, you do not imagine that it can be inferior to other States; and happy in your country, you can not see anywhere anything that resembles your country or keeps pace with its astonishing development. So we account, also, for the generous competition and good-natured rivalry between citizen and citizen, institution and institution, village and village, town and town, State and State, which results in the general grandeur, the increasing welfare of your nation, and in making every day more and more glorious that glorious flag whose stars shed so soft and shining a light in the sky of liberty.

When we return to the countries which have sent us to become acquainted with you, to salute you, to learn of you and to look for a cordial union and affectionate friendship, we shall be able to point out where the best schools, where the most important factories, where the most perfect machinery, where the largest vessels and the most comfortable railways can be found; but we will say at once that as far as amity, sympathy, and good will to our countries are concerned it is quite impossible to find out the citizen who exceeds the other citizens, the

institution which exceeds the other institutions, the city which exceeds the other cities, or the State which exceeds the other States, and that we are equally thankful to your Government and to your people. We will say that there is but one thing equal to your ability and your energy, to your pushing spirit and wonderful prosperity, and that is the kind affection with which you open wide to your brothers of America your cities and your hearts—we will report that if our experience has proved true the conception, that this people by its strength and resources, is a giant in the world, his arms have been to us simply the arms of a sincere friend, who is, at the same time, our oldest and affectionate brother.

In conclusion, allow me, gentlemen, to assure you in the name of my colleagues, that one of our dearest recollections will always be that of the generous and heartfelt reception which your distinguished club has tendered to us in this beautiful city of St. Louis, near the current of the Father of Waters.

Other speeches, all brief, were delivered by Delegate Estee, of California, Consul John F. Cahill, Jerome Hill, Delegate Velarde, of Bolivia; ex-Representative Jehu Baker, and ex-Consul-General Moore.

Soon after 11 o'clock the members of the International party left the club for their train and precisely at 12 o'clock the "special" departed for Kansas City, running over the Missouri Pacific Road.

TWENTY-EIGHTH DAY.

AT KANSAS CITY.

At Greenwood a number of Kansas City gentlemen who had gone out to search for the somewhat belated "special" were received on board by Special Agent Curtis. The committee consisted of Col. J. G. Stowe, J. C. James, E. W. Brannick, H. L. Harmon, G. H. Moore, Col. E. S. Jewett, and Charles Conklin.

It was 12.10 when Kansas City was reached and as the train entered the Union depot an artillery salute was fired on the bluff above the railroad yards. The reception committee, headed by Mayor J. J. Davenport and President F. A. Faxon, of the Commercial Club, received the party and escorted the members thereof to the railway landing of the Ninth street cable road. On the cars of this road nearly all the visitors were taken to Walnut street and

from thence everybody walked to the Midland Hotel, where luncheon was speedily served. The menu was extensive and elaborate, unbroken by speeches.

In carriages the city's guests were conveyed to the depot, and on a special vestibuled Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé train were taken to the works of the Kansas City Smelting and Refining Company, at Argentine. Mr. R. S. Towne, of the company, acted as principal guide and described the processes necessary before the precious metals can be extracted from the crude ores. The tour of inspection ended in the apartment where the bars of silver were stored and where Delegate Romero, of Mexico, offered the following, which was unanimously adopted:

Whereas The Consolidated Kansas City Smelting and Refining Company has kindly invited the delegates of the International American Conference to visit its works, and has been instrumental in the inauguration, development and maintenance of the great commerce in ores of the precious metals now existing between Mexico and the United States, and has rendered such valuable service toward the establishment of reciprocal commercial intercourse between the United States and the other American Republics, and as most of them are large silver-producing countries,

Resolved, That the thanks of the delegates to the International American Congress be extended to the smelting company for its kind invitation, and for the efforts to increase the commercial relations between the United States and the American Republics, which is one of the objects for which the Conference has been called.

Mr. Towne then presented each of the visitors with a solid silver medal as a souvenir of the occasion.

When the party again reached the Union depot a long cable-car ride was commenced and nearly, if not quite all, of the principal thoroughfares were traversed before the excursionists were marched from Broadway to the Coates House, where, at 6 o'clock, dinner was served. When the meal had come to an end L. E. Irwin, who was master of ceremonies, arose and said:

Gentlemen, Kansas City is proud indeed to have you as her guests. She fully realizes the importance of your visit to this country, and as the gateway for American trade to the vast and wealthy domain which you represent, she, of all cities in this country, wishes to impress you with a sincere welcome that you may not forget. I shall not undertake to speak to you in behalf of the city further, but take pleasure in intro-

ducing to you our distinguished mayor, who will not fail to express to you the full and hearty welcome of our citizens.

Mayor Davenport then arose and said:

"Gentlemen of our southern sister-republics, of Brazil, and fellow-citizens: In bidding you welcome to our busy western metropolis, which you honor by your presence here to-night, I have no design of inflicting upon you an extended address. You have, doubtless, been treated to flowers of rhetoric along the entire line of your rapid progress in this broad land of ours until you have a realizing sense of the richness of our vocabulary. We have watched, with interest, your journeyings, marveled at your powers of endurance and admired your patient determination to become familiar with the vast resources of our country, upon which nature has heaped bounteous gifts, and acquainted with the people whose energy and industry have, by the utilization and development of them, built up a nation of which mankind may well be proud; a nation whose advancement within a few short years in science, in art and invention, in manufacture, in trade, and in commerce, challenges comparison with those of the Old World, upon which the sun of civilization first arose many long centuries ago. A nation, my friends, not bent upon conquest, but which seeks and courts the friendship of all others, having for its motto, "Peace on earth, good will toward men." We, as an integral part of the great whole, bid you welcome. Not with the hope or desire of emulating our older cities in offering you surprises, but to add one more voice to the general shout of greeting and one more sincere heart-throb to the earnest hope, so many times expressed, that the tie between the sister-Americas may be strengthened by the visit you are paying us, not only socially, but commercially and politically.

Delegate Castellanos responded in Spanish. The following is a translation of his remarks:

Gentlemen, the North American people, as you well know, are known to the world by their intelligence and energy; capable of realizing the impossible in all the different branches of human progress. But to-day they present themselves to us under a new aspect, heretofore unknown to us. It was erroneously believed that courtesy and punctiliousness were the exclusive patrimony of the Latin race and that the great ideas had always originated and would originate in the future with the descendants of Latium. But I am glad to acknowledge that I was greatly mistaken and that the Anglo-Saxon race has a great many and equal rights to the same honors.

If the North American nation is great by reason of its population, of its territory, of its riches, it is far more great by the nobility of its sentiments. In all the cities we have had the pleasure to visit and where we have met the representatives of public authority, the presidents of the commercial exchanges, the principal manufacturers, and, in a word,

all the citizens, have not only received us with the most exquisite manifestations of cordiality and sympathy, but they have also, by means of the eloquent voices of their orators, adhered with great enthusiasm to the generous idea which has given birth to the present International American Congress, the principal object of which is to promote by all the means that may be thought necessary the greatest degree of progress and happiness for all the free nations that inhabit the immense territory of our dear America.

I permit myself to invite my honorable colleagues of Spanish-America to drink to our eldest sister, the great Republic of the United States, and to hope that, united in close bonds of the most intimate friendship, we may realize our common destiny, fulfilling the sublime precepts of our Divine Master.

Then Mr. Irwin called for a toast from Delegate John B. Henderson, of Missouri, who said that there were present gentlemen from Central and South America. The people of Europe were discussing seriously the meaning of this Conference. The newspapers of England and of Spain and of other countries were asking what was meant by it. Mr. Henderson said :

I do not know that I am able to tell you, but my impression is that the courtship is a serious one and no coquetry about it. [Cheers.] I believe that they love us and I know that I love them. I see some of our lady friends here and they know that when that state of affairs exists it results in marriage. I can tell our friends in Europe that this is not only going to be a marriage, but it is going to be a happy and blissful marriage. Why, we propose to make Central and South America precisely what we have made these United States. Some people say to me, "As you are a member of this Congress you should be careful how you talk." We have met together for the purpose of talking and after we have talked we propose to act. We proposed to build a line of railroad—we have already built it to Mexico—to build it through Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Costa Rica, and go on through the isthmus. When we get to Venezuela and the Colombian States we shall build two branches, one on the east and one on the west of the Andes. [Cheers.] We have a lovely country in North America, but Brazil, one of the single States of South America, is as large as the American Union, with a river mightier than the Mississippi, with soil more fertile than ours, and we intend to dot it all over with communities such as Kansas City.

They ask us what we are going to do. We are going to have immense lines of steamers running from every port in America and landing at every important port in Central and South America. [Applause.] We have a mission of peace in this country and not of war. If war comes, we tell our European friends that we are ready for it, and decidedly

shall we be ready for it after this glorious marriage shall have been consummated. Given a union of the Americas, and for peace and for war we shall be invincible. We want a uniform system of weights and of measures and a uniform currency. We want to inculcate the arts of peace and commerce, of civilization and social life. We will need a language. Take ours if you like; if you do not we will take yours. [Laughter and cries of "half and half."]

They ask us, What sort of a union of republics are you going to cement? In the language of one of our American poets I say give us

A union of lakes, a union of lands,
A union so firm that none may it sever ;
A union of hearts, a union of hands,
A union to-day and a union forever.

Delegate Martinez Silva, of Colombia, next spoke in answer to repeated demands. He said that Senator Henderson had expressed his ideas and those of his colleagues. The time had come when the Americans, North and South and Central, should draw closer together and be bound by closer ties, not only of commerce and of interest, but also of brotherhood and love. [Applause.] At the present moment Old Spain, who had entirely forgotten that there were daughters of hers on this continent, now that the United States had extended the hand of fellowship to these Republics, was making great haste to show that she had always loved them much and wanted to bring them to the fold again. In conclusion, he hoped that the aspirations for closer relations would in a brief time become an established fact.

Representative-elect J. C. Tarsney was next called upon for a speech, and he replied as follows :

When the distinguished soldier and statesman whose heroism and whose intellectuality have added luster to the renown of this great Commonwealth has spoken, it is fitting that others who might be called upon in a degree to represent this State, remain silent. I hope and believe that this Conference or Congress will result in the full fruition of that for which it was called. If the conclusions of these members of the Congress are promotive, and I know they will be, of a better understanding of the people of the nations of this continent; if they would result in a better commercial relation; would bring us nearer together in the brotherhood of nations and mankind, I, so far as my humble official duties in an office of the country are concerned, will do all in my power to put these recommendations into effect.

But there are other entertainments more entertaining, and I will not occupy your time further, but bid you all Godspeed.

Governor D. R. Francis was the last speaker. He said :

Now that your sojourn in Missouri is drawing to an end, I desire to express the hope that your stay in the State has been a pleasant one. You entered the State at the northern limits, have gone to the eastern borders, and are now on the western confines, and when you leave the State you will have traveled 800 miles within her borders. The people who have entertained you have extended to you a genuine hospitality, receiving you as neighbors, as Americans, and as brothers. Whilst in Kansas City you are nearer your own countries than at any other point on the route. This city was not included in the route made out by the State Department before the excursion began, but a visit to Missouri would have been incomplete if it had failed to include this wonder on the banks of the Kaw. I hope your visit to the United States will be but the precursor of frequent visits in the future, and I would suggest the advisability of sending delegates to South America to meet our visitors at their homes. I assure you we feel honored by your visit, and trust that you feel that it is good for you to have been with us. And now farewell and Godspeed.

For more than half an hour, commencing at 8 o'clock, the Kansas City Flambeau Club gave an exhibition of its ability in the line of pyrotechnical maneuverings; a spectacle as unique as it was pleasing. Immediately at its conclusion the delegates and other members of the party went in carriages to the Coates Opera House, where they saw Thomas W. Keene in "Richelieu."

From the theater to the hotel and from the hotel to the union depot were trips that took but little time, and at 12 o'clock the special train pulled out for Springfield, Ill.

The following-named gentlemen comprised the Kansas City reception and entertainment committee: Mayor Davenport, J. M. Patterson, president of the upper house of the legislature; A. W. Love, speaker of the lower house; E. A. Faxon, president of the Commercial Club; W. B. Clark, first vice-president of the Commercial Club; Joseph Cahn, A. G. Trumbull, Ryerson Ritchie, H. P. Stimson, J. G. Stowe, L. E. Irwin, James A. Mann, B. F. Jones, Lewis Hammerslough, E. C. Sattley, Ed. George, G. H. Moore, H. L. Harmon, C. S. Wheeler, C. A. Parkes, J. T. Eaton, J. C. James, W. J. Abbott, George W. McCrary, T. B. Bullene, M. Munford, T. Mulford, W. R. Nelson, W. A. Wilson, H. E. Vories, R. S. Towne, and all the members of the city council.

TWENTY-NINTH DAY.

AT SPRINGFIELD, ILL.

Springfield was reached at 11 o'clock on Thursday morning. The excursionists were received by the members of the various committees, which were organized as follows:

Executive.—J. C. Conkling, Charles E. Hay, George N. Black, D. W. Smith, J. O. Humphrey, John W. Bunn, C. C. Brown, A. Orendorff, F. W. Tracy, Charles Ridgely.

Reception.—Governor J. W. Fifer, Senator Cullom, ex-Governor R. J. Oglesby, General J. A. McClernand, Mayor Charles E. Hay, Representative W. M. Springer, General John M. Palmer, D. T. Littler, H. S. Greene, John Hardtner, J. Bressmer, J. C. Klaholt, E. A. Wilson, J. M. Fitzgerald, H. K. Weber, G. H. Sanders, Frank Simmons, William Ridgely, J. B. Barnes, F. L. Matthews, S. Mendenhall, S. W. Currier, C. Becker, Dr. Richard Edwards, W. E. Palmer, B. F. Caldwell, F. H. Wines, George Hunt, C. P. Hitch, L. S. Wilcox, C. R. Paul, Dr. A. Gurney, Dr. J. H. Rauch, John McCreary, Thomas Rees, Jacob Bunn, Milton Hay, Henry Davis, jr., A. Farr, E. R. Thayer, George W. Chatterton, L. H. Coleman, J. W. Southwick, H. C. Latham, W. C. Sommer, G. M. Brinkerhoff, R. E. Starkweather, H. W. Clendenin, J. Taylor Smith, S. H. Jones, John T. Peters, I. N. Pearson, N. L. Freeman, J. R. Tanner, D. L. Wing, C. W. Pavey, A. L. Ide, James A. Connolly, Charles F. Mills, E. F. Leonard, Bluford Wilson, S. E. Prather, T. W. S. Kidd, George Reisch.

Carriages.—G. J. Little, James Furlong, E. A. Hall, Edwin Watts.

Banquet.—A. Orendorff, F. K. Whittemore, C. L. Conkling, William B. Ridgely.

Finance.—George N. Black, F. K. Whittemore, B. H. Ferguson.

In carriages the party proceeded to the Leland Hotel where, shortly after the visitors' arrival, luncheon was served.

At 2 o'clock the drive was taken up and continued to Oak Ridge Cemetery, to the tomb and monument of

Abraham Lincoln. There was an immense concourse of people present, many of them having traveled long distances that they might see the delegates at the last resting-place of the martyr President.

The citizens' committee escorted the distinguished guests to the top of the mausoleum, where Senator Cullom introduced ex-Governor Oglesby in the following terms:

Gentlemen, we are in the presence of a monument erected to the memory of Abraham Lincoln. I shall not myself make any remarks further than to say that a very few days after the death of Mr. Lincoln, Governor Oglesby, of our State, who was then governor, and who has been governor twice since, was made the president of the Lincoln Monument Association, under whose charge the monument in whose presence we stand was erected; and he will address you on this occasion. I have the pleasure, gentlemen, of introducing to you Governor Oglesby.

Governor Oglesby said:

Gentlemen of the International American Congress: Allow me to assure you that when we received intelligence through our citizens' committee which has in charge these ceremonies that this great International Conference was inclined to pay a visit to the capital of our State, it filled the breast of every Illinoisian, and especially the breasts of the citizens of the capital of the State with unusual pleasure. We thought it not unlikely that one among the many reasons which moved you to give your consent to visit our capital might naturally enough be a desire to look upon the monument reared to the memory of Abraham Lincoln. So in the order of ceremonies it was made a part of our proceedings that you should for an hour or two honor with your presence the monument of that great man.

You must indulge us, gentlemen, representatives of kindred States and nations—you must indulge the American people of the United States, and especially the people of the State of Illinois, for giving expression upon almost all occasions to our deep sense of admiration and love for the great patriot and great emancipator whose memory you will, with us, profoundly revere to-day. [Applause.]

You are as it were now in the very heart of the great Mississippi Valley—within the great heart of our country, agriculturally. You are traveling through the country now—the several States you have recently visited—the States of Missouri, Kansas, and Minnesota, which you have so lately traversed—the State of Illinois to-day and to-morrow the State of Indiana, and thence the State of Ohio—you are passing through what we believe to be the most fertile region in the known world. It has not a southern climate. It is not a fruit-producing land in the sense that South America and Central America and

the Republic of Mexico are, but it is a grain-growing land—it is the home of the cereal. Now, it was in this very country, in the midst of these unpretentious undulations of fertility, these plain and unbroken prairies, that the life of Abraham Lincoln was developed, and here that the foundation of his great character was laid—that simple, noble, grand man of ours, and, as we trust and believe, of the whole world. [Great applause.]

He loved his own country. He loved his own race. He loved his own people. But he did not any less love other nations and other peoples and other races. [Loud applause.] It was his giant arm that reached down into the dark, cavernous waste of human slavery and helped so largely to lift up the poor black bondman into American citizenship. [Renewed applause.]

There are not many such characters given to the world at any time; but, gentlemen, in your own lands—in your own respective states and nations—you, too, have had your patriots and your statesmen, your scholars and your soldiers, not unknown to the world, and their illustrious examples certainly not unknown to Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.] And you therefore can appreciate to a large extent and are therefore enabled to be liberal to us in our free expression of honest devotion to the memory of our great hero. In the midst, then, of these melancholy but inspiring associations may we not fitly say we sincerely rejoice to have you here with us to-day? And we only hope that the time may come, and speedily come, when Mexico, Central America, and all the South American states and nations, encouraged by such kindness, shall come to know the people of the United States more intimately and cordially than we have hitherto known each other.

We occupy the grandest continents of the world. Why should we not be very friendly? Why should we not grow to be very fond of each other? How far apart are we? Why should we not come closer together, not only commercially, but socially, morally, and politically? In a universal sense, why can we not get to be all one common American brotherhood?

I wish it were in my power to induce about twenty-five thousand of our American tourists to change their mode and line of travel. Out of the one hundred thousand that go annually across the Atlantic to the hospitable and cultured nations of Europe that invite us and entertain us so cordially there, I would to God that at least twenty-five thousand of the citizens of these United States would change their line of visitation and pass through Mexico, Central America, and over the rock passes of the Andes throughout the entire domain of the southern republics, states, and nations, until we should all come to know each other. [Loud applause.]

How absurd it must sound in Europe to-day that we here, in this year of our Lord 1889, are inviting representative gentlemen from the states and nationalities of a twin western continent to come and make us a visit. Why, we ought to have been visiting to and fro together for at

least fifty years. [Laughter and applause.] And now don't you forget it, we are coming to see you in return for this call—at least one hundred thousand of us. [A voice "All right," and applause.] And we will drink your coffee and we will drink everything else you have got to drink. [Renewed laughter and applause.] And we will look at your cattle and we will look over your mountain slopes and plains and great rivers and valleys, and we will take pleasure and pride in looking into how you are getting along down there, and see if we can not, in this enlightened century of the world, come to have a gentle and proper and improving knowledge and appreciation of each other. And let us learn to deal together. That will be no outrage upon Europe—no outrage upon other nationalities of the world. That will but promote interesting, friendly, and elevating social intercourse. And we want more of it than we have had heretofore. [Applause.]

When I received orders to come from the farm in here to-day to meet you, the gentlemen of the committee of citizens who did me the honor to invite me, at first limited me to three minutes. If you knew me—in Mexico, Central, and South America—as they know me in Sangamon county, you would think that a little unfair to me. But to-day the committee grew a little more liberal, and Mr. Humphrey had the goodness to tell me that I might take just as much time as I wanted, if I would not take over fifteen minutes. [Laughter.]

But now I am done; the field is a broad one; I have scarcely touched the character of yon great man; I have scarcely touched the border of the great theme which is now occupying your hearts to-day. But this is no time for lengthy speeches. When you go back home I know you will not forget to report that you never in your lives met so many orators and stump-speakers as you found in the State of Illinois. Really, I do not know of any State that can beat us unless it might be Missouri or Indiana. But I have done without more than barely touching my subject, and I shall now give way to gentlemen who will follow me with such remarks as they may feel inclined to make, and whom Senator Cullom will have the kindness to introduce to you. Farewell; gentlemen, I bid you a kind adieu. [Applause.]

Delegate N. Bolet Peraza was then introduced by Senator Cullom as the son-in-law of General José Gregorio Monagas, President of Venezuela in 1854, and liberator of the slaves of Venezuela in that year. The greeting accorded General Peraza was a warm one, and when the applause had subsided he said:

Gentlemen, do not be surprised by the contrast which my colleagues present to you at this solemn occasion, selecting the humblest orator to praise the greatest man of your country in the present century. They have not sought the merits of eloquence, but the circumstances of opportunity. They have excused my deficiencies and only thought of my

family associations with one of the liberators of our America, who like your hero, made slaves free and deserved the glory of martyrdom. It is not, then, my voice that speaks at this moment; it is the echo of a noble soul, who shares with your great man the immortality bestowed by the god of justice on the benefactors of mankind.

Fifteen free American nations join in this sanctuary to pay their homage to this tomb, which contains nothing but a handful of dust; all that in Abraham Lincoln belongs to death, as his real mausoleum is in the heart of men. Here, in our bosoms, we all carry him alive by the warmth of our gratitude; immortal, by our perpetual admiration,

His noble ideal has been realized all over our continent. There is not a single slave in its vast territory; there are no more disinherited races; there are no more human goods in our markets, and the shameful stain disgraces no more our institutions and civilization.

Our visit to this sacred monument is not a mere individual tribute, but a significant pilgrimage of sovereign sisters; nations which come here in the name of liberty, equality and fraternity, to ratify their firm purpose of continuing the work of this great Northern leveler; unifying the interests of the entire America; consolidating her aspirations to the future; tearing down the traditional walls which rise in the natural way of her industrial conveniences, leaving standing only the frontiers of the respective sovereignties built by mutual respect.

It is not true that the difference of race may constitute an obstacle for the fraternity of nations. Liberty has mysterious resources for every social or economical problem. Where wisdom fails, liberty succeeds. It does not look upon blood nor language as barriers, but as light accidents interposed in the way of human equality and friendship. The illustrious man whom this tomb keeps in glorious rest understood it; and for that reason was great and immortal. For that very reason, and for the transcendent achievement which he drew from his stern convictions, fifteen free American nations come to pay him the greatest homage in the history of human gratitude.

Delegate Alfonso, of Chili, who was called upon to speak by Senator Cullom, said:

I am greatly delighted to have now the opportunity of fulfilling a vow which I made in earlier years—that I would before my death visit the tomb of that great character, Abraham Lincoln. I therefore count myself happy to-day. I fully realize now that it is just and proper that the nation which produced such a man as Abraham Lincoln should feel very proud of him. I feel exceedingly happy that he was able to realize nearly all of his most ardent wishes, and that I am able to pay my humble tribute of admiration at his resting-place to-day.

Delegate Alfonso's remarks were in Spanish.

The north catacomb, in which the body of Lincoln is buried, was then visited by the party, each member of it

taking a flower from off the sarcophagus. Each of the visitors put his name on the register and then they were driven back to the hotel. Some few of the delegates and attachés were entertained for an hour or two during the afternoon at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Ridgely.

At 6 p. m. there was a banquet at the Leland Hotel. The conclusion of the menu was the signal for prayer by Rev. Fred H. Wines, after which Senator Cullom spoke as follows:

Gentlemen: As citizens of Springfield we are honored to-day by the presence of the most distinguished body of men that ever visited our city. They are gentlemen highly distinguished as statesmen, and they come among us as representatives of many separate and independent republics.

Springfield in the past has been honored by the presence of eminent citizens of our own country and of statesmen from other nations, who have visited America, as Americans visit other countries. But now for the first time in the history of the United States representatives of the three Americas have joined together and are doing honor to our country by visiting many portions of the land.

Gentlemen of the International American Congress and those who accompany you, not forgetting the representatives of the press, we are proud to have you come here, and we trust you may not despise the day of small things in our quiet capital of the great commonwealth of Illinois, after you have enjoyed, as I doubt not you have, the superabundance which has been placed before you by the generosity of the great cities of the country. Our homes, our hands, and our hearts are open to you, gentlemen, and we bid you a most cordial and hearty welcome.

The work in which you are expected to engage after you shall have finished your tour of the country, will be vastly important, and not only the nations which you respectively have the honor to represent but all the nations will take a lively interest in your deliberations and the results of your Conference.

North, Central, and South America should be one in sympathy; should be one in a disposition to help each other; should be one in a determination to make the nations comprising the three Americas great and powerful, possessing the highest civilization; and together they should wield a grand influence for the good of mankind.

The great movement for closer and better relations between our republics has begun, and in my judgment it will not stop until intimate social and commercial relations shall be established between the people of the United States and those of Mexico and of every other nation in Central and South America.

It is often said that trade follows the flag, and I trust it will not be

long before American ships, with the stars and stripes floating over them, may be daily seen in the harbors of the nations here represented.

I expect to see the two oceans united together by one or more canals, thereby shortening the distance of travel and greatly cheapening the means of transportation in the interest of the great masses of the world. I expect to see railroads built and in operation connecting the three Americas together, when their people will be in constant communication with each other by the use of the telegraph; when it will not be necessary for delegates to the next International American Congress, wherever such Congress may be held, to cross the ocean in order to reach the place where it shall convene.

My distinguished friend, Mr. Guzman, is reported as saying that the object of the Congress is to bring the people nearer together. I shall rejoice if such shall be the result, as I believe it will.

It has been said that the decline of American shipping is not a lost art, but lost statesmanship. I hope your coming among us and your Congress may encourage us to hasten the revival of our shipping interests, and I assure you no harm will come to our country if American statesmanship shall also be stimulated.

The first duty of government is to secure the independence and the freedom of its citizens. The Government of the United States years ago gave expression to its desire that no foreign power should attempt to subjugate or in any way interfere with the establishment of independent Republics on the American continent. The Monroe doctrine is still dear to the hearts of the people of the United States.

Long may your Republics live. May they become the homes of hundreds of millions of free and prosperous people. Immigration is flowing into your countries more and more every year. The United States has freed the slaves of this country. The declaration that all men are created equal and are alike entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, has become a vital force with us, and our Government, supported by the people, is reaching out not for conquests, but to help her sister Republics and herself in the interest of the common good of all.

Delegate Velarde, of Bolivia, was the next speaker. In his native tongue he thanked those before him for the welcome they had tendered him and his colleagues, and said he was happy once more to find himself in the State of Illinois; more so on this occasion than the first time, because he now had opportunity to pay a tribute of admiration and respect to the character of that distinguished statesman, that great hero, whose renown extends over all the world—Abraham Lincoln. After referring to the great growth and progress of the United States, Delegate Velarde said that in the dark hours of North America the ambitious nations of Europe had dared to cast longing eyes in the

direction of the weaker Republics of the South, and had indeed set foot upon the soil, but the North had repelled the invaders and saved the continent.

Governor Fifer was introduced as soon as the plaudits following Delegate Velarde's speech had died away. He said:

Gentlemen of the International American Congress: On behalf of the people of Illinois, I recently bade you welcome within the borders of this State. Speaking in no spirit of egotism we feel that your investigations into the resources of our country, and into the character and intelligence of our people, would have been incomplete had you not honored Illinois with your presence. We beg, gentlemen, to assure you that we appreciate the honor of this visit within our State more than we can express.

You who are the guests of this nation have, I doubt not, been touched by that warm and generous friendship which I know is everywhere entertained for the people and governments of which you are the distinguished representatives; but whatever may have been your greetings of friendship in other sections of our country, none have been, and none will be, more genuine and sincere than that accorded you by the people of this commonwealth.

You have been afforded the opportunity of studying that spirit of industry, of enterprise, and of commercial thrift which has marked the progress and development of the metropolis of Illinois. The city of Springfield is not likewise distinguished for her commercial greatness. She is, however, the Mecca of American statesmanship, and will be forever memorable as the home and last resting place of Abraham Lincoln, whose disposition was so sweet and gentle as his figure is historically imposing and majestic, and whose pure, exalted and unselfish life will help teach the world the great lesson that the basis, the indispensable basis of all true greatness is integrity of character united with a love and sympathy for all mankind.

We feel at liberty to invite you to study the life and character of this great man, for he belongs not to any one nation or people, but to humanity; and that, inspired by his benign and loving spirit, your deliberations may result in the mutual benefit and common good of the nations embraced within the domain of the three Americas, is the sincere wish of every true son of Illinois.

Brief but brilliant was the speech of Delegate John B. Henderson, of Missouri. The sentiments he advanced were heartily applauded and then Representative William M. Springer was introduced. He spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the International Conference: It affords me, as a citizen of Springfield and of the State of Illinois,

great pleasure to unite with my fellow citizens of this city in welcoming you to the borders of the fourth State in the American Union. We desire that you shall understand that this greeting, that this welcome which we have extended to you, is not one of form, but one of substance also; and that we desire in the future to cultivate more intimate relations with our sister republics south of us than we have done heretofore. [Applause.]

It is very much to be regretted that we have lived so many years upon the American continent and yet know so little of each other. The people of the United States are more familiar with the people of Europe than they are with those of Mexico upon our immediate border. And yet the people of Mexico are in all respects our equals, and we ought to have cultivated friendly relations with them long ago, and I hope that at least one of the results of the great International Conference which is to be held in Washington in a few weeks will be the establishment of a permanent International American Peace Congress, so that in the future none of the nations of America—of the three Americas—will ever go to war against each other again until that question has been submitted to the International Peace Congress and their verdict has been rendered. [Applause.] I trust further that we will lay the basis and foundation of an international alliance of offense and defense with each other, so that we may notify the Governments of Europe that no harmful intervention will ever be permitted on this continent (applause), and that we will make common cause against all foes that would interfere with our Governments or attempt to destroy the perpetuity of our institutions. [Prolonged applause.]

If this can be accomplished it will be a sufficient result of itself for the great International Congress and the countries; the people of the world will understand that in America—the three Americas—men will learn war no more. [Cheers and applause.] But I hope that this result will not be all that will be accomplished. I fully indorse everything that has been said by the distinguished gentleman from Missouri. We want more intimate commercial relations with the people south of us. [Applause.] I believe that the time has now come, whatever may have been the benefits of protection in this country heretofore, when every barrier between the three Americas should be broken down upon your part as well as ours, and that the commerce between us shall be as free as the water that flows in the brook. [Cheers.] If this could be accomplished by this Conference the gentlemen who compose it would go down to history as the benefactors of their race, and they would confer a greater boon upon their countries and this country than has been conferred since the establishment of the independence of this country. There are many propositions which have been suggested which will lead to more intimate commercial relations between the governments of the three Americas. Some have merit and others have not. All of them are worthy of your highest and most careful consideration.

It has been suggested by some that we should aid by appropriations from the Treasury the establishment of steam-ship lines between the three governments. How far we may be able to do so I can not state—I do not know. But it has been suggested on the other hand that there is a seeming inconsistency in helping build ships to bring products to this country when at the same time we are enacting restrictive laws to keep these products out of the country. If we want their trade we must let it come free and not obstruct it by unnecessary legislation. [Applause.] If you in Mexico and Central America and South America will allow us the products of our country, we will send you agricultural implements to till your soil and better your condition. [Applause.] So, to, in return we need the products of your countries. Let them come. [Applause.] I am in favor of this great railroad our friends have spoken of, and I want to say to you of South and Central America that when you get ready to build it we can furnish you what steel rails you need from the Springfield rolling-mills [laughter and applause] and we hope that over this railroad and the railroads of our country you will come to Springfield and buy a watch [laughter], for every one of your citizens. We will guaranty them to last longer and to keep better time than any watch you ever had. [Laughter and applause.] You see we are getting ready to supply you with a railroad and many of the luxuries and necessities of life. [Applause.]

We welcome you to our city and hope that the result of your Conference at Washington will be the betterment of all your governments and the betterment of ours. [Prolonged applause.]

Judge Walter Q. Gresham was called for by a number of persons, and after some solicitation he arose and briefly indorsed what had been said in relation to the necessity for closer commercial and social relations with the people of Central and South America.

After the banquet there was a reception at the State House, attended by a large number of the citizens of Springfield and vicinity.

At 11.30 the special train left Springfield for Indianapolis, going over the tracks of the Wabash and the Indianapolis, Decatur and Western Railways.

THIRTIETH DAY.

AT INDIANAPOLIS.

At 9 o'clock, shortly after the arrival of the special train at the Indianapolis union depot, the local reception committee appeared to offer a welcome to the guests that had determined to see as much as possible of Indianapolis in one

short day. The committee consisted of George G. Tanner, E. C. Atkins, S. A. Fletcher, E. B. Martindale, Enrique C. Miller, A. H. Nordyke, Wm. F. Piel, jr., S. T. Bowen, D. A. Richardson, Franklin Landers, W. F. C. Golt, Arthur Gillett, R. C. J. Pendleton, James R. Carnahan, Charles Kahlo, Mayor Denny, Davis S. Swain, John R. Pearson, William M. Hicklin, Thomas Markey, Granville S. Wright, Miles M. Reynolds, and John Rail.

As soon as the members of the committee got on board a short run was made in the "special" to West Indianapolis to the extensive works of the Nordyke & Marmon Company, manufacturers of mill machinery. All the more important buildings were visited, and when the delegation was ready to return to town each of the strangers was presented with an album containing views of the city.

Carriages were in waiting at the depot when the train arrived and in them the party was driven to the State-house, where Governor Hovey and the State officers received the visitors. The reception was pleasantly informal and as soon as the unceremonious ceremonies were over the entire party made a tour of the building. A large number of ladies, most of them related to the State officials or to members of the committees, added their charms to the interesting occasion.

Everything had a holiday appearance as the delegates were driven through the streets to the United States Encaustic Tile Works. Business houses and private residences were alike lavish in their display of bunting. The public was liberal in its vocal enthusiasm and the children of the public schools (in every instance arrayed in front of their respective institutions) made a great deal of complimentary and appreciated noise. The tile works were reached at 11.30 and a little more than half an hour was given up to an inspection of the methods and products.

The Atlas Engine Works were next visited, and while there the delegates and attachés were decorated with roses distributed by a number of ladies.

The drive was then continued through the residence part of the city, especial attention being directed by the excursionists to the home of President Harrison.

Luncheon was served at the New-Dennison hotel at 1 o'clock, and when the menu had been disposed of President George G. Tanner, of the Board of Trade, arose and said :

GENTLEMEN: We have with us as our guests to-day, in addition to the representatives of our own Government, gentlemen who have traveled many miles in order to visit our country and become acquainted with its people, to examine into the workings of public institutions, and inspect the products of factories. They come by invitation of the national Government to discuss and suggest measures for the benefit of their people and our own. To you, visiting gentlemen, I would say that on behalf of the Indianapolis Board of Trade I take pleasure in cordially bidding you welcome; and as the distance you have traveled is great when compared with an ordinary journey, so is our appreciation great in like measure. We appreciate your visit because you come to promote commercial and social relations between us. We consider it a privilege to entertain you because in you we recognize gentlemen of distinction, who should be received with honor, not only because of your official position but also on account of personal worth. Never before in the history of our city has it been our pleasure to receive, at one time, so many representatives of so many different governments, and we consider ourselves fortunate that this city was selected among the many beautiful cities of the country for your inspection.

We regret that the limited time allotted for your entertainment does not permit us to show you but a small portion of the city's many attractions; nor can we during your brief stay extend as many courtesies as we would like; but rest assured, gentlemen, the people of Indiana are not lacking in hospitality, and I trust you may return in the near future and become better acquainted with us. We are glad to know that you have come to our shores prepared for the discussion of great commercial questions—questions which are to-day doing more to maintain peace among nations than all other considerations.

Thus, in the interest of commerce, you are advancing the cause of humanity. The day has gone by when nations seek greatness by force of arms. That nation which would become great, or which is great and would remain so, must strive for commercial victories—victories which are honorable and usually a blessing alike to victor and vanquished. The people of these United States are prepared to give full measure and overflowing. We do not wish to build up ourselves at your expense, but rather to enjoy that free exchange of commodities which God placed on earth for the use of man.

Mr. Tanner's sentiments were loudly applauded.

Gov. Alvin P. Hovey was the next speaker accorded the floor by the presiding officer, and was applauded before he had time to say a word. Governor Hovey said:

GENTLEMEN: As governor of Indiana I give to you a hearty welcome, and, as brevity has been said to be the soul of wit, I will make my re-

marks short. There are several questions to come before your Conference at Washington, and all will doubtless be settled by friendly arbitration. I had the good fortune some years ago to represent the United States in the Republic of Peru, and while there became much attached to that people and to that country. I was there during the period when Spain thought she could again fasten her shackles upon Peru and Chili, and after that combat in the port of Callao, when I saw the Spanish squadron retire, my heart was as full of joy and happiness as that of any Peruvian. I believe that the continent of America should be governed only by Americans, from the frozen regions of the North to the Straits of Magellan. We want no Europeans interfering in these countries. I hope the people of all of our Republics will so manage affairs that no European country will ever attempt to occupy any Republic on this continent. [Applause.] I felt that our Government could never allow Spain to fasten herself upon Peru. France tried that with Maximilian, in Mexico, and met with failure. [Applause].

That is my feeling and the feeling of ninety-nine out of one hundred Americans. Arbitration among governments will be the method of the future in settling differences between nations. One sister shall not strike another, and no two nations will fight without the concurrence of all the Republics. Unfortunately, some of the South American Republics have been engaged in war, which would not have been the case were arbitration to prevail. This, too, will lead to closer commercial relations in the end; that all American Republics should devoutly wish for. Again, gentlemen, in behalf of the State, I bid you welcome.

Mayor Denny, in behalf of the city, welcomed the visitors in the following terms:

GENTLEMEN OF THE INTERNATIONAL AMERICAN CONFERENCE: Since Secretary Blaine extended his greeting to you on behalf of the Government and people of the United States, I do not doubt you have had a warm welcome in every city you have visited. But I would have you all feel you are specially welcome to this city, the home of the President of the United States. If the President were here I know he would strive to make you feel as much at home as he would feel himself. First, then, in his name, and also in the name of every other citizen of Indianapolis, I bid you all a cordial welcome here to day. It is unusual for our inland States to be honored with visits from distinguished citizens of the other American nations at any time.

It has never before, I believe, been the pleasure of the capital of the nation even to receive accredited delegates of so many nations at one time for any purpose as gathered there a month ago and are present here to-day. I would have you all understand, therefore, that we feel highly complimented and pleased in being permitted to receive you on this occasion, and only regret that the time allotted to Indianapolis would not permit us to show you some further and different attentions.

To bring together in one convention for purposes of mutual conference and the general welfare representatives of all the independent American powers, extending from the Arctic Ocean to Cape Horn, is so extraordinary in its conception and fulfillment, that we all feel proud in its contemplation. To me not the least of the many pleasant features attending the convening of this Congress is the thought that it is an American Congress of American nations. It is, we believe, to be American in fact as well as in name, uniting more closely than ever before all the nations lying between the two great oceans in those commercial and social relations which should specially characterize the people of the Western Hemisphere as neighbors and friendly powers.

It is not for me to attempt to enlighten the intelligent gentlemen who surround me on the subjects for the consideration of which this Congress has been convened. But I may be permitted to indulge the hope, which is only the common desire of all good citizens of this Republic, that the Conference on which you are soon to enter will be very fruitful of good results. Our people will carefully watch your proceedings, and await with much interest the final result of your work. We have already been inspired by the speech of Mr. Blaine in forecasting its purposes and policy, and we are glad to note that his words of wisdom and friendly feeling received your hearty approval. Meeting, as you do, on terms of perfect equality and in the most friendly spirit, it is not probable that any bad effects will attend your labors. It is hardly possible that any of the topics so far suggested for consideration should breed discord or lead to any serious misunderstanding. I do not overlook the fact that in the list of specific subjects selected by our Government for your discussion the first is that of measures tending to preserve the peace of the American States, while the last one recommends the adoption of a definite plan of arbitration for the peaceable settlement of all disputes that may arise.

With these sentiments of peace and good-will to animate and guide you in your counsels, we may confidently hope for a successful convention. Why should the nations of the New World longer be without a customs union, a uniform system of weights and measures, and a common silver coin, when our commerce and the laws of trade so strongly call for them? And why should we longer delay the establishment of regular and frequent communication between the ports of the several American States? These are questions for you gentlemen to answer after mature deliberation at Washington. As citizens of the United States, we sincerely hope you will so solve and answer them as to speedily open up a broader commerce between the countries here represented, placing upon the high seas lines of steamers between the ports of the three Americas as regular and frequent in their trips as those that now ply between Liverpool and the countries of this hemisphere.

And now let me thank you all for this friendly visit to the capital city of Indiana, which I do in the name of the people. I hope you will carry-away with you some pleasant recollections of your short stay with

us. We all wish you a safe and pleasant journey back to the capital of our nation, and finally a safe return to your respective homes, having accomplished, as we believe you will, much for the future welfare of all the American powers. [Applause.]

Delegate Caamaño, of Ecuador, was then introduced and warmly greeted. Delegate Caamaño, who spoke in his native tongue, said:

Gentlemen, a few moments ago I was invited to speak, and accepted with pleasure, only regretting my inability to talk to you in the English language. Therefore I only say a few words, in order not to tire my friend Mr. F. G. Pierra, secretary of the Spanish-American Commercial Union of New York, who will kindly translate my remarks. In a very short time after the Government of this great Republic invited the Governments of Spanish-America and Brazil to meet in a conference of American nations they responded, not to obey the call of her elder sister, but to give proof that her younger sisters love her and were willing to help her. It seems that the United States Government has resolved to repay tenfold our willingness to establish a bond of good-will among the peoples of both American continents. It has given us an excursion, through which we have admired an infinite number of beautiful things—memories and souvenirs of which the delegates of Mexico, Central and South America, representing fourteen free and independent Republics, take pride in carrying home. But above all things admired are the Stars and Stripes, the symbol of liberty. It has been an excursion on which we have received every moment sincere proofs of cordiality. It is unnecessary to say how much we have seen, how much we have learned, and how much we have admired; but we can never lose sight of the pluck and progress of the American, shining most in this country, and that to a great degree in Indianapolis. Here we have been taken from the magnificent capitol to the modest home of President Harrison, who is an example to the world of what a man can do in reaching high renown from a humble position. Let us, in this old town, pay a tribute to the illustrious magistrate, and yet the simple citizen, of this great American nation.

There was great enthusiasm made manifest over Delegate Caamaño's remarks, and when the applause had subsided Chairman Tanner announced the receipt of a telegram from the son of the Hon. Bayless W. Hanna, United States minister to the Argentine Republic, in which it was stated that the minister could not possibly be present at the luncheon.

Next on the list of speakers was Thomas H. Nelson, who

had represented the United States both in Mexico and Chili. He said:

It would seem to be a work of supererogation to attempt to say anything after the eloquent gentlemen who have already spoken. I may, however, be allowed to congratulate the members of the International Congress upon their safe arrival at Indianapolis, after so many thousands of miles of travel without hindrance or question, though perhaps without sufficient rest. We are very glad to see you looking so remarkably well after so much travel. I congratulate you on being in this metropolis of Indiana, not because Indiana is to be compared in size with many of the States of this Union, for she is small, but among the forty-odd States she stands fifth in point of population, fifth in number of miles of railroad, and is first, or nearly so, in popular education, and the very first in all that constitutes the higher civilization. [Applause and laughter.] I refer you to Governor Hovey for confirmation of this assertion.

I am sorry our visitors are so limited in their time here. They have seen the great establishment of the Studebakers at South Bend, but we could wish that they could have seen the great glass manufactory in New Albany, and our industries in Richmond, Evansville, Fort Wayne, Lafayette, and, last but not least, in Terre Haute. It was my lot to reside for a number of years in Spanish America, where I became familiar with the language and civilization of the beautiful Republic of Chili, which is not surpassed by any possession under the sun. It was there I made acquaintance of Don Andres Bello, the father of international law, and of Don Antonio Varas, and there I had the honor to meet Don José Alfonso, one of my most intimate friends. I am proud to see him here looking so well, although our papers are applying to him the epithet of venerable. The South American Republics are taking great steps in the march of progress and development. There are more daily newspapers published in Buenos Ayres than in any city upon earth. Twenty-one steamers connect that country with Europe, and, I am ashamed to say, not one with the United States.

I happened to be in Mexico at a very interesting period—at the time of the adoption of the new constitution, and the enforcement of the laws of reform, the work of that great man Benito Juárez, God bless his noble memory. [Applause.] That was the new birth of Mexico, for it led to the building of railroads and the opening up of trade and commerce, with which the names of Benito Juárez, Porfirio Díaz, and Matias Romero will always be indissolubly connected. I regard the conference of the American nations as the most important that has been or will be held on this planet in its political results, in its bearing upon the history of the world [applause], and will be watched with great solicitude all over the world. I look for great results to follow the relations embraced in the broad, liberal, and comprehensive term American. I say honor to those great men who originated this idea, honor

to the President of the United States, honor to all who have contributed to this result; but above all, honor to James G. Blaine, the president of this great convention. [Great applause.] In Mexico the era of revolutions has been supplanted by the era of railways, and that rich republic has entered upon a career of solid progress and improvement.

The people of Spanish America are fully impressed with the railway as a prodigious factor in moral, social, and material progress. The time is not remote when the governments of the American continent will be bound and riveted together in an iron embrace, and when American ships will whiten every sea. God speed the Congress of the three Americas! It is the heartfelt wish of every patriot that the independent States represented in this Congress, purified and strengthened by the fierce trials through which they have passed, may realize the highest hopes of friends of good government, and that they may be, and always remain, monuments of constitutional liberty, wisdom and peace, progress and prosperity, on which the world may gaze in admiration. [Applause.]

Delegate F. C. C. Zagarra, of Peru, was next called upon.

I was very far from expecting to address you in the English language, as that language is not my own. I may not be able to find words to express my feelings and my thoughts. We have traveled far and began to think there could be nothing new, nothing grand in store for us, but when we came to Indianapolis we found how great our mistake. We have here found many things to admire and we offer our respect to such a prosperous community. I have simply stood up to thank you and to state once more that the impressions we have received here will never be effaced from our memories and will ever have a permanent place in our hearts. [Applause.]

With the extreme of brevity and in Spanish, Delegate Alfonso, of Chili, expressed his satisfaction at the many courtesies which had been extended him and his colleagues. He complimented Indianapolis for its beauty and its industry.

Delegate Velarde, of Bolivia, also spoke in Spanish. He said :

The great idea of the American Union exactly corresponds to what nature has done. The northern, southern, and central divisions are united by a vertebrate column—the great chain of the Andes and that of the Rocky Mountains. [Applause.] The body is formed by those immense plains which the industry and the intelligence of the sons of North America have converted into the seat of civilization and of progress [applause]; of industry on its largest scale. Those plains you will also find crossing the South American continent from Venezuela

to the pampas and Patagonia. Therefore, it is undeniable that we, the people who live in that part of the hemisphere, are called to live united in thought and in commerce. Gentlemen, I hope that this great project of uniting fraternally the two continents will be such a reality as are the continents in which we live. [Applause.]

Delegate Castellanos followed, saying :

I congratulate the citizens of the State of Indiana upon the proud position the State occupies, not only in the nation, but in the world, in al that tends to elevate man morally, socially, and intellectually. Let us drink, gentlemen, to the well being and progress of Indiana. [Applause.]

Delegate Bolet Peraza, of Venezuela, was then called upon to say a few words, and to this invitation he responded in the following words :

Gentlemen, I have to ask your indulgence. I have been called upon to speak on this occasion, which I can not do as well as I would like to do, and you must correct, in your minds, any blunders that I may make in your language. We have had to change our conception of many things since we have come to this country. You are Americans and we honor Americans, for we are all Americans. [Great applause.] But South and Central Americans will have to learn a new language to express a knowledge of what you are showing to us. We go to a factory, a cotton mill, and we ask, "What is the production of your mills here?" and the answer is made, "We will undertake to make a blanket for the whole world if you will give us six months to make it in." Now, gentlemen, I am not accustomed to such kind of measurements. In another place I ask, "How many books have you in this library?" The answer was, "Well, we have 40 miles of shelves." Now, it is impossible for us to conceive such grand things, and we can not even express our admiration in proper terms. You have shown us many things in your handsome city. To your friendliness and warmth there seems to be no end. You have a queer name for your State—Indiana. Our continent was once called India, and you call your State Indiana to represent America and civilization. [Applause.]

Delegate Zelaya, of Honduras, was asked to say a few words. He responded as follows :

I sincerely congratulate myself that I have come to see and to know this great country, which gives such a noble example of industry, commerce, and liberty. I am happy to contemplate the noble people of the United States of North America—a people whose only aim is to gain the highest degree of superiority in the midst of peace and liberty. I am glad to have seen the capitols of the different States of the Union—capitols in which chains to shackle man and the liberties of man are not forged. Instead, they are the temples of liberty and glory.

The demand was then for Delegate John B. Henderson, of Missouri, who said :

Gentlemen, this thing is all fixed; we are going, first, to build a railroad from Mexico to Colombia, and from there we are going to build two branches, one down through Venezuela, Brazil, and Paraguay into the Argentine Republic; the other will go down the coast west of the Andes to Patagonia, and there the two branches will be brought together. How is that to be done? Do you know that South America contains land enough to make 230 states like Indiana? South America, leaving out Central America and Mexico, 230 states, the most of them as rich as Indiana. You have praised Indianapolis. I have known her from my boyhood. It is one of the best little cities in America, but we are going to build as good a town as Indianapolis along every twenty miles of this new railroad. [Applause and laughter. A voice, "That's natural gas."] Of course, I know it will be difficult to get as much gas as there is in Indiana in any one of the two hundred and thirty States, but in the next ten years, if the Spanish-American States get on as they promise, they may have natural gas, too. What will our Canadian friends say when these railroads are built? What will they say of the universal prosperity that prevails south of them? They will come in and carry this railroad to Hudson Bay, and then we can travel from the snows of the north to the snows of the south. Another thing, when that road is built, and I am not talking nonsense, we shall take it up through Alaska, tunnel under Behring Strait, and then you can take a palace car at Indianapolis and go through that tunnel to Asia and on under the British Channel to London without touching water.

But some of us are afraid about this matter of free trade. What is the difficulty? We admit all the products of the South American States free of tariff now, except 12 or 15 per cent. There is but one thing; that is wool. We manufacture in this country 300,000,000 pounds of wool; we produce 200,000,000 and import only 100,000,000. You know it takes about two pounds of wool to blind the eyes of each Republican in this country and about five pounds to go over the eyes of each Democrat. [Laughter.] The wool of the Argentine Republic will not come in competition with our own. We may take in their whole product. After we manufacture it into cloth and carpets they will take it back from us. But this wool subject is a difficult one when it comes into politics. In England, in the days of the Cavalier and Roundhead, they used to drink to a toast :

God bless the King, I mean the faith's defender;
God bless—no harm in blessing—the Pretender;
But who Pretender is, or who is King—
God bless us all—that's quite another thing.

Delegate Henderson sat down in the midst of great

laughter and applause, at the conclusion of which Delegate Studebaker, of Indiana, arose and said :

I am glad I am a citizen of Indiana, glad we have been honored by a visit from these gentlemen of the southern countries, and hope we have proved to them that we are not wholly selfish. While there may be some selfishness about us and a hope to gain something, we want more than anything else to create friendly relations. Give us transportation and it will bring us to Spanish America and Spanish America to us, as was done in the case of California. The railroads settled the question with California, and they will settle it with South America. I hope this Congress will recommend such measures as will bring about the state of affairs required by the interests of all these countries. [Applause.]

There was sad news awaiting Delegate Carlos Martinez Silva at Indianapolis. As soon as the train arrived a telegram was handed to Mr. Curtis which announced the death of Señor Silva's father, the Señor Don Rito Antonio Martinez, a justice of the supreme court of the United States of Colombia. Delegate Silva left in the afternoon for Washington, accompanied by Secretary Martin Amador, after receiving the sincere condolence of the entire party.

A reception followed the banquet, and a large number of the people of Indianapolis attended to pay their respects to the distinguished visitors until about 5.30 p. m., when the excursionists were escorted to carriages and taken to the Union Depot, from whence the special train soon afterward left for Louisville, Ky.

AT LOUISVILLE.

The Fourteenth Street Station of the Pennsylvania Railroad, at Louisville, was crowded with curious and hospitable humanity when, at 9.24, the "special" arrived from Indianapolis. Among those who were ready to welcome the delegates were the members of the Board of Trade Committee of General Arrangements: William Cornwall, John B. Castleman, W. T. Rolph, Owen Gathright, jr., Harry Weissinger, C. T. Ballard, John E. Green, George L. Danforth, and W. P. Johnson. Other committeemen present were Albert Ainslie, Gilmer S. Adams, J. S. Bockee, John S. Brand, J. C. Bethel, Governor S. B. Buckner, Attila

Cox, James Clark, Representative A. G. Caruth, H. N. Frankel, Fred. Gernert, W. W. Hite, Frank Ingram, William Kelday, John S. Long, W. H. McKnight, R. J. Meneff, William Matthews, F. C. Nunemacher, Frank H. Pope, W. S. Parker, W. T. Sulzer, Thomas H. Stark, Albert Scott, A. N. Struck, H. Berhoeff, jr., P. Wooldridge, George C. Williams, R. I. Whitney, Harvey Watterson, Representative J. B. McCreary, E. H. Bowen, George C. Avery, Julius Barkhouse, J. W. Beilstein, W. R. Belknap, Levi Bloom, James P. Curd, C. H. Callahan, J. L. Dunlap, B. F. Guthrie, George Gaulbert, W. B. Haldeman, William C. Kelly, C. H. Kahlert, H. H. Littell, John T. Moore, C. C. Mengel, jr., Donald McDonald, J. D. O'Leary, Charles Pearce, R. A. Peter, Theo. Schwartz, sr., S. D. Snyder, J. B. Speed, Tracy Underhill, F. W. Vogt, J. R. Wathen, Frederick Wulkop, Henry Watterson, C. F. Huhlein, C. W. Buck.

Two companies of the Louisville Legion, commanded by Colonel Castleman, did escort duty through the crowded streets. An artillery salute was fired while the procession—the visitors and committeemen being in carriages—moved toward the Galt House, and every bell in the city seemed to be adding its noise to the welcome. Numerous beautifully decorated and brilliantly illuminated arches spanned the route, and as these were the first seen on the trip, they naturally excited much comment and more admiration.

THIRTY-FIRST DAY.

AT LOUISVILLE.

President Cornwall, of the Board of Trade, surrounded by the members of the various committees, was at the Galt House and ready for the business and pleasure of the day at 10 o'clock on Saturday morning. The guests were also ready, so without delay the party drove to the Board of Trade building, where the delegates were to be formally welcomed. The main hall in which the exercises took place was adorned with a number of flags—all American, some North, some Central, and the remainder South. Among those in the assemblage were many prominent

Kentuckians, Senator Blackburn, Representative Caruth, Hon. Boyd Winchester, and Hon. Harvey Watterson being conspicuous.

In the presiding officer's chair on the stage was President Cornwall, supported on either hand by Governor Simon Bolivar Buckner and Ex-Governor McCreary.

First to speak was President Cornwall, who, after calling the multitude to order, addressed the visitors as follows:

Gentlemen, it is my pleasant duty to welcome you to the first Southern State you have entered. It is our intention to show you what we can in the brief period of your visit. It is our desire to give you a genuine Kentucky welcome. If we could speak your language and take you by the hand we would soon seal our commercial relations with lasting bonds. Gentlemen, we have with us to-day a gentleman who sojourned several years as Minister to Buenos Ayres, and I desire to present to you the Hon. Harvey M. Watterson, who will address you in your own language.

Applause followed this announcement and when the storm of good-will had ceased Mr. Watterson delivered his address of welcome in Spanish, of which the appended is a translation:

Gentlemen of the International American Congress, I am commissioned by the Board of Trade of this city to offer you their most cordial welcome.

In performing this duty, I have taken the liberty of using your own language. It is the most delightful language in the world.

Almost fifty years ago I represented the Government of the United States in a Spanish-American Republic. Ever since then I have never ceased to admire your people. Three of my most esteemed friends in the city of Washington are Spanish gentlemen.

You have made a long journey to arrive in this country, and as a nation we have received your excellencies with open arms wherever you have appeared.

Allow me to say to you, in the name of every citizen of the State of Kentucky, and especially of the city of Louisville, that we rejoice at your presence here.

I hope that the deliberations of the International Congress may result in the establishment of more intimate relations between the countries which constitute the three Americas—North, Central, and South.

We should not forget that we are all Americans and republicans; that my native country has produced a Washington, and yours a Bolivar; and that our public interests are identical.

I do not salute you as strangers in a strange land, but as friends and brothers, whom we delight to honor.

Mr. Watterson's remarks were well received and were followed by a speech from Representative McCreary, who said:

I am glad to join in the hearty welcome that has been extended to the members of the International American Conference. Our brother Americans will find no State whose people will more heartily appreciate their visit or give them a more cordial greeting than the people of Kentucky.

The grand problem of the present time is the improvement of the commercial and social relations of about one hundred and twenty millions of people, who occupy one-fourth of the habitable globe and control an area three times the size of Europe. No greater or graver subject now confronts American people, and its vast, and varied, and wonderful possibilities can hardly be estimated.

A conference of the nations of North, South, and Central America marks the beginning of a movement which may not attain its full fruition for many years, but which, I believe now, points the way to a splendid future that will bring commercial as well as political independence and finally make America in the broad sense the dominant power of the world.

Sixty-six years ago a President of the United States of America, by his announcement of a wise and patriotic doctrine, known in history as the "Monroe Doctrine," opened the way for a closer affiliation of the sister nations of the three Americas and for a more thorough identification of their plans and purposes, and about the same time the great and gifted, tried and true patriot and statesman, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, advocated more intimate commercial and social relations between the United States and the other countries comprising the American continent.

Other Presidents and other statesmen in our Republic and in the Republics of Central and South America have spoken with enthusiasm on this subject, but no enactment was ever made by our Congress, and no bill was ever introduced and passed until the year 1888 providing for a practical business conference in our country of representatives from the independent nations of North, South, and Central America to consider questions relative to the improvement of their business intercourse and to encourage their reciprocal commercial relations.

I had the honor to prepare and introduce the bill in Congress, under which the present International Conference is being held, and my gratification is now very great as I see so many of the distinguished representatives of our sister nations in our country working together to promote the common weal. The gratification of all concerned will be complete when unity and confidence shall be established among all American nations, and each shall enjoy the highest possible benefit

from enlightened and friendly commerce and personal relations. Our Southern neighbors produce much which we need and we produce much that they need, and the best way to secure reciprocity and interchange of natural and manufactured products is through free and fair and uncontrolled consultation.

Hitherto the people of the three Americas have been almost strangers to each other. There has been an unnatural and unneighborly limit to social and business relations between countries which, on account of their location and necessities, should be very intimate. I believe the outlook now indicates that the day of the isolation of the three Americas has passed and the day of fraternity and of friendship, improved personal and commercial intercourse is near. Each year is bringing us in closer communication and closer ties. The engineer, with his theodolite and level, has located the lines and laid down the rails which connect our Republic to the Republic of Mexico—still onward through Guatemala toward Nicaragua and Panama the iron arteries are being extended, while the Argentine Republic and the Republics of Chili, Peru, and Bolivia are pushing forward to meet and connect railroads with the great northern system of railroads. The day is not far distant when the three Americas will be connected by railroads, and splendid trains marked "F. F. A." (Fast Flying American), will connect New York, the metropolis of North America, with Buenos Ayres, the metropolis of South America. The time also is nearly here when water-works, conceived by American intellect, constructed by American skill, and paid for with American capital, will unite in perpetual embrace the waters of the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, and thus secure to American nations greater wealth, greater commerce, and more enduring friendship.

I hope the delegates to the International American Conference have enjoyed their lengthy excursion. No such excursion participated in by representatives of so many different nations has perhaps ever occurred before in the world, and I know many of the delegates are anxiously looking for some Mt. Ararat, where they may, for awhile, rest in peace.

The greatest exhibit our country can present is our country itself, and I hope before the Conference adjourns every part of our country will be visited. I trust our distinguished visitors will take to their homes and to their respective countries pleasant recollections of its science, literature, and art; its churches, schools, and charitable institutions; its inventions, railroads, and telegraphs; its cities, mountains, and plains; its factories, furnaces, and industrial wonders; its farms, fields, happy homes, and millions of teeming, thriving, prosperous people, that tell more potently and eloquently than any words of mine of the growth and glory of our Republic, while our National Constitution, now in its centennial year, which forty-two States and many of the Spanish American Republics have taken as the model of their organic law, shows the wonderful success of our popular Government.

But I shall not hesitate to say on this occasion that when the bill authorizing the conference of American nations was framed something

beyond the pomp and pageantry and pleasure of an interstate excursion was hoped for. After the tour of observation is ended all will be bettered by the consideration of questions relating to improved commercial and social relations—all will be blessed if the Conference, by wise provisions leads up to the establishment of the great progressive principle of civilization—arbitration for the settlement of international disputes, and present and future generations will be benefited if the way is open to lower the iron wall that has so long hedged and confined trade and business, so as to inaugurate proper reciprocity among American nations as well as proper amity among American Republics.

In conclusion, I desire to say that the educational effect of the International Conference will be immense. The people of the respective countries represented will become better acquainted through the press reports sent out and the reports made by the delegates. Our people will better appreciate the attractions and wealth and progress and development of the countries represented in the Conference, while the visiting delegates will know from personal observation of the resources of our country and understand how heartily glad we are to have them with us, and what a hearty welcome awaits them in every part of our country; and in these times, full of the stimulus of new hopes and glittering with the effulgence of new ideas and throbbing with the heart-beats of new progress, the people of our Republic are ready to co-operate with them and those they represent in every movement which seeks to improve commerce, benefit humanity, enlarge liberty, or promote republics.

There was loud applause throughout and at the conclusion of Representative McCreary's speech.

President Cornwall then called upon Delegate Calderon, of Colombia, to respond on behalf of the Conference. Delegate Calderon said:

Gentlemen: For us who come from the countries south of this great Republic it has been a cause of lively emotion to enter the State of Kentucky. The rays from our tropical sun seem almost to penetrate this region, for they alone can give to the blood the warmth which flows in your veins—the same warmth which in the southern part of this hemisphere softens the air, lends life and fertility to nature, swells the breasts of fire and gives birth to poetry in the mind and to the strongest passions in the heart.

Somewhat similar geographical conditions bring us nearer to you and make us consider you not only friends, but, perhaps, brothers, although the same blood does not course in our veins. And we comprehend that this sympathy that we feel for you is appreciated and reciprocated by you; for if it were not so, you would not have celebrated with such cordial and evident expressions of pleasure and enthusiasm the coming into your flourishing State of these sons and representatives of Spanish-America.

The spontaneous affection and enthusiasm with which we have been received were not unexpected by us, and could not be so, for we know that to-day we are within the limits of the State which counts among its most illustrious glories that of having been the home of Henry Clay. The sons of the republics founded by Bolivar and Sucre, Puez and Santander, San Martin and O'Higgins, in Spanish America, can never forget the eloquent orator and distinguished statesman who nobly advocated their cause before this great nation in those gloomy days during which liberty in South America seemed about expiring and could find no other shelter than the forests or the immensity of the plains. To-day we pay the tribute of homage and gratitude due from Spanish-America to the greatest of your countrymen. Lovers of equality among men, we have visited with profound veneration the tomb of Abraham Lincoln. Children of the liberty which our fathers acquired, sweeping the southern part of the continent with a hurricane of victories, we acknowledge, upon this most solemn occasion, as the hero of the Spanish-American cause in the land of Washington, Henry Clay, who, when Bolivar saw himself abandoned by fortune in the immense solitudes of the Orinoco and Apure, preserved his faith in the cause of liberty and gave him the aid of his genius, of his heart, and of his eloquence.

You will understand now, gentlemen, that Kentucky is not a strange land for Latin-Americans, and it must be much less so in the future; for we easily comprehend that the enthusiasm for an interest in our cause, which animated your illustrious countryman, animates you as well. The tie by which the eloquence of Clay bound us to the sons of Kentucky is made stronger by your cordial reception of us, and by our gratitude to you.

When Delegate Calderon's speech and the ensuing plaudits were at an end, President Cornwall said that further speech-making would not be possible without neglecting other portions of the day's program. This closed the reception ceremonies.

The tobacco breaks were first in order and in carriages the visitors and their hosts started out to take their first glimpse into the interior of Kentucky's industries. At the Farmers' Tobacco Warehouse a welcome and a luncheon awaited the party. An oratorical greeting was extended by Nicholas Finzer, and goods were displayed by the National Tobacco Works, Finzer Bros., the Force Tobacco Company, the New Era Works, Harry Weissinger, E. A. Bell, and others. A genuine tobacco sale, conducted by a leather-lunged and copper-throated auctioneer, was one of the features of the occasion.

At the Avery Plow Works the party was welcomed by President S. L. Avery, and hastily shown through the establishment. As they left the building each visitor was presented with a miniature plow as a souvenir.

Equally brief was the call at the Kelly Ax Manufactory, and here too were suitable souvenirs. The various operations were very interesting, but the inspections were only of the most cursory description.

Messrs. Moore & Sellinger were the hosts at the Belmont distillery. Here again was a lunch and a speech by Harry Weissinger. The distillery was not in operation, but the warehouses were examined. Miniature whisky-barrels were distributed as mementos of the visit.

A drive through the residence portion of the city came to a end at the ferry-dock at the foot of First street, where the members of the reception committee were in readiness to accompany the delegates and attachés on board the steamer *Shallcross*. The third luncheon of the day was spread in the steamer's saloon. The destination was the Glenview stock farm. Carriages were in readiness at the landing, and the party was rapidly driven to where several hundred high-bred horses, all of greater or less note, and some of them so well known that their names are but little short of household words.

When the visitors left Glenview they were driven back to the Fincastle Club. Here they met a number of Kentucky belles, who had been invited out to brighten the occasion. The bevy of fair ones was chaperoned by Mrs. Ridgely, Mrs. Charles Ballard, Mrs. St. John Boyle, Mrs. George M. Davie, Mrs. Woodward, and Mrs. Davis. Among the young ladies present were Miss Lou Burge, Miss Annie Burge, the Misses Phelps, Miss Preston Bruse, Miss Nell Fairleigh, Miss Goodrich, Miss Way, Miss Hunt, Miss Evelyn Semple, Miss Lily Lindenberger, Miss Grace Green, Miss Mabel Green, Miss Louise Waters, Miss A. Anderson, the Misses Swope, Miss Carrio Wood, Mrs. Crit. Collins, and others.

With flowers and bunting the various apartments were tastefully adorned, and through several of the rooms dele-

gates and attachés glided through a couple of waltzes with the local beauties, an orchestra furnishing the provocation.

The fourth luncheon for the day was served in the club dining-room at about 5.30 o'clock. It was really a banquet of the most elaborate description. But few speeches followed the repast, only a limited time being available for elocutionary exercises.

Governor Buckner was the first to be called upon. He said that the poet had once asked what was in a name. Speaking for himself, he thought there was very much in a name, for he claimed the same name as the distinguished gentlemen he had the honor to welcome to the fairest State of all the land, the name of American. He said it was quite natural for him to desire a closer acquaintance with the South and Central Americas, and he hoped time would bring about as close relations between all the Americans as there were between the All-Americans. Governor Buckner said he felt proud not only of the title of American, but also of Kentuckian. That grand old commoner, Henry Clay, half a century ago first advocated the independence of the South American States, and it was a Kentuckian who first proposed the Pan-American Congress, which had brought so many distinguished gentlemen to Kentucky at this time. He concluded:

Gentlemen, our Kentucky mountains are but as molehills beside the towering grandeur of your lofty peaks; our Ohio, La Belle Rivière, is but a rivulet as compared with your great water-courses, but our hearts are as large, we hope, as yours, and we have one thing that we acknowledge no superior in—I need not say I refer to our proudest product—the Kentucky women.

Tumultuous applause followed the expression of this sentiment, and Delegate Nicanor Bolet-Peraza was on his feet at once, ready to make appropriate response. He said:

God bless the lips that speak praise of our women. You must excuse my English; I can speak but little. I have not attempted to say anything elsewhere. I would not have been able to succeed if I had; but here in Kentucky—the State we all love nearly as well as you do—I find my tongue, my words, loosened by the wellings of my heart; I can speak a little. [Applause.] I have found true that which I have often heard, that Kentucky deserves the reputation of excelling in

three things; your whisky, your horses, and your women are unequalled. We want you to come and see us in our homes and bring all three along. [Great applause.]

Delegate John B. Henderson, of Missouri, was asked to say a few words:

A few days ago, at a little town in our State—Kansas City, I believe they call it—they thought I had never seen a cable street-railway, and insisted on riding me around on one. The consequence is I have such a cold that I can hardly speak at all. But I have found all the delegates who come from the other countries can speak so well that we people of the United States need say nothing, and the fame for eloquence of the Pan-American delegates will not be diminished. They say they can only speak Spanish, but on this trip I have found them voluble in French and good talkers in German, while in English they only need whisper to draw cheers. Some day we will have a railroad from North America to South America. I am deeply interested in the project, and it will, I believe, succeed. When it does look out for the Kentuckians, señors, for the first train will find them and their racers there, and if you are not shrewd enough to bet on their horses they will “strap” you and make you walk home from the race-track. But you have invited them; the blame will be your own. [Laughter and applause.]

There were cries for “Curtis,” and when a refusal to speak would not be accepted, the special agent of the State Department arose and said :

We have come to Kentucky to see two things—the city of Louisville and its women. We have seen them and we are theirs. I am married, but from the evidences about me I believe I am the only married man in the house. [Laughter.] I must beg you to consider my predicament and hide the beauty of your ladies’ eyes, or I fear I shall never get my young friends out of Kentucky. Elsewhere we saw factories, factories, factories, and factories. I said to the delegates, and especially to our young friends, ‘Wait till you get to Kentucky.’ Here we have seen the Blue-grass belles, we have been charmed by their conversation, and enchanted by their eyes. I need not tell you that it is our unanimous sentiment that nowhere have we enjoyed our stay as much as here. [Great applause.]

In conclusion Col. Andrew Cowan said a few pleasant things, and then the entire party, ladies included, entered the carriages and were driven to the boat. It was 8.30 when they arrived at the Galt House.

An informal reception was in progress at the hotel from the time the excursionists returned until nearly 11 o’clock.

Mrs. Governor Buckner was present, having journeyed from Frankfort to honor the occasion. A large number of the more prominent social and business people of Louisville did their utmost to make the visitors feel at home, and they succeeded admirably.

At 11 o'clock the committee took charge of the Conference party and escorted its members to the First Street depot. A great crowd was there to bid the visitors farewell, and the vocal adieux were neither few nor noiseless. Angus Allmond accompanied the travelers, as Louisville's representative, to the Mammoth Cave. The train pulled out shortly after 11 o'clock, proceeding over the Louisville and Nashville road.

THIRTY-SECOND DAY.

AT MAMMOTH CAVE.

Sunday was spent in the Mammoth Cave and its vicinity. Nearly ten miles of pedestrianizing was done by the major portion of the party. In that part of the cave known as the Grand Chamber a light lunch was partaken of by men whose appetites were sharpened by the unwonted exercise. The regular meals were served on the train. At 4 o'clock the "special" steamed out for Louisville, arriving there at 9.45. After a stop of a little more than an hour a start was made for Lexington.

THIRTY-THIRD DAY.

AT LEXINGTON.

The morning, as the excursionists saw it when they awoke at Lexington, was extremely beautiful and spring-like. Breakfast was eaten on the train, and when the meal was finished the reception committee put in its appearance and made the acquaintance of their guests. The committee consisted of Col. John R. Allen, J. H. Davidson, Col. W. S. McChesney, jr., E. D. Sayre, mayor C. W. Foushee, President J. E. Keller of the Chamber of Commerce, E. D. Warfield, A. S. Winston, R. A. Thornton, Judge Mat. Walton, Col. W. C. Goodloe, J. S. Woolfolk, Leslie Combs, and William Shelby, jr.

In carriages the party was taken to Ashland, once the home of Henry Clay, now the dwelling-place of Col. Henry Clay McDowell. The visitors were, primarily, received by Colonel and Mrs. McDowell, Miss McDowell, the Messrs. McDowell, Mrs. Thomas McDowell, and Mrs. Will McDowell. Others in the receiving group were Mrs. John R. Allen, Mrs. Wickliffe Preston, and the Misses Lily Robinson, Virginia Jeffrey, Annie Goodloe, Alice Clay, Belle Clay, Sarah Woolfolk, Lucy Woolfolk, Mary Berryman, Tommie Duke, Margaretta Martin, Mary Shelby, Lucretia Clay, Minnie Clay, Margaretta Simrall, and Miss Duvall, of Frankfort.

Probably one hundred of the more prominent gentlemen of the county were also present by invitation, among them being Representative W. C. P. Breckinridge.

On the great lawn in the rear of the residence the delegates were treated to what was probably one of the greatest horse shows ever seen in the country. A large number of the finest of Kentucky breeding stock was exhibited, and their identity was made plain by W. H. Wilson, of Cynthiana, as each magnificent specimen was led past the visitors and their escort.

There was also a splendid exhibit of Shorthorn cattle by William Warfield, of the Grassmere Farm. The Meadowthorpe kennels added to the occasion by sending a choice selection of St. Bernard dogs and some Irish and Gordon setters.

At the house an elaborate breakfast was served in true Kentucky style and was thoroughly enjoyed. All the arrangements looked to the social enjoyment of the guests, and there was an entire absence of ceremony and oratory.

A hurried visit was paid to the tomb of Henry Clay. Very hastily did the party return to the train, and at 11.45 the "special" left for Cincinnati via La Grange.

Governor Buckner and his staff boarded the train at Frankfort, but their stay was necessarily brief—the schedule had to be observed. At La Grange a committee from Columbus, Ohio, took advantage of a stop to plead with Mr. Curtis for such an amendment of the itinerary as

would give Columbus a few hours, but they were shown that such a change was really impracticable. The Cincinnati advance guard also got on the train at La Grange. It was composed of J. J. Hooker, James Allison, Julius Dexter, Edwin Stevens, Sidney D. Maxwell, Dr. W. A. R. Tenney, N. Drucker, Lee H. Brooks, Col. Leopold Markbreit, D. W. C. Belleville, W. Ronsheim, C. B. Murray, and L. C. Goodale.

AT CINCINNATI.

With the thunder of guns and the cheers of a crowd that had waited an hour and a half for the belated train were the delegates and their fellow-travelers welcomed to Cincinnati at 5.30 on Monday evening. As soon as the occupants of the cars had alighted an attempt was made to start the procession in which the visitors were to be the principal figures, and the line of march to the Burnet House was taken up. Mounted police, patrol wagons, the First Regiment band, and a portion of the fire department were features of the parade.

The reception was held in parlor A of the hotel. The speech of welcome was made by Mayor Mosby. It was responded to by Delegate Alfonso, of Chili, who spoke in Spanish. The following is a translation of Señor Alfonso's reply :

Gentlemen, at the point to which we have arrived in this interesting excursion it is natural, and I may be allowed, to turn my gaze backward, and contemplating as a whole the ground already traversed, to give expression in a general way to the result of the observations and reflections suggested by the wonderful spectacle which has uninterruptedly developed itself before our eyes. What at first might have been a mere passing impression has grown to be a deeply-rooted conviction, having the observation of facts for its solid foundation. That conviction is that progress is here constant, continuous, and general, and it may be added most uniform, whatever may be the peculiarities of each locality. Moved by a natural propensity to seek in the study of these phenomena the causes which produce them, my mind has naturally been most deeply impressed by the effect which is the outcome of the fullest and amplest exercise of liberty practiced in all the manifestations of life, and which insures to each citizen the possession of all his private rights, thus allowing him to have a direct and decisive influence in giving direction to the course of public affairs. Hence it

is possible to conceive that men such as your Washington and your Lincoln should have been elevated to the first magistracy, and that their administrations should have been such inexhaustible sources of blessing to their country. Hence it is also possible to conceive that order should reign everywhere, order most beneficent and vivifying, within which all legitimate aspirations find their full satisfaction, thus constituting the best guaranty of uninterrupted and permanent peace.

The only true order has liberty for its foundation. As all activities find a free field for their development without restraint, they yield that enormous mass of inventions and of labor which, enriching many, carry to every home the blessings of well-being and happiness. No intelligence or will capable and desirous of advancement and eminence fails to find all the faculties which will lead it to the goal of its aspirations, because no man is ever asked whence he comes, but what his purpose; not his origin, but his worth. Whatever may be the starting-points, it is possible to reach all the heights without any other support than that of personal merit. I have, gentlemen, such faith in the beneficent influence of freedom, that I believe that the grave and seriously insoluble social problems which so disquiet and agitate the nations of Europe will find here a solution, which, harmonizing opposed pretensions, will consult and satisfy all interests. To the small evils of liberty there is no better correction than liberty itself.

Following the reception was a banquet, given by the Commercial Club at the Queen City Club House. Those present other than members of the Conference party were Julius Dexter, M. E. Ingalls, Leopold Markbreit, J. E. Mooney, Richard Dymond, Joseph Meader, sr., H. H. Vail, William Breed, Col. S. D. Maxwell, Earl Stimson, F. B. Wright, Edwin F. Stevens, J. G. Schmidlapp, Albert B. Voorheis, Bradford Shinkle, James M. Glenn, John A. Townley, H. C. Yergason, Lee H. Brooks, John A. Gano, Matthew Addy, Dr. T. R. Spence, Lowe Emerson, C. C. Waite, H. P. Boyden, J. J. Hooker, L. C. Goodale, T. Morrison, F. Alter, G. H. Burrows, James Allison, C. B. Murray, David Graham Phillips, Larz Anderson, H. T. Procter, A. G. Clark, L. Krohn, E. C. Goshorn, Herman Goepper, John Goetz, Dr. W. A. R. Tenney, H. Kemper, M. Drucker, A. E. Burkhardt, W. Ronsheim, Stewart Shillito, and Messrs. Hunter, Kilbourne, Prague, Bruck, Galbreath, Hall, and Taylor.

To the toast "Our Guests" Chairman Dexter made a few remarks. Informally and as briefly as possible others present spoke, among them being Delegates Guzman,

Henderson, N. Bolet Peraza, and Velarde, and M. E. Ingalls.

THIRTY-FOURTH DAY.

AT CINCINNATI.

The inspection of an American election as conducted in Cincinnati was the feature of Tuesday's programme. In order that the members of the excursion party might see the whole affair without let or hindrance, the following circular had been distributed where it would do most good:

To the election and the police officers:

The delegates from the Central and the South American States to the Congress soon to be held in Washington expect to visit the city of Cincinnati on the fifth day of November, for the purpose of witnessing and observing the election to be held on that day.

Our distinguished guests, in company with representatives of the Chamber of Commerce of this city, will visit a number of the polling-places during the taking and the counting of the ballots.

The board would request that they be permitted within the one hundred foot bounds and within the polls, and that they be courteously given every facility for observation consistent with your duty. Each delegation of visitors will receive from the board, and exhibit to you, a letter of introduction.

Respectfully,

WILLIAM J. O'NEIL,
CHARLES B. RUSSELL,
CHARLES A. MILLER,
BENJAMIN F. EHRLMAN,

Members of the Board of Elections.

At about 11 a. m. the party started out in carriages to examine the workings of the voting system and to make the most generally of a day in Cincinnati. The drive was out Fifth street to the Mount Adams inclined plane. The carriages were sent around by the hill road, while the sight-seers made the ascent by the incline. There was a brief stop at the Highland House, and from thence to the power-house of the Vine street cable road the trip proceeded without interruption. A glance at the powerful machinery and then the drive was resumed to Clifton.

Carriages were once more forsaken at the Clifton town hall. A reception had been arranged for and the people of the Cincinnati suburb had made great preparations. When all the visitors had been escorted to the reception room Theodore Cook, after a few remarks, introduced the mayor of Clifton, R. B. Bowler, who delivered a graceful address of welcome, to which response was made by Delegate Zegarra. Luncheon was then served.

Among the Clifton residents present were Theodore Cook, R. B. Bowler, Alex. McDonald, E. K. Stallo, Harry Hurlbut, J. Espy, jr., I. M. Jordan, Sol. P. Kineon, Charles H. Law, Gassam Gano, John A. Gano, Dr. Thrall, M. M. White, D. Gibson, H. H. Vaile, G. Evans, George W. McAlpine, C. H. Whitman, and Nathan Jordan.

When the exercises at the city hall were over the party became disintegrated, some of its members desiring to return immediately to the city, while others were just as anxious to drive around the suburbs.

Accepting the hospitality of President Kuerze, of the Gerke Brewing Company, watching the closing scenes at the polls, and lending an eye to a fire department display kept the delegates quite busy until dinner time. Shortly after 8 o'clock they visited the rooms of the Board of Elections and witnessed the receiving and canvassing of the precinct returns. Excursions were also made to the Blaine, Lincoln, and Duckworth Clubs, and at these places they saw how the news was being received by the people.

By midnight all of the visitors were on board their train, which was in the Pan Handle depot, and four hours later a start was made for Pittsburgh.

THIRTY-FIFTH DAY.

THE JOURNEY TO AND ARRIVAL AT PITTSBURGH.

When the special train arrived at Steubenville, Ohio, at about 2 o'clock on Wednesday afternoon, it was boarded by a number of gentlemen who had been waiting an hour or so for its arrival. Delegate Carnegie was one of these, and with him were the following-named members of the Pitts-

burgh reception committee: John H. Ricketson, W. E. Schmertz, Mayor William McCallin, Mayor Richard T. Pearson, of Allegheny, Representative Bayne, Representative Dalzell, James B. Scott, C. L. Magee, James A. Chambers, W. Dewees Wood, D. C. Ripley, Capt. J. J. Vandergrift, John Chalfant, Capt. C. W. Batchellor and George A. Kelly. Also of the company were John F. Dravo, of Beaver; H. K. Porter, of the Pittsburgh Locomotive Works; and J. V. Patten, superintendent of the Pittsburgh division of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.

At Pittsburgh's Union Depot, which was reached at 3.45, there was a large crowd of people, evidently extremely anxious to catch a glimpse of the distinguished visitors. The committee on carriages, consisting of Maj. R. Munroe, Ralph Bagaley, B. L. Wood, jr., A. Dempster, and Peter Dick, was ready with a sufficient number of vehicles to accommodate guests and committeemen. All were driven directly to the Monongahela House.

Dinner was served at 6 o'clock; the meal was really a banquet of the most satisfactory description, sociability completely displacing oratory. It was generally understood that the only speech should be one of welcome and it was most explicitly stated that even that single effort should be as short as possible.

Representative John Dalzell filled the situation exactly. He waited until the coffee was smoking on the table and then, when introduced by President Schmertz, of the Chamber of Commerce, he arose and said:

Fellow-Americans, travelers from this side of the equator and from beyond, I bid you welcome to the hospitality of the city of Pittsburgh. Travel-worn and necessarily somewhat weary as you are, it will be a kindness to you to make our words of greeting few; be assured, however, that they are hearty and sincere. With respect to the great object of your mission—the wedding of these western continents, so that commercially they may be as near as can be one, and move with common purpose to the attainment of the highest ends of civilization—we are of one mind, and hence our meeting. It is matter of congratulation that now at last the opportunity has come to you and to us to materialize the dreams of more than half a century of statesmanship, and to evoke from the deliberations of a congress of all the Americas such schemes of international co-operation and comity as shall best secure our mutual prosperity. The things to be accomplished are

patent and on the surface; the means of their accomplishment will tax your wisdom and conscientious thought. These are not now and here the proper subjects of discussion. Suffice it to say that we would provide that forever the banner over us shall be peace. We would provide that in every harbor of your continental domains you should greet as a daily and welcome visitor the flag that it is our pride to honor. We would have it that we should know you and that you should know us as honorable merchants, worthy of credit and receiving it, in great transactions of mutual profit, involving our interchangeable products; to be weighed and measured and paid for without necessary resort to our youthful lessons in arithmetic. And we trust that out of existing circumstances our joint wisdom may prove fruitful of results without the sacrifice on the part of any of us of policies, theories, or principles deemed essential.

In such a consummation the city of Pittsburgh has an incalculable interest. At the headwaters of the Ohio she commands the natural highways of the continent. Twelve railroads radiate from her as a center. Her surrounding hills are filled with mineral wealth in stores practicably inexhaustible. She grasps on every hand the territory from which flows the oil that lights the world. Her homes are heated and her ponderous machinery is turned by the force of natural gas. To her wealth of natural advantages she has added the propellant force of capital and intelligent labor and the multiplying power of inventive genius. She is distinctly the iron and steel manufacturing city of the continent, and these products in various forms and for innumerable uses are known the world over. Her manufactures of glass of all kinds are unrivaled and, in some shapes, reach all quarters of the globe. Her plate glass, a recent industry, to the extent of an immense output, has driven foreign competition from our markets. Steam-boats of her construction are no strangers on your waters, and her locomotives now wake the echoes of your hills. I can not describe her. We intend that you shall see her for yourselves—this our city set upon a hill, crowned with the wealth of nature and the industrial achievements of man. Such as she is she gives you kindly greeting—a handclasp for the individual whom we would not have a stranger in this our land; a wish for your prosperity, that it may be as our own, and sympathy for your mission, herald, let us hope, of the day when the war drums shall throb no longer and the battle flags be furled, in the parliament of man, the federation of the world.

Before the dinner was ended each of the visitors had been presented with an artistic means of identification so long as they were in Pittsburgh. It was a medal of bronze, heavily gold-plated, designed especially by Captain Batchellor. The medals were worn until Philadelphia was reached.

No fewer than five hundred of the ladies and gentlemen of the city and its immediate vicinity were present at the reception which followed almost immediately after the dinner. Throughout all the tour of the Conference there probably was no reception more brilliantly satisfactory than this. There was no occurrence that in any way marred the occasion. The decorations of the reception-room and the corridors were of the most tasteful and costly description. Everywhere there were flowers and flags, silks and satins. Each window in the main room was dedicated to some one of the countries represented in the Conference and was distinguished from the others by the flag and colors of that particular Republic; the name of each country was inscribed in gold on a satin banner that hung above its appropriate window. In the center of the room was an immense floral structure representing a blast furnace. Within the building molten metal was apparently flowing from a furnace, the realistic result of a combination of electric lamps and colored isinglass.

Mr. George W. Childs and Mr. A. J. Drexel of Philadelphia, Mr. Walker Blaine, and Gen. D. H. Hastings arrived just as the reception opened, and they were very heartily greeted.

Outside of the hotel the visitors were honored by the illumination of the court-house tower by electricity, an illumination which continued for three nights. Most pleasing effects were obtained by the skillful arrangement of colored globes; the county commissioners were highly complimented on the ingenuity displayed by their chief engineer, C. R. Shepler.

When the members of the party retired to their respective rooms each of them found therein a beautifully-bound souvenir copy of George A. Thurston's "Pittsburgh, its History and Resources."

THIRTY-SIXTH DAY.

AT PITTSBURGH.

Thursday was spent among the industries of Pittsburgh and the region round about. Breakfast was disposed of

before 9 o'clock and by 9.30 the more than ordinarily large party was en route for the first place on the programme—Ripley's Glass House. Here there were exhibitions of glass-blowing, and when they were over each of the visitors was presented with a pretty glass souvenir.

H. B. Scutt & Co's Barbed-Wire Works were next visited, and when the processes of manufacture had all been witnessed the party took carriages for the Jones & Laughlin Mill, where nail making was the attraction.

From this point the carriages returned to the city. The tourists walked to the Ormsby Station of the Pittsburgh, Virginia and Charleston Railroad, where a special train of seven coaches awaited them. It was almost noon when the train stopped at Homestead, where the immense steel-works of Carnegie, Phipps & Co. are situated. Flags of the various American Republics, silent and gracefully beautiful, and the steel-works band, harmoniously noisy, greeted the delegates. Mr. Carnegie himself took charge of the party, and by him it was conducted through the numerous departments of the enormous establishment. More than an hour of active motion failed to allow any more than the most cursory examination, but no stoppage could be permitted.

From Homestead the train ran down the river bank to the Pittsburgh, McKeesport and Youghiogheny Junction; then the river was crossed and McKeesport reached. While this trip was being made luncheon was served on the train.

A large proportion of the good people of McKeesport were in readiness to receive the guests of the day. But two establishments were inspected at this place—the sheet-iron mills of the W. Dewees Wood Company and the National Tube Works. Mr. W. D. Wood personally conducted the visitors through his mills and presented each one with a souvenir in the shape of a sheet-iron business card.

Running over the tracks of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad the train returned to Bessemer, where Delegate Carnegie and Superintendent C. M. Schwab led the party through the gigantic Edgar Thompson Steel Works of Carnegie Brothers & Co. Here, as at Homestead, was a

band composed of mill employés; a good band, too. The steel-rail rolling processes were followed very closely by the excursionists until it was announced that time was up. The departure from Bessemer was made at 4.20, and Pittsburgh was reached in seventeen minutes.

Headed by the Great Western Band, and escorted by Company G of the Eighteenth Regiment of State troops, the delegates and attachés were conveyed in carriages from the Monongahela House (after dinner) to the Exposition Building. Here they were shown a large number of interesting mechanical exhibits, most of them in active operation. Among those who contributed to the exhibit were the Thomson-Houston Electric Company, Oil Well Supply Company, Peerless Lead-Glass Chimney Company, Bindley & Co., Stott automatic gas governor; Cummings, filters; H. K. Porter & Co., miniature engines and locomotives; Bolivar Fire Brick Company, Wilson, Singer & Co., steam-pump; Keystone Drilling Company, Penn Saw Works, Taylor Wire-Nail Company, James Rees & Sons, boilers; Pittsburgh Automatic Engine Company, Warner Safe Company, D. C. Ripley & Co., glass-cutting apparatus; Thomson International Welding Company, West Penn Boiler Works, the W. Baird Machinery Company, Oliver & Roberts Wire Company, Roenigk Piano Cover Company, Hyatt Pure Water Company, filters; Pittsburgh Reduction Company, Geometric Wood-Carving Company, Tubular Wheel Carriage Company, Fate & Freeze, brick-making; W. E. Ross, iron turbine windmill; John A. Brashear, astronomical instruments; Campbell Burner Company, Emerson, Smith & Co., saws; Waldron & Sprout, burr-mill and crusher and engines; Graff, Hugus & Co., natural-gas stoves; Bair & Gazzam, broom machines; A. Y. Lee, drawings and sketches; Johnston Harvester Company, Barnes Safe and Lock Company, H. W. Jones, colors in oil; the American Advertising Company, McGinness, Smith & Co., fan system of heating and ventilating; J. F. McCaughtry, printing paper; U. Baird Company, machinery; Russell Automatic Engine Company, Lawrence Paint Company, Pittsburgh Brass Company, Charles Munson, machine belts; Standard Man-

ufacturing Company, enameled bath-tubs; Standard Oil Company, paraffine in various forms; the Westinghouse Company, engines, signals, and air-brakes. The latter company occupied about one-fourth of the floor-space of the hall, and made an especially attractive display of the applications of electricity to illumination, one thousand incandescent lamps and thirty-five arc lights being used.

At 9 o'clock all the steam-whistles in the hall sounded a deafening warning that something was going to happen. A movement was at once made in the direction of the platform outside of the hall and overlooking the river. From this point the travelers witnessed a wonderful display of the illuminating powers of natural gas. The gas issued from the upper ends of four stand-pipes and the flames were of great brilliancy and not a little warmth. The affair was a noisy one throughout. The roaring of the great flames was but a part of the din, for a company of infantry and a battery of artillery posted near kept up an almost constant firing. One of the most wonderful of the numbers on the gaseous programme was the combination of water and gas produced by running a pipe horizontally beneath the surface of the river and then turning the gas on. The disturbed water was thrown up several feet in the air and then the escaping gas was fired. The two elements had a long struggle for the mastery, but the inflammable one was victorious. Chemicals were forced into the pipes and the colors of the great towers of light were changed in a surprisingly effective manner. When the display concluded the delegates returned to the hotel for the night.

THIRTY-SEVENTH DAY.

AT PITTSBURGH.

Rain was falling heavily when the members of the Conference excursion party awoke on Friday morning, and it continued to fall without cessation throughout the entire day. For awhile it looked as though the visitors might remain in the hotel until it was time to leave for Philadelphia, but at 10.15 President Schmertz, of the Chamber

of Commerce, with his numerous aids, escorted their guests to the carriages, and with them drove to the West Penn depot, in Allegheny. Mr. Walker Blaine, although suffering from a malarial indisposition, accompanied the party. A special train, the same as that used on the day before, started from the West Penn at 10.30, and half an hour later stopped at Creighton Station. All along the route the delegates were saluted by shrieks from the almost innumerable mill-whistles, and in many instances workmen in considerable numbers stood out in the rain and cheered the train as it passed the places where they were employed.

Just beyond Creighton Station was the entrance to the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Works, and it was to this establishment that the party moved rapidly for temporary shelter. They were met by Edward Ford and E. L. Ford, who have the immediate management of the company's affairs, and with these gentlemen as guides they went through this branch of the great concern's factory—the other branches being at Tarantum and Ford City. For an hour and a half the visitors wandered through the subdivisions of the place, seeing all the operations in glass-making. Before they left each one was presented with a souvenir—a box containing four pieces of glass illustrative of the finishing processes, the fourth specimen being a perfectly-polished paper-weight.

The train proceeded directly to Freeport, where it was transferred to the Allegheny Valley Railway, and while this trip was being made lunch was served. The original programme contemplated an inspection of the mills at Lawrenceville, but the moisture prevented any stop at that point.

At Fifty-first street a number of the delegates and attaches left the train and visited the Crescent Steel Works and the H. K. Porter Locomotive Works. At these interesting places they spent nearly two hours, while their companions who remained on the train were taken back to the city and the hotel. Those who displayed the most interest in steel manufactures and locomotives made the return trip in carriages. The A. French Spring Works were

also to have been visited, but the weather prevented. The works were beautifully decorated with the flags of the nations represented in the Conference.

After dinner many of the members of the party again paid a visit to the Exposition Building, that they might acquaint themselves more thoroughly with the wonders displayed in Mechanical Hall. Others made calls at the homes of prominent citizens who had given them invitations, and the remainder spent the evening on their special train. Members of the various local committees were everywhere to be found, ready at any moment to do anything for the comfort of their guests.

Nearly all the excursionists slept on the special train on Friday night, the others slumbering at the Monongahela House until they had to arise in the early morning to catch the train, which started for Philadelphia shortly after 7 o'clock.

THIRTY-EIGHTH DAY.

AT JEANNETTE AND ALTOONA.

The "glass city" of Jeannette was reached at about 9 o'clock, and half an hour was spent in walking through the extensive works of Chambers & McKee, guided by the members of the firm and several of the accommodating Pittsburgh committeemen. The amount of interest taken in Jeannette and its industries was heightened by a promulgation of the fact that the town of five thousand inhabitants upon which the visitors gazed was but little more than a year before nothing but a farm.

For the first time in its history engine No. 1053 was gaily decorated. The newspaper correspondents, who had been of the party from the beginning of the tour, purchased bunting and evergreens at Pittsburgh and managed to adorn the engine without the knowledge of Engineer Hart, for whom the compliment was intended. It was a little tribute to the man who had held the lives of the members of the party in his hands during a trip of 6,000 miles.

Near Johnstown the train slowed up to give the trav-

elers an opportunity to see something of the horribly historic place—scene of the greatest calamity in American history.

Dinner was ready at the Logan House when the train pulled into the depot at Altoona—a depot that was filled with a calmly-curious crowd. After the meal had been disposed of the party was placed in charge of Messrs. Theodore N. Ely, F. L. Sheppard, and G. W. Strattan, and conducted to the engine and car-shops of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, where two hours were spent in watching three thousand men at work making and repairing.

While en route to Philadelphia the delegates were full of gratitude to those who had done so much to make the great tour a success from the railroad man's stand-point. A letter was therefore addressed to President Roberts, of the Pennsylvania Railroad, in which all the delegates heartily praised the work of Tourist Agent S. W. F. Draper and other employés of that company attached to the train. Then another letter was written to the Pullman Company, and in this many complimentary things were said of the attention paid all the members of the party by Conductor George F. Egge and the other Pullman employés who had done so much to provide for their comfort.

The clocks in the city of Philadelphia were with great deliberation striking the hour of 10 when the "special" rolled into the Broad Street Station. As the delegates alighted they were greeted by a number of the Quaker City's representative business men.

The committees—members of which were all present—were composed of the following:

On industrial visits and receptions.—John H. Converse, John Dobson, Hamilton Disston, William Sellers, John Mundell, James Gillender, Robert H. McNeely, S. B. Stinson, Allan H. Reed, and Robert C. Ogden.

On finance.—George V. Cresson, John H. Bromley, J. Lucas, Dawson Hoopes, Thomas McKellar, and A. H. Love.

On evening entertainment.—Charles Emory Smith, James Dobson, T. Cochran, Simon Muhr, J. P. Truitt, C.

N. Thorpe, J. Y. Huber, C. A. Dougherty, T. A. Pearce, S. B. Fleischer, and Robert Dornan.

Mayor Fitler's private secretary, Lewis E. Beitler, was also of the reception party.

Large and noisily enthusiastic was the crowd that shouted a popular welcome as the Conference party moved toward the exit gate and the cheers were constantly renewed as the distinguished guests took seats in the carriages provided and were driven to the Continental Hotel, where, in Parlor C, Mayor Fitler and about two hundred other Philadelphians were prepared to shake hands with their brethren of the South.

Each member of the Conference party was presented to the mayor by Mr. William E. Curtis, and when all had been welcomed thus, Mayor Fitler delivered a short address. He took great pleasure, he said, in meeting a body of gentlemen representing American states already joined in sympathy, and often by kindred interests, with this nation. It was only a question of time, he thought, when the wonderful achievements of modern progress, especially in the way of communication by rail and steam, would bring this and the sister republics of the south into even closer and more intimate relations. This peaceful solution of great questions, in which different states and peoples were concerned, was greatly to be desired, and he expressed the hope that their visit would aid in reaching that happy result.

Delegate Guzman, of Nicaragua, responded. He thanked the mayor for his kindly welcome, and said that the visit to Philadelphia had been looked forward to with pleasure for a month. All of the delegates had heard considerable about the city, and hundreds of young men from South and Central America had graduated from her various institutions of learning and had gone home with American ideas and American customs. He assured the mayor that the visit to Philadelphia would remain in the memories of the delegates as a pleasant souvenir.

A little informal conversation followed for a little while, and then the reception came to an end.

The parlor in which the brief ceremonies took place was

in its decorations an exhibition of what Philadelphia produces in the line of decorative upholstery. The exhibit was only arranged when it became known that the delegates would not have sufficient time in which to visit all of the important manufactories in the city. It was done under the supervision of Clifford, Scott & Lawton, publishers of *The Upholsterer*. The collection of satin and silk tapestries, plushes, rugs, and fancy furniture was inexpressibly beautiful and its arrangement artistic to the highest degree.

THIRTY-NINTH DAY.

AT PHILADELPHIA.

Girard College was the first place to be visited on Sunday morning. The party of excursionists was much larger than it had been at any previous time on the journey, for Capt. John G. Bourke had gone to Washington and escorted therefrom the wives of those of the delegation who were married and in several instances the daughters also. When the college was reached, shortly after 11 o'clock, the students were in the chapel listening to an address from Judge Willson. President Fetterolf, of the college, and President W. Hayward Drayton, of the board of city trusts, received the visitors in the library, the latter gentleman delivering a short address explanatory of the work of the institution. The party was then conducted to the chapel, and when Judge Willson had concluded his remarks, President Fetterolf told the boys how they had been honored by the visit of such a body of distinguished men as were then present. Very briefly he sketched the history of the tour and its objects and then, at his request, the thirteen hundred orphans arose to their feet and remained standing as a mark of respect for the visitors.

Delegate Bolet Peraza was then introduced to make response on behalf of his fellow-delegates. He said he was glad of the opportunity to visit the institution, one of which Philadelphia could not be otherwise than proud. Continuing, he said:

We are glad to see you, for you are the typical representatives of the American youth, who none of any other country in the world can equal in intelligence, nobility of character, and brilliant attainments. In this you possess in common, the heritage of your forefathers who have made these United States the freest, the noblest, and the grandest nation on the earth. Why, then, should we not as fellow Americans, bound together by ties of contiguity if not by actual kinship, greet you with pleasure?

We are struck with the beauty of your buildings, the gift of a noble philanthropist, and the system of instruction you enjoy. It is far better than the youth of many of the nations here represented have, and in this much thankful pride should be felt on your part. You should take every advantage offered to you and make the best use of it every hour of your stay here. We shall carry home ideas we have gained here and will introduce a similar system in our own education, and at some future date—and it is not far off—when all America shall be one, the youth of every nation therein represented can meet on an equal footing in liberal education. I am glad that the great Girard decreed that Spanish and French shall be taught in this institution. It was a wonderful forecast into the future. We speak these languages, and a thorough acquaintance with them will, on the occasion of this expected union, be of great advantage in intercourse.

I trust, then, if I should see any of you in Venezuela, that you will converse with me in far better Spanish than I speak English to you.

You are not altogether orphans. You have generosity for a mother and the country for a father, and with these parents it is possible to attain to any position of honor and trust in the gift of these great and progressive United States. I hope the result of the visit of myself and colleagues in the American Congress will be to bring our countries into closer social, political, and commercial relations. I would like to take each one of you young men by the hand, but as our limited time will not permit that, I can only express the hope that I may meet many of you in my own country, where there is a wide field and excellent opportunities for the active and energetic young men of North America.

The various departments of the great charitable institution were then inspected, and before leaving the college each visitor was presented with a neat pamphlet containing, in Spanish, a biographical sketch of Stephen Girard and interesting statements as to his famous bequest.

Warden Cassidy was waiting at the door of the Eastern Penitentiary when the carriages drove up and the party alighted. The convicts were eating dinner in their cells, but there was but little time for anything more than a walk through the corridors.

From the penitentiary the visitors returned to the Continental Hotel, where they partook of luncheon. During the afternoon a number of the delegates and attaches went to the Pennsylvania Hospital and spent a couple of hours in looking carefully into its methods; some drove through Fairmount Park, while two or three were the guests of Mr. George W. Childs at Wootton. The remainder of the day was disposed of principally in the hotel.

FORTIETH DAY.

AT PHILADELPHIA.

Chairman Alan H. Reed and the members of his committee were at the Continental Hotel before 9 o'clock on Monday morning, but they had to wait fully an hour before the excursionists, male and female, were ready to start out on the big programme of sight-seeing which had been laid out for them.

The first place was Wanamaker's, and there the guests were received by Robert C. Ogden, who was acting for Mr. Wanamaker, then absent in Washington. The decorations were elaborate and attracted much attention. Most of the delegates marveled at the crowd which had taken possession of the interior of the great establishment, save where a way had been roped off for the visitors. It was estimated that there were no fewer than twenty-five thousand people in the store at one time. Souvenirs of the occasion were presented to members of the Conference party by Colonel Gillam on behalf of the firm. The memento was a highly artistic description of the store; it was bound in French calf and ornamented with ribbon.

The party was conducted through the monster establishment by Messrs. Ogden and Daggett. Accompanying the delegation were Rev. Dr. Scott, the father-in-law of President Harrison, Claus Spreckels, John H. Brown, John Lucas, John H. Converse, Alan H. Reed, Simon Muhr, John Y. Huber, John H. Bromley, J. G. Altemus, Hamilton Disston, James Gillinder, and Lewis E. Beitler.

At Wanamaker's the delegation separated, the delegates going with President William Sellers to the Edgemoor

Iron Works, the ladies going to the Mint in charge of United States Attache E. W. P. Smith.

When the delegates and the majority of the party arrived at the iron works they were received by John Sellers jr., Justice H. Schwacke, J. Sellers Bancroft, and C. Sellers, jr. Led by these gentlemen the tour of the works was soon made.

Baldwin's Locomotive Works were next on the programme. The members of the firm—John H. Converse, George Burnham, William P. Henzey, Dr. E. H. Williams, W. P. Hensel, W. P. Stroud, and W. L. Austin—received the tourists and conducted them to their private office, where luncheon awaited the coming of appetite. After the meal had been disposed of, the shops were inspected and the evolution of a locomotive was followed with more than ordinary interest.

Carriages were taken and a rapid drive was made to Dobson's Carpet Mills. Mrs. Dobson and her two daughters assisted Mr. Dobson in greeting the callers, and accompanied the somewhat diminished party through the great structure. A number of the delegates and attaches did not visit the carpet mills, but returned from the Baldwin works to the hotel. Subsequently a few of them visited Independence Hall.

Meantime the ladies had been through the United States Mint, and had paid a second and less formal visit to Wanamaker's. At the former place they were cordially welcomed by the Director, Colonel Bosbyshell. He acted as guide, and when the visitors were about to depart presented each one with a small bronze medal, on which were the heads, in relief, of Washington and Lincoln.

Wraps were laid aside in Mr. Wanamaker's private office and the ladies roamed as they pleased about the huge aggregation of stores until 1.15, when they assembled in one of the parlors for lunch. Following the refreshment was a neat speech of thanks, made by Mrs. Romero, wife of the Mexican minister to the United States. It was addressed to Mr. Ogden, and he made suitable response.

Independence Hall was the next place brightened with the presence of the ladies. There they met some of the

gentlemen of the party, and with them they climbed the many steps to the clock-tower. It was dark when they descended and entered the carriages that took them to the hotel.

The ladies of the party comprised Mrs. Guzman, Mrs. Peraza and three daughters, Mrs. Monagas, Mrs. Andrade and four daughters, Mrs. Romero, Mrs. John B. Henderson, Mrs. Henry Davis and daughter, Mrs. William E. Curtis and Miss Elsie Curtis, Mrs. John G. Bourke and Miss Sarah Bourke, Mrs. H. R. Lemly, Mrs. E. W. P. Smith, Mrs. H. C. Yarrow, Mrs. M. G. Seckendorff, Mrs. James Clancy, Mrs. Frank H. Taylor, Miss Florence Ridgway, Miss Helen Groome, and Mrs. F. G. Pierra and daughter.

After dinner several members of the Conference party attended the performance of "Captain Swift" at the Grand Opera-House, but the greater number remained at the hotel, resting and otherwise preparing for the reception which was given by the Union League Club.

No fewer than one thousand of Philadelphia's best citizens were at the club-house to meet the ladies and gentlemen of the Southern Republics, and the assemblage could hardly be characterized as anything but brilliant. Silk, bunting, flowers, and palms lent themselves to the adornment of the rooms and corridors, some of the designs being remarkable for their original beauty.

The club committees were amalgamated for the occasion, all the members doing reception duty. Those present were Mayor Fitler, John L. Lawson, Thomas McKean, Samuel C. Perkins, John H. Michener, Theodore E. Wiedersheim, Thomas Cochran, Winthrop Smith, Samuel S. Sharp, William B. Warne, Edwin N. Benson, Wharton Barker, Charles E. Pugh, E. T. Stotesbury, Robert Dornan, Joseph Moore, jr., F. Percy Smith, E. A. Hancock, R. L. Austin, Charles F. Berwind, J. Albert Caldwell, R. Dale Benson, John H. Catherwood, Robert S. Davis, P. D. Keyser, Charles H. Howell, N. E. Janney, George H. North, Thomas M. Thompson, J. G. Darlington, W. Allison Cochran, M. Hampton Todd, Edwin H. Fitler, jr., Francis W. Kennedy, Charles B. Baeder, William H. Hurley, James W. Latta, Robert K. McNeely, G. Fred Jordan, David F. Conover,

Abram S. Patterson, Thomas Potter, jr., Simon A. Stern, George D. McCreary, Craige Lippincott, D. E. Kingsley, Charles Thackara, William C. Downing, J. Raymond Claghorn, George Berry, A. Maxwell Shephard, Alfred Pearce, J. Martin Yardley, F. S. Feraille, J. E. Hyneman, Joseph H. Schenck, and William R. King.

The guests of the evening received a special welcome from President W. C. Houston and Vice-President Samuel B. Huey, who escorted them to the reception-room and placed them behind the silken barrier which divided them from the persons who had been invited to meet them. When the receiving party was in position those persons who had cards of admission were given *entrée* and allowed to walk past the delegates and ladies.

FORTY-FIRST DAY.

AT PHILADELPHIA.

The ladies of the party commenced the business of the day earlier and with more expedition than their fellow-travelers of the other sex. At 9 o'clock they were in parlor C listening to an address which was being delivered for their benefit by Mrs. John Lucas, president of the Silk Culture Association. Mrs. Lucas said it was the intention of the association to present to the representative of each Central and South American country a flag of the United States made of silk which was American in every sense of the word. Accompanying Mrs. Lucas and nodding acquiescence to her remarks were Mrs. M. Simpson, Mrs. C. D. Thumm, Mrs. W. B. Eltonhead, Miss Phoebe Horne, Mrs. W. T. Reynolds, Mrs. S. G. Flagg, Miss E. T. Van Renssalaer, Miss S. Benner, Miss V. C. Haven and Mrs. H. P. Taylor, all members of the association.

There was a brief period of informal chat and then the ladies of the conference were escorted to their carriages by Special Agent William E. Curtis, Attaché E. W. P. Smith, and C. N. Thorpe. Several of the Delegates and attachés accompanied them rather than go through the sugar refinery, which was the first number on the male programme for the day. First to be visited by the ladies was the Public

Ledger building. Mr. George W. Childs was in his private office awaiting their coming. With him, and eager to assist in the entertainment of the fair visitors, were Col. M. Richards Muckle, L. Clarke Davis, and Joseph G. Rosengarten. Half an hour was spent in examining the treasures in Mr. Childs's unrivaled collection of *bric-à-brac*, and then the Ledger press-rooms were inspected. As the ladies were about to leave Mr. Childs called their attention to a very choice collection of decorated china and informed them that each one might take away a cup and saucer as a souvenir of the visit.

Chrysanthemums formed the next attraction, a show of those floral beauties being on exhibition at the Horticultural Hall. Two officers of the Horticultural Society, Vice-President George W. Earle and Secretary D. D. L. Farson, were in attendance.

While this was going on the male section of the Conference party was seeing how sugar had to be refined before it was a marketable product fit for household use. This was shown them at the Franklin Refinery. The members of the firm of Harrison, Frazier & Co., W. W. Harrison, Alfred C. Harrison, and W. W. Frazier, with Manager C. A. Brinley, received the visitors and conducted them all over the twelve floors of the vast establishment, explaining fully every operation. It was noon before the seekers after information once more reached the sidewalk; they started at once to meet the ladies, to eat lunch, and to hear a couple of speeches.

First to arrive at the appointed rendezvous, the University of Pennsylvania, were the ladies. Three hundred students greeted them with cheers and college yells. Provost Pepper received the visitors and led the way to the chapel, where they were given seats. Then the male contingent arrived and there was a renewal of the cheering and yelling. A number of prominent Philadelphians had been invited by Provost Pepper to be present, and they, with the students and other visitors, succeeded in occupying about all of the available room in the chapel.

While the crowd was engaged in finding places where it might be seated Provost Pepper was taking Delegate Cruz,

of Guatemala, to a chair on the platform. Order very speedily ensued, and then the Provost spoke as follows :

The immortal Franklin, friend of humanity, founded this university one hundred and fifty years ago. It has grown and prospered, because it was founded upon the broad conception that a university should adapt itself and embody every need of civilization and every intellectual inspiration of the community. True to this mandate the University has kept in close touch with the great movements of the last century. Department after department has been added until at present the organization is probably the most comprehensive in existence. It now comprises the college department, including the course in arts, the course in science (the Towne Scientific School), the course in philosophy for undergraduates, the course in finance and economy (the Wharton School), the course of music, the department of medicine, the department of law, the auxiliary department of medicine, the department of dentistry, the department of philosophy, the department of veterinary medicine, the department of biology, the department of physical education, the department of hygiene, the museum of archæology and palæontology, the college for women, the University hospital, the veterinary hospital.

Its faculties number over one hundred and fifty; its students are between thirteen and fourteen hundred. At all times during the past one hundred years there have been students with us from some of the countries you represent. Philadelphia has indeed great claims on your friendship, for one single great department, not only the University but the Jefferson Medical College, have served you efficiently. The fame of the illustrious men who have taught in these great medical schools, and the splendid clinical facilities of Philadelphia, have drawn to us many earnest students from you as well as from all other nations. The students you have sent us have always been, I can truly say, among the most successful and highly valued members of their classes. And it may surprise you to learn that within the past twenty years there have graduated in medicine alone from the University and the Jefferson College no less than three hundred and nine from South America, Cuba, and the West Indies. We are proud of this record; we entertained the warmest regard for them while they were with us; we have followed their successful careers with cordial pleasure, and we appeal with confidence to you to declare that their skill, their faithful devotion to duty, and their honorable lives, have done credit to their fatherland and to their alma mater here. Science has been enriched by their labor and humanity has been succored. Not alone in the path of medical science have they been distinguished. There are among them names distinguished in literature, in philanthropy, in statesmanship. We are happy often to recall their names, and to now know that even among your distinguished company there are several who have been students here in Philadelphia.

Never before have our facilities been so admirable as at present for educational work in all branches. The University Departments of Technical Science, of Belles-Lettres, of Biology, of Law, are attaining an importance rivaling that of the Medical School, while in medical teaching the united advantages of the Jefferson College, the Polyclinic, the Medico-Chirurgical College, the Woman's College, and the Medical Department of the University offer unequaled attractions.

We watch with friendly interest the rapid strides you are making in educational progress in your own countries. Yet it will always seem desirable in many instances that education shall be conducted, or at least completed, away from home. In this at least there is no barrier of a protective tariff. The intercourse of science and of learning is as free as the air. Whether students come in their earliest stage as raw material or present themselves as finished product with their education almost completed, they are alike welcome, and alike they receive the most willing attention and consideration. It affords us high pleasure to have the opportunity of welcoming you in these halls of learning and science. We greet you as sympathetic and appreciative visitors who share our recognition of the great truth that thorough education, free and accessible to all, is at once the glory and the safeguard of a nation, May the circling years ever bring us into closer relations and unite us more intimately in the great task intrusted to us of promoting the prosperity, the happiness, and the elevation of the vast population of this American continent, both North and South alike.

The Provost's remarks were frequently interrupted by applause, which was renewed with extraordinary vigor when he introduced Delegate Cruz.

Delegate Cruz said: At the end of the trip of his colleagues he was glad of the opportunity to express for them their pleasure at being given the opportunity to visit the great University of Pennsylvania. He said that by a happy and delightful combination and arrangement the trip began at West Point, the important military school of the country, and at Boston, one of the seats of culture in the United States. The trip, he thought, fittingly ended in Philadelphia, a place so familiar to many of those who have never even visited this country. He said further:

The Delegates appreciate Philadelphia, not only on account of the success of her Centennial Exposition, her superb factories, her imposing and beautiful buildings and immense stores, but especially by her culture and by her scientific and educational institutions. Through this process we are led to understand that in fact the real and deeper foundations of the wealth, development, and prosperity of this marvelous Republic lie in your schools, and that one of the main objects

you aim at by all your steady and intelligent work of every instant in the different businesses of life is to get minds adorned with such knowledge and refinements as make man worthy of his title of superiority to all the other created beings.

Continuing, he said :

We earnestly congratulate and cordially salute Philadelphia. For many of us who have been connected with the universities of our countries it is especially pleasant to visit this University, where many of our countrymen came to receive the training for their minds, an institution founded by those who so accurately knew that the well-being of a society depends on the education of their youth and their instruction in the duties they must discharge to the community in which they live and to one another. You must be proud because the University has proved to be what it was intended to be, a nursery of virtue and wisdom, and it has produced men of ability and learning, who have sustained a beneficial relation to mankind with their several occupations in life ; and we respectfully salute this University, too, because its name is so closely and affectionately bound to the name of one of the greatest, wisest, and most beloved men in the world, Benjamin Franklin, who snatched off the thunder from the skies and the sway from the tyrants.

We shall be allowed to thank the whole State of Pennsylvania for its warm hospitality in the most beautiful and refined of its cities, that which, according to the desire of William Penn, has afforded an asylum to the good and oppressed of all nations and so much contributed to frame a government which may be an example to show men to be as free and as happy as they can be. And in no other place than in Philadelphia could we better give expression to our feelings of gratitude and fraternity and to our earnest desire that, whatever may be the political and territorial boundaries, all the nations of the Western Hemisphere may be friendly and united, that in future it may be said not three Americas, but only one America, a kind and lovely mother to all those who are born in the beautiful continent whose discovery by Columbus this great nation will soon splendidly commemorate. In no better place than in the old capital of the country, where those brave colonists signed that glorious Declaration of Independence, can we better express our sincere hopes that you will always be a leading people, the first in public instruction, the first in material progress, the first in the enjoyment of the rights of man, and the first in energy and liberty.

These sentiments were received with many manifestations of approval.

At the conclusion of Delegate Cruz's speech the entire party ascended to the room in which is Maxwell Somerville's famous collection of graven gems and talismanic

stones. From thence everybody moved to the new dining hall and there partook of an informal lunch.

The following were among those specially invited to be present: Henry A. Fry, Conyers Butler, Prof. L. F. Rondinella, J. H. F. Sexton, John Huber, President Isaac Sharpless, of Haverford College; Arthur E. Newbold, Crawford Arnold, A. G. Elliott, Charles H. Meyer, Augustus R. Hall, John Lucas, Charles H. Chick, Thomas Bradley, Prof. W. H. Appleton, of Swarthmore College; Dr. Da Coste, Frederick F. Myhlhertz, Dillwyn Wistar, John V. Shoemaker, William Platt Pepper, Abraham S. Patterson, Leo Loeb, Charles M. Peterson, Dr. Peter D. Keyser, President Fetterolf, of Girard College; Edward Longstreth, Charles B. Bader, Prof. Francis N. Thorpe, of the Manual Training School; Isaac Hough, Abraham Parker, John B. Stetson, Prof. W. Ellis Yarnall, of Haverford College; John R. White, William H. Rhawn, Dr. William W. Waugh, George E. Stubbs, E. Loper, Prof. Arthur Beardsley, of Swarthmore College; Robert E. Hastings, Philip C. Garrett, Henry S. Hale, Prof. S. Herring, of the Manual Training School; W. C. Ladd, Thomas McKellar, James Spear, Dr. B. A. Gould, Prof. Ogden M. Rood, Prof. Wolcott Gibbs, of Harvard University; Justice Cox, jr., Prof. S. P. Langley, of the Smithsonian Institute; Prof. James Hall, Prof. O. C. Marsh, of Yale; Prof. C. T. Chandler, Prof. G. F. Barker, Dr. H. C. Wood, William Sellers, Prof. C. A. Young, Prof. E. D. Cope, Prof. A. Hall, Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, Asa Jones, Carlos Guiteras, S. P. Wetherill, Joseph Perot, William Blumenthal, Joseph S. L. Wharton, William Potter, Myron R. Sanford, Hugh McCallum, Andrew Wheeler, William G. Audenreid, George W. Hancock, John Mason, W. V. McKean, Dr. Sajous, A. S. Gerhard, Henry C. Potter, John H. Bromley, E. W. Clarke, Dr. José Cingosto, W. P. Holcomb, J. Rendel Harris, W. M. Singerly, Ed. H. Hance, Eusebio Guiteras, Alfred Lowry, S. Kingston McCay, William J. Potts, Thomas Robert, Dr. J. E. Garrettson, John H. Taggart, Allen B. Rorke, J. B. Howell, J. Gibson McIlvain, Dr. Thomas, John B. Wood, Francis Jordan, F. S. Kimball, Dr. William S. Stewart, Colonel Wiedersheim, and Simon Muhr.

There were two programmes in the afternoon—one male, the other female. The male portion of the party took a special train for Tacony, where they were met by Hamilton Disston, Horace Disston, Samuel Disston, and Robert Johnson. These gentlemen had arranged matters so that each of the visitors could see all that was to be seen in the shortest possible space of time. In pursuance of that plan twelve heads of departments each took a sub-party of four or five and conducted them through the great saw factory. The twelve foremen were Samuel Biven, Theodore Shoemaker, William Hill, William Smith, James McMahon, John Wallwork, John Lamb, Albert Butterworth, Christopher Eisenhardt, Samuel Paul, James Garland, and Thomas Disston.

When the mechanical department had been thoroughly inspected the party was conducted to a large room on the upper floor of the new office building, where tables had been arranged in the form of a keystone, and on these was spread a bountiful supply of refreshments. In the course of the proceedings Delegate Estee proposed the health of the firm and called upon Hamilton Disston to respond.

Mr. Disston's remarks were very brief. He remarked, however, that when his father commenced business there was not a hand-saw made in America, while to-day there was not a saw imported into the country.

Souvenirs of steel, and consisting of an ingeniously arranged aggregation of miniature saws, were presented, and the party walked down to the Tacony wharf, where the steam-boat *Wilmington* was ready to convey the Delegates, attachés, and committeemen to Cramp's ship-yard. The departure from Tacony was emphasized by the discharge of cannon, the shrieking of whistles, and the ringing of bells, to say nothing of the hearty cheers which were sent up by the employés of the Disston works. All the way down to her destination the *Wilmington* was saluted.

About half an hour was spent at Cramp's. The Delegates were welcomed by Charles H. Cramp, Samuel Cramp, and William Cramp, and these gentlemen did escort duty until the visit came to an end. The cruiser *Baltimore* and

the dynamite gunboat *Vesuvius* were looked over. Had there been sufficient time several members of the party would have been pleased to go on board of the steam-ship *Venezuela*, which had just been completed by the Cramps. The *Venezuela* was built for the "Red D" Company, and is to be used in the Central and South American trade.

Other establishments were to have been visited, but the general preference was for an immediate return to the hotel, so the programme was cut right off.

The ladies occupied the afternoon very pleasantly in a tour through the Keystone watch-case factory, under the guidance of President Thorpe, of the company; Secretary-Treasurer Howard L. Roberts, and Superintendent E. C. Chappate. The initials of each lady visitor were surreptitiously secured, and some months later the feminine excursionists were surprised at receiving each a beautiful gold watch, the joint gift of the Keystone Company and the Elgin Company, the latter corporation contributing the necessary mechanism, while the former donated the cases—the most costly souvenir in the history of the trip.

The concluding social event in Philadelphia was an extremely pleasant one—a reception at the splendid home of the Manufacturers' Club. President Thomas Dolan and the members of the house committee, Joseph P. Truitt, John T. Bailey, Robert Dornan, Louis H. Ayres, and Abram S. Patterson, received the guests and cared for their comfort. The decorations, floral and otherwise, were of the richest and most esthetic description. An appreciated novelty was the collation room, walled with canvas and situated on the roof of the building. From this a perfect view of the city as it appears at night was obtained. The reception was concluded shortly after midnight.

FORTY-SECOND DAY.

EN ROUTE TO WASHINGTON.

The departure from Philadelphia took place at 11.30 on the morning of Wednesday, November 14. For more than an hour previous to that time Alan H. Reed and others of the committee had been busy doing whatever

they could to make the City of Brotherly Love a pleasant memory to those who composed the Conference party, a not difficult task. Simons Brothers, the jewelers, assisted in this by sending to each lady a beautiful gold and silver thimble. The special train in which the Delegates had traveled almost continuously was not available, but there was in its place six parlor coaches of the newest type. Engine No. 1053 was there, however, and so was Engineer Hart.

The run to Washington was made by the way of Harrisburg; the longer route, but decidedly the more picturesque. Neither accident nor incident marked the journey, and at 6.40 the train stopped in the Baltimore and Potomac depot, at Sixth street. As the passengers alighted they were invited to assemble near the engine. When all were present Captain Bourke called upon Engineer Hart to come down out of the cab, and when he obeyed the captain requested everybody to give three cheers for the engine and the engineer. Very vociferously were they given. Farewells were spoken, handshakes indulged in, and the memorable excursion of the Delegates to the International American Conference ended.

APPENDIX.

ITINERARY OF THE JOURNEY THROUGH THE UNITED STATES.

Thursday, October 3.—Leave Washington, D. C. (via Pennsylvania Railroad) 8.15 a. m., arrive Jersey City, N. J., 1.45 p. m. Leave Jersey City, N. J., (via West Shore Railroad) 1.50 p. m., arrive West Point, N. Y., 3.45 p. m. Luncheon on the special train. 4 p. m. military salute and battalion review; 5.30 p. m., unveiling of portraits of Generals Grant, Sherman, and Sheridan. Presentation address on behalf of Mr. George W. Childs of Philadelphia by General Horace Porter. Response on behalf of officers and cadets of Military Academy by Col. John M. Wilson, commandant. Dinner at the hotel. 9 p. m., reception at residence, of Col. John M. Wilson.

Friday, October 4.—Breakfast at the hotel, West Point, N. Y., 9 a. m., inspection of Military Academy; 10.30 cavalry drill. Leave West Point, N. Y. (by United States cruiser *Yorktown*), 11.30 a. m.; arrive New York, N. Y., 4.30 p. m. Luncheon on the *Yorktown*. Leave New York, N. Y., (via Fall River Line) 5 p. m. Dinner on the steamer *Puritan*.

Saturday, October 5.—Breakfast on the steamer *Puritan*. Leave Fall River, Mass. (via Old Colony Railroad), 7.30 a. m. Arrive Boston, Mass., 9.05 a. m. Reception by Hon. Thomas N. Hart, mayor and prominent citizens. Visit boys' high school; 11.30 a. m., visit Waltham Watch Factory, Waltham, Mass. Luncheon tendered by Mr. Royal E. Robbins, of Waltham Watch Factory; 2.30 p. m., visit Para Rubber Works and shoe factory of Messrs. Houghton & Coolidge, at South Framingham, Mass.; 7 p. m., banquet at the Parker House, tendered by the Commercial Club. Lodging at Hotel Vendome.

Sunday, October 6.—At Hotel Vendome, Boston, Mass.; 10 a. m., visit city institutions, escorted by the mayor. Luncheon at Hotel Vendome; 3 p. m., visit Harvard College and drive through city and suburbs.

Monday, October 7.—Breakfast at Hotel Vendome, Boston. Leave Boston, Mass. (via Boston and Maine Railroad, Western Division Station), 9 a. m. Arrive Lawrence Mass., 9.45 a. m. Visit Mr. W. A.

Russell's paper mill and Pacific Print Mills. Luncheon tendered by Mr. Henry Saltonstall. Leave Lawrence, Mass., 1.45 p. m. Arrive Lowell, Mass., 2.15 p. m. Visit carpet, hosiery, and woolen mills. Leave Lowell, Mass., 5.30 p. m. Arrive Boston, Mass., 6.15 p. m. Dinner at Hotel Vendome. Attend Hollis Street Theater in the evening.

Tuesday, October 8.—Leave Boston, Mass. (via Boston and Maine Railroad, Western Division Station), 2 a. m. Train to be open for occupation October 7, at 11 p. m. Arrive Manchester, N. H., 7 a. m.; 8.30 a. m., visit Amoskeag Cotton Mills. 10.20 a. m., breakfast tendered by citizens of Manchester. Leave Manchester, N. H. (via Concord Railroad, Boston and Maine Railroad, and Portland and Rochester Railroad), 12 noon. Arrive Portland, Me., 4 p. m. Luncheon on the special train.

A committee of the citizens and the Board of Trade will meet the party on arrival and escort them to the city hall, where they will be met by Hon. H. S. Melcher, mayor, and the members of the city councils. A drive through the city and an excursion in the harbor. In the evening, a dinner at the Falmouth Hotel will be followed by a reception, attended by municipal, State, and Federal officials and citizens.

Leave Portland, Me. (via Portland and Rochester Railroad and Boston and Maine Railroad), 11 p. m.

Wednesday, October 9.—Arrive Worcester, Mass., 7.30 a. m. Breakfast on the special train. A drive through the city. Leave Worcester, Mass. (via New York and New England Railroad), 10 a. m. Arrive Willimantic, Conn., 11.45 a. m. Visit thread works. Leave Willimantic, Conn. (via New York and New England Railroad), 12.30 p. m. Luncheon on the special train. Arrive South Manchester, Conn. 1.30 p. m. Visit Cheney Silk Mills. Leave South Manchester, Conn., 2.45 p. m. Arrive Hartford, 3.25 p. m. Drive through the city. Visit various manufactories. 6 p. m., dinner tendered by citizens. 8 p. m., reception by Governor M. G. Bulkeley at the capitol. Lodging on the special train, train to be open for occupation 11 p. m.

Thursday, October 10.—Leave Hartford, Conn. (via Central New England and Western Railroad), 7.30 a. m. Breakfast on the special train. Arrive Collinsville, Conn., 8.30 a. m. Visit edge-tool works. Leave Collinsville, Conn. (via Central New England and Western Railroad and New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad), 10 a. m. Luncheon on the special train. Arrive Meriden, Conn. (via Hartford), 11.30 a. m. Leave Meriden, Conn. (via New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad), 1.30 p. m. Arrive New Haven, Conn., 2 p. m. Visit manufactories and Yale University. Drive through the city. 6 p. m., dinner tendered by the citizens. 8.30 p. m., reception by Hon. H. F. Peck, mayor, and university authorities. Lodging on the special train, train to be open for occupation 11 p. m. The special train will run during night to Springfield, Mass. (via New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad).

Friday, October 11.—Breakfast at Springfield on the special train. The party will be met at the station by the Hon. Edward S. Bradford.

mayor of Springfield, and Col. A. R. Buffington, commanding the National Armory. A drive through the city. Visit the National Armory and the Government envelope works. Leave Springfield, Mass. (via Connecticut River Railroad), 1.30 p. m. Luncheon on the special train. Arrive Holyoke, Mass., 2 p. m. Visit the paper mills. Leave Holyoke, Mass. (via Connecticut River Railroad), 3.15 p. m. Arrive Springfield, Mass., 3.45 p. m. Leave Springfield, Mass. (via Boston and Albany Railroad), 4 p. m. Arrive Albany, N. Y., 7.30 p. m. Dinner on the special train. Albany, N. Y., 9 p. m., illumination of the capitol. Lodging at the Delavan House.

Saturday, October 12.—Breakfast at Delavan House, Albany. 9 a. m., drive through the city, escorted by a committee of citizens, visiting points of interest. Leave Albany, N. Y. (via New York Central and Hudson River Railroad), 11 a. m. Arrive Niagara Falls, N. Y., 8 p. m. Luncheon and dinner on the special train. Lodging at Cataract House, Niagara Falls.

Sunday, October 13.—At Cataract House, Niagara Falls, N. Y. Visit the falls, the rapids, and other points of interest.

Monday, October 14.—Breakfast at Cataract House, Niagara Falls. Leave Niagara Falls, N. Y. (via New York Central and Hudson River Railroad), 8.30 a. m. Arrive Buffalo, N. Y., 9.10 a. m. 9.30 a. m., reception at city hall by Hon. Philip Becker, mayor, and other officials. 10 a. m., drive to different points of interest. 12 m., luncheon at the Iroquois Hotel. 1.30 p. m., those who wish to see the elevators and docks will be taken on board a steam yacht at the foot of Main Street; those who prefer to visit the Jewett Horse Farm will be taken by special train to Willink; those who prefer to visit factories and particular institutions will be escorted in carriages by a committee. 7 p. m., banquet at Niagara House, followed by a public reception. Lodging at Niagara House, Buffalo.

Tuesday, October 15.—Breakfast at Niagara House, Buffalo. Leave Buffalo, N. Y. (via Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway) 8 a. m. Arrive Erie, Pa., 10.15 a. m. Leave Erie, Pa., 11.30 a. m. Luncheon on the special train. Arrive Cleveland, Ohio, 1.45 p. m. Arrive Newburgh, Ohio (suburb of Cleveland), (via Cleveland and Pittsburgh Railroad, Pennsylvania Company's lines), 2.20 p. m. Visit rolling-mills, wire and nail works, Bessemer steel works, and Northern Ohio Hospital for the Insane. 8.30 p. m., banquet at the Stillman House, Cleveland, followed by a public reception. Lodging at the Stillman House.

Wednesday, October 16.—Breakfast at the Stillman House. Visit public works and industrial establishments. 1.30 p. m., luncheon at the Stillman House. In the afternoon drive through Euclid Avenue to Wade and Gordon Parks, Lake View Cemetery, and Garfield Monument. 7 p. m., dinner at the Stillman House. 8.30 p. m., reception at the Stillman House by the business men. Leave Cleveland, Ohio (via Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railway), 10 p. m.

Thursday, October 17.—Arrive Detroit, Mich., 7 a. m. Breakfast on

the special train. Drive about the city. Visit various manufactories. Luncheon at the residence of Hon. James McMillan, United States Senator. Leave Detroit, Mich. (via Michigan Central Railroad), 3 p. m. Arrive Ann Arbor, Mich., 4 p. m. Dinner at Ann Arbor. Visit Michigan University. Reception in the evening by university authorities. Leave Ann Arbor, Mich., 10 p. m. Arrive Grand Rapids, Mich., next morning.

Friday, October 18.—The party will be received at station by Hon. John Killeen, mayor, and other municipal authorities. 9 a. m., breakfast at the Morton House, tendered by citizens. 10 a. m., drive through the city, visiting various manufacturing establishments. 12.30 p. m., review of the military companies, fire department, and bicycle club. 1 p. m., luncheon at the Morton House. 2 p. m., trotting races at the fair grounds. 5.30 p. m., reception by the mayor at the city hall. 7 p. m., banquet tendered by citizens. Leave Grand Rapids, Mich. (via Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad and Michigan Central Railroad) 10 p. m. Arrive South Bend, Ind., next morning.

Saturday, October 19.—Breakfast on the special train. 8.30 a. m., visit the wagon manufactory of the Messrs. Studebaker Brothers; 10 a. m., Wilson Brothers' shirt factory, Oliver Plow Works; 11.30 a. m., sewing-machine case factory; 12.30 p. m., luncheon at the residence of Hon. Clement Studebaker; 2 p. m., drive to Notre Dame University. Leave South Bend, Ind. (via Michigan Central Railroad), 5 p. m. Dinner on the special train. Arrive Chicago, Ill., 8.30 p. m., lodging at Grand Pacific Hotel.

Sunday, October 20.—Breakfast at Grand Pacific Hotel, Chicago, Ill. 10 a. m., attend church. Luncheon, 1.30 p. m. In the afternoon drive through the parks and principal residence streets. Dinner at Grand Pacific Hotel.

Monday, October 21.—Breakfast at Grand Pacific Hotel, Chicago, Ill. 10 a. m., visit board of trade; 10.30 a. m., special train to stock-yards; 1 p. m., leave by the special train for Pullman. Luncheon on the special train. Dinner at Grand Pacific Hotel. Reception tendered at his residence by Potter Palmer, esq.

Tuesday, October 22.—Breakfast at Grand Pacific Hotel, Chicago, Ill. 10 a. m., visit the Armour Kindergarten and other institutions, the auditorium, and manufacturing establishments; 7 p. m., banquet tendered by the citizens.

Wednesday, October 23.—Breakfast at Grand Pacific Hotel. Leave Chicago, Ill. (via Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway), 8 a. m. Arrive Milwaukee, Wis., 10.30 a. m. The party will be met at Western Union Junction by a committee from Milwaukee. On arrival at Milwaukee they will take carriages and be driven to the art gallery, the water-works, and through the business and residence portion of the east side to the leading breweries; thence to Schlitz Hotel, where a luncheon will be tendered at 12.30 by Mr. August Uihlein. The carriage ride will be continued through the west side, visiting some of the larger manufacturing institutions; thence along Grand Avenue to Soldiers' Home;

thence east through the south side, stopping if time will permit at the Allis Iron Works and other important places; thence to the Plankinton House for dinner, at 6 p. m. After dinner a reception will be given at the residence of Hon. John L. Mitchell. Leave Milwaukee, Wis. (via Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway), 12 midnight. (Schedule to be arranged so as to leave La Crosse, Wis., about 6 a. m. Thursday, October 24, and arrive St. Paul about 10 a. m.)

Thursday, October 24.—Arrive St. Paul, Minn., 10 a. m. Breakfast on the special train. The reception committee will meet the party on arrival at the railway station with carriages, for a drive through the city; visit the public buildings; 12 m., reception by State, county, and city officials at City Hall; 1 p. m., luncheon at the residence of Governor Merriam; 2 p. m., drive about the city; 7 p. m., dinner at Hotel Ryan, followed by a reception. Lodging at Hotel Ryan.

Friday, October 25.—Breakfast at Hotel Ryan, St. Paul. The Minneapolis reception committee will meet the party at St. Paul and escort them to Minneapolis. Visit the flour mills and other points of interest. Reception at Chamber of Commerce. Luncheon at the West Hotel. Drive through the city. Banquet in evening at the West Hotel, followed by a reception. Leave Minneapolis, Minn. (via Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railway), 11 p. m.

Saturday, October 26.—Arrive Sioux City, Iowa, 8 a. m. Breakfast on the special train. Visit the Corn Palace and drive about the city. Leave Sioux City, Iowa, 11 a. m. Luncheon on the special train. Arrive Omaha, Nebr., 2.30 p. m. The Omaha committee will meet the party at Sioux City. Visit to South Omaha stock-yards and packing houses. Dinner and lodging at the Paxton House, Omaha. Attend the theatre in the evening.

Sunday, October 27.—Breakfast at the Paxton House, Omaha. Leave the hotel 10 a. m. for drive through the city, visiting art galleries and smelting works; 1 p. m. visit Fort Omaha; dress parade by Second Regiment United States Infantry; 3 p. m., dinner at the Paxton House. Lodging on the special train. (The train to be open for occupation at 8 p. m.)

Monday, October 28.—Leave Omaha, Nebr. (via Union Pacific Railway, Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railway, and St. Louis, Keokuk and Northwestern Railroad), 1 a. m. Breakfast and luncheon on the special train. Arrive at St. Louis, Mo., 6 p. m. The party will be met on arrival by Governor David R. Francis, Hon. E. A. Noonan, mayor, and Mr. Charles A. Cox, president of the Merchants' Exchange. Public reception at the Merchants' Exchange. Dinner and lodging at the Southern Hotel.

Tuesday, October 29.—At the Southern Hotel, St. Louis, Mo. 9 a. m., display of the fire department; drive through the city; visit St. Louis stamping works, Kingsland & Douglas' factory, Dozier-Weyl cracker factory, Hamilton Brown shoe factory, Anheuser-Busch brewery, the parks, and water-works. Luncheon at the fair grounds. In the after-

noon carriage ride resumed from fair grounds, visiting the universities and charitable institutions. Dinner at the Southern Hotel. Reception in the evening by the Marquette Club. Leave St. Louis, Mo. (via Missouri Pacific Railway), 12 midnight.

Wednesday, October 30.—Breakfast on the special train. Arrive Kansas City, Mo. (via Missouri Pacific Railway) 9 a. m. The party will be met and welcomed at the station by Hon. J. J. Davenport, mayor of the city, members of the city councils, representatives of the commercial clubs, and a committee of citizens. Visit smelting works at Argentine by special train. A ride through the city on the electric and cable lines. Carriage drive through the residence section of the city. Luncheon at the Midland Hotel. Witness the trotting and running races at Exposition Park. Dinner at the Coates House. Attend the play at Coates' Opera House in the evening. Leave Kansas City, Mo. (via Wabash Railroad) 12 midnight.

Thursday, October 31.—Breakfast on the special train. Arrive Springfield, Ill., 10 a. m. Luncheon and dinner at Leland Hotel. Visit to capitol building and Lincoln's tomb. The special train will run to Indianapolis, Ind., during the night (via Wabash Railroad and Indianapolis, Decatur and Western Railway).

Friday, November 1.—Arrive Indianapolis, Ind., 7.30 a. m. Breakfast on the special train. 10 a. m., drive to various manufacturing establishments and capitol. Luncheon and dinner at Denison Hotel, tendered by the citizens. Leave Indianapolis, Ind. (via Jeffersonville, Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, Pennsylvania Company's lines), 6 p. m. Arrive Louisville, Ky., 9 p. m. The party will be met at the station by a committee of citizens and escorted in carriages to the Galt House. The streets traversed will be decorated by illuminated arches. Lodging at the Galt House.

Saturday, November 2.—Breakfast at the Galt House. Carriage drive to the tobacco breaks and market, through the city, and thence to Glenview Stock Farm. Exhibition of Kentucky-bred blood horses. Luncheon at the Fencastle Club, near Glenview. Return to the city in time to take the special train for Mammoth Cave. Leave Louisville, Ky. (via Louisville and Nashville Railroad), 11 p. m.; arrive Mammoth Cave, Ky., next morning.

Sunday, November 3.—At Mammoth Cave. Breakfast, luncheon, and dinner on the special train. Leave at night for Lexington, Ky. (via Louisville and Nashville Railroad).

Monday, November 4.—Arrive Lexington, Ky., 7 a. m. Breakfast on the special train. Visit blue-grass stock farm. Leave Lexington, Ky., via La Grange (Louisville and Nashville Railroad), 11 a. m. Luncheon on the special train. Arrive Cincinnati, Ohio, 4 p. m. Dinner and lodging at the New Burnet House.

Tuesday, November 5.—Breakfast, luncheon, and dinner at the New Burnet House, Cincinnati. Visit various voting precincts, illustrating the manner of conducting an American election; in the evening attend

at the counting of the ballots and witness scenes incident to the reception of election returns. Lodging on the special train.

Wednesday, November 6.—Leave Cincinnati, Ohio (via Pennsylvania Company's lines, Pan Handle station), 5.30 a. m. The special train will be ready for occupation (November 5) 11 p. m. Breakfast on the special train. Arrive Columbus, Ohio, 9 a. m. Carriage ride through the city of Columbus. Leave Columbus, Ohio, 11 a. m. Arrive Pittsburgh, Pa., 5.30 p. m. Dinner and lodging at Monongahela House.

Thursday, November 7.—Breakfast at Monongahela House, Pittsburgh. Leave Union Station by the special train for a visit to glass works of Ripley & Co., Oliver Iron and Steel Works, Jones & Laughlin Iron Works, Homestead Steel Works of Carnegie, Phipps & Co.; also visit W. D. Woods & Co.'s sheet-iron works and the National Tube Works at McKeesport, and Edgar Thompson Steel Works at Bessemer; luncheon and dinner on the special train; lodging at Monongahela House.

Friday, November 8.—Breakfast at Monongahela House. Leave West Pennsylvania Railroad station, Allegheny City; visit Tarentum, in the natural gas region, and the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Works, at Allegheny Junction; also visit Porter's Locomotive Works, Crescent Steel Works, the works of Hassy, Binns & Co., and of the A. French Spring Company, all located on the Allegheny Valley Railroad. Luncheon, dinner, and lodging on the special train.

Saturday, November 9.—Breakfast on the special train. Leave Pittsburgh, Pa. (via Pennsylvania Railroad), 7.20 a. m. Visit glass manufacturing at Jeannette, the Grapeville gas fields, and the steel works at Latrobe, all on the line of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Arrive Altoona, Pa., 11 a. m. Visit Pennsylvania Railroad car-building and locomotive shops. Luncheon on the special train. Leave Altoona, Pa., 3.30 p. m. Dinner on the special train. Arrive Philadelphia, Pa., 9.40 p. m. Reception tendered the delegates by Hon. Edwin H. Fitler, mayor of Philadelphia, in parlor "C," Continental Hotel. Lodging at the Continental Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa.

Sunday, November 10.—At the Continental Hotel, Philadelphia.

Monday, November 11.—Breakfast at the Continental Hotel. The party will be taken in carriages to Independence Hall, thence to Wanamaker's store, the machine tool works of William Sellers & Co., and to the Baldwin Locomotive Works. Luncheon at the Baldwin Locomotive Works. Drive to carpet works of J. & J. Dobson, Falls of Schuylkill, returning through Fairmount Park. Dinner at the Continental Hotel. In the evening a reception will be tendered the delegates at the Union League House.

Tuesday, November 12.—Visit the sugar refinery of Harrison, Frazier & Co. and the University of Pennsylvania. Luncheon at the University. Special train to Disston & Sons' saw works at Tacony. Steamer on the Delaware to Cramp's ship-yard and the iron works of I. P. Morris & Co. at Port Richmond. Steamer ride on the Delaware from Port

Richmond to Chestnut Street wharf. Dinner at the Continental Hotel. In the evening a reception and banquet at the Manufacturers' Club.

Wednesday, November 13.—Leave Philadelphia (via Pennsylvania Railroad), 11.30 a. m. Luncheon on the special train. A daylight ride through the beautiful suburban region west of Philadelphia and through the celebrated Chester Valley, the rich farming lands of Lancaster and York Counties, with a glimpse of Harrisburg and the picturesque banks of the Susquehanna. Arrive Harrisburg, Pa., 2.10 p. m. Leave Harrisburg, Pa., 2.20 p. m. Arrive Washington, D. C., 6.15 p. m.

TABLE OF DISTANCES.

	Miles.
Washington to Jersey City, via Pennsylvania Railroad.....	228
Jersey City to West Point, via West Shore Railroad.....	53
West Point to New York, via the <i>Yorktown</i>	51
New York to Fall River, via Fall River Line.....	181
Fall River to Boston, via Old Colony Railroad.....	51
Boston to Lawrence, via Boston and Maine Railroad.....	27
Lawrence to Lowell, via Boston and Maine Railroad.....	13
Lowell to Boston, via Boston and Maine Railroad.....	28
Boston to Manchester, via Boston and Maine Railroad.....	57
Manchester to Portland, via Concord Railroad, Boston and Maine Railroad, and Portland and Rochester Railroad.....	96
Portland to Worcester, via Portland and Rochester Railroad and Boston and Maine Railroad.....	147
Worcester to Willimantic, via New York and New England Railroad.....	51
Willimantic to South Manchester, via New York and New England Railroad.....	25
South Manchester to Hartford, via New York and New England Railroad.....	10
Hartford to Collinsville, via Central New England and Western Railroad.....	24
Collinsville to Hartford, via Central New England and Western Railroad.....	24
Hartford to Meriden, via New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad.....	18
Meriden to New Haven, via New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad.....	19
New Haven to Springfield, via New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad.....	63
Springfield to Holyoke, via Connecticut River Railroad.....	8
Holyoke to Springfield, via Connecticut River Railroad.....	8
Springfield to Albany, via Boston and Albany Railroad.....	104
Albany to Niagara Falls, via New York Central and Hudson River Railroad.....	306

	Miles.
Niagara Falls to Buffalo, via New York Central and Hudson River Railroad	22
Buffalo to Cleveland, via Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad	183
Cleveland to Newburgh, via Cleveland and Pittsburgh Railroad.	8
Newburgh to Cleveland, via Cleveland and Pittsburgh Railroad.	8
Cleveland to Detroit, via Lake Shore and Michigan Southern Railroad	178
Detroit to Ann Arbor, via Michigan Central Railroad.....	38
Ann Arbor to Grand Rapids, via Michigan Central Railroad....	132
Grand Rapids to South Bend, via Grand Rapids and Indiana Railroad and Michigan Central Railroad	107
South Bend to Chicago, via Michigan Central Railroad	105
Chicago to Pullman, via Illinois Central Railroad.....	14
Pullman to Chicago, via Illinois Central Railroad.....	14
Chicago to Milwaukee, via Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway.....	85
Milwaukee to St. Paul, via Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway	325
St. Paul to Minneapolis, via Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railway	10
Minneapolis to Sioux City, via Chicago, St. Paul, Minneapolis and Omaha Railway	260
Sioux City to Omaha, via Chicago, St. Paul and Minneapolis and Omaha Railway	107
Omaha to St. Louis, via Union Pacific Railway, Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific Railroad, and St. Louis, Keokuk and North Western Railroad	476
St. Louis to Kansas City, via Missouri Pacific Railway	283
Kansas City to Springfield, via Wabash Railroad.....	301
Springfield to Indianapolis, via Wabash Railroad and Indianapolis, Decatur and Western Railway	191
Indianapolis to Louisville, via Jeffersonville, Madison and Indianapolis Railway.....	110
Louisville to Mammoth Cave, via Louisville and Nashville Railroad	102
Mammoth Cave to Lexington, via Louisville and Nashville Railroad.....	196
Lexington to Cincinnati, via La Grange (Louisville and Nashville Railroad)	150
Cincinnati to Pittsburgh, via Pennsylvania Company's lines.....	313
Pittsburgh to Philadelphia, via Pennsylvania Railroad.....	354
Philadelphia to Washington, via Harrisburg (Pennsylvania Railroad)	233
Total	5,897

SECOND PART.

VISIT OF THE FOREIGN DELEGATES TO NEW YORK.

But little more than a month from the day which saw the close of the famous six-thousand mile tour and the delegates and attachés were again on the rail, this time bound for New York, where an interesting programme had been arranged for their information and amusement. The train, which consisted of engine 332, a combination baggage and smoking car, a dining car, and three parlor cars, was in charge of Tourist Agent S. W. F. Draper; the passengers were in the care of Executive Officer William E. Curtis.

Following is a roster of the delegates and attachés in the party:

Hayti.—Delegate Arthur Laforestrie, Secretary H. Aristide Preston.

Nicaragua.—Delegate Horatio Guzman, Secretary R. Mayorga.

Peru.—Delegate F. C. C. Zegarra, Secretary Leopoldo Oyague y Soyer, Attaché Manuel Elguera.

Guatemala.—Delegate Fernando Cruz, Secretary Domingo Estrada, Attaché Javier A. Arroyo.

Colombia.—Delegates Carlos Martinez Silva and Climaco Calderon.

Costa Rica.—Delegate Manuel Aragon, Secretary Joaquin Bernardo Calvo.

Paraguay.—Delegate José S. Decoud.

Brazil.—Delegates J. G. do Amaral Valente and Salvador Mendonça, Secretaries José Augusto Ferreira de Costa and Joaquin de Freitas Vasconcellos, Attachés Alfredo de Moraes Gomes Ferreira and Mario de Mendonça.

Honduras.—Delegate Jerónimo Zelaya, Secretaries E. Constantino Fiallos and Richard Villafranca.

Mexico.—Delegate Matias Romero.

Bolivia.—Delegate Juan F. Velarde, Secretary Melchor Obarrio.

Venezuela.—Delegates Nicanor Bolet Peraza, José Andrade, and Francisco Antonio Silva, Secretary Nicanor Bolet Monagas.

Chili.—Delegate José Alfonso, Secretaries Paulino Alfonso and Domingo Peña Toro.

Salvador.—Delegate Jacinto Castellanos, Secretary Samuel Valdivieso, Attaché Joaquin Arrieta Rossi.

Ecuador.—Delegate José Maria Plácido Caamaño, Attaché Antonio Echeverria.

United States.—Delegates John B. Henderson, Clement Studebaker, T. Jefferson Coolidge, William Henry Trescot, Morris M. Estee, John F. Hanson, and Henry G. Davis.

Executive Officer William E. Curtis, Sergeant-at-Arms Capt. John G. Bourke, U. S. A., Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms Lieutenant Lemly, U. S. A., Surgeon H. C. Yarrow, U. S. A., Attachés E. W. P. Smith and Edward A. Trescot, Secretary H. Remsen Whitehouse, and Disbursing Officer Haughwout Howe.

Other members of the party were Secretary of State James G. Blaine and Mrs. Blaine, Mrs. Emmons Blaine, Mrs. John B. Henderson and a friend, Mrs. Arnold; Mrs. Manuel Aragon, of Costa Rica; Mrs. Romero, of Mexico; Mrs. Guzman, of Nicaragua; Mrs. Bolet Peraza and Mrs. Andrade, with her two sons and daughters, of Venezuela; Mrs. Mendonça, of Brazil; Mrs. H. G. Davis and her daughter; Mrs. M. M. Estee, Mrs. Studebaker and her daughter, Miss Anna Studebaker; Mrs. J. G. Bourke, and Mrs. Henry R. Lemly.

The party arrived at Jersey City at 3.30, and its members were welcomed by Delegate Cornelius N. Bliss, chairman of the general committee; Delegate Charles R. Flint, Delegate Andrew Carnegie, and the following committeemen: T. C. T. Crain, Woodbury Langdon, William H. T. Hughes, Granville P. Hawes, J. M. Muñoz, John H. V. Arnold, R. A. C. Smith, Charles S. Smith, Howland Rob-

bins, John R. Voorhis, D. A. DeLima, and Ambrose Snow.

Carriages were in waiting on the New York side, and a separation took place, the ladies going to the Fifth Avenue Hotel, while the gentlemen were escorted to the City Hall, where Inspector Williams, with a force of one hundred and fifty policemen, was busily engaged in controlling the crowds of people who wanted to see the component parts of the procession.

Mayor Grant, with Collector Erhardt, Morris K. Jessup, J. W. Alexander, and Controller Myers, awaited the delegates, and when those gentlemen arrived lost no time in formally bidding them welcome to the city. The mayor said :

Delegates to the Pan-American Congress : I welcome you with pleasure to the city of New York. But a few years ago the Congress of which you are members would have been an impossibility. Its existence evidences the better feeling now existing among the American nations. It is to the interest of this Republic to maintain friendly relations with all the nations of the earth. It is, however, especially to its interests that its relations should not be merely friendly, but warm, close, and cordial with the sister Republics of America. This is not so merely because of our geographical situation, but because of the similarity of our histories and the likeness of our institutions.

At this time, when we are about to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America, we remember that it was through the heroism and far-discerning wisdom of the Spaniards that this New World, now peopled with thriving nations, was discovered, and that while we of the North are largely the descendants of other races, you, the representatives of the Republics of the South, are descended from the stock of the first discoverers. Like ours, your Republics are the fruit of that spirit of freedom which has animated alike the people of all the countries of Europe who have found themselves on the American continents.

In the histories of your lands, as in that of our own, liberty has been purchased only after heroic struggles. You have founded governments that recognize, like ours, the equality of all men and which rely for their existence upon the consent of the governed. In times past, when you have been engaged in controversies with European governments, it has been the privilege of this Republic to lend to your governments the strength of its moral support and through its diplomatic representatives to convey the assurance to the governments of Europe that we would look with jealous eye upon any infringement of your liberties.

Under the benign influences of freedom you have marvelously prospered. With fertile soils and industrious populations you have increased

in wealth, reared prosperous cities and enlarged your commerce. You have become so important a factor in the commercial world that the nations which were for years the avowed or secret enemies of your governments while your governments were weak are now vieing with each other to obtain an ascendancy in your commerce. Countries like yours, from which come nearly the entire product of some of the staples, must ever exert an increasing influence as they grow in wealth and population and expand in vigor under the blessings of freedom.

The United States welcomes with gladness the evidences of your increasing commercial prosperity, and her people are desirous of so framing her policy that on the basis of just and enlightened trade regulations and treaty stipulations she may have that share in your commerce which the sympathy that exists between her people and yours, springing from her geographical situation and the similarity of our institutions, should warrant.

Our countries are not competitive. The great products which you have to sell, we, in few instances, produce, and the channels of industry into which our people by their situation have in many instances been forced are channels as yet undeveloped in your Republics, by reason of the more profitable occupations of your people in other lines.

There is no part of this Union where a stronger sentiment exists in favor of close commercial relations with your Republics than in the city of New York. New York is the commercial doorway into the United States. Our prosperity depends upon the cultivation of those commercial relations with all the peoples of the earth.

I am satisfied that while your attention as a Congress may, from the very nature of the case, be tentative rather than decisive, as it will be incumbent upon you to proceed with deliberation and circumspection, the very fact of your meeting and the opportunity for association which will result between yourselves and the representatives of this country, as well as the friendship and respect which must be the fruit of such association, will conduce to closer commercial intercourse between this country and yours.

Permit me, in closing, to extend to you as the representatives of the Republics of America and as individuals who are already known to us by reason of your fair fame and reputation, in the name of the city of New York, a most cordial welcome.

Very heartily did the visitors applaud the mayor's speech and when they had ceased their noisy commendation Delegate Zegarra, of Peru, stepped to the front and said:

Mr. MAYOR: It is my most pleasing duty to assure your honor that we deeply appreciate the kind words with which you bid us welcome to New York; the Empire City, one of the busiest and wealthiest centers of the world and the golden vestibule of the magnificent and vast

dwelling place that spans from ocean to ocean—the homestead of a free and happy nation. The interest expressed by the people of the United States in the work of the International Conference is indeed unanimous, active and decided; but perhaps nowhere as in this city is the importance of that work so deeply felt or the obstacles to its ultimate success so nicely and keenly measured. For, indeed, New York is not unknown to us, nor are we unknown to New York. No other city has in an equal degree so many existing relations with the continental Republics or a greater concern in their welfare; in no other will the enlargement of their reciprocal intercourse have a more immediate and far-reaching influence. The necessities which the Conference is called upon to remedy are thoroughly and practically known to her merchants and manufacturers. In her busy marts our language meets with ready intelligence, and the wealth of not a few of her merchant-princes has sprung upon the soil of Central and South America, and is still dependent on enterprises and schemes, commercial and industrial, even now flourishing in those regions.

It is not to be wondered at, then, that our visit is fraught with peculiar interest, and that we come disposed not only to enjoy the graceful courtesies of your hospitality, but also to learn not a little from the organization of your public institutions as well as from the practical sense of your business men. They know full well that, in order to accomplish the great objects in view, the Conference must enter into the study of the obstacles that have hitherto hindered a more intimate understanding between the nations of the Western Hemisphere, so as to recommend such measures as may tend to destroy those obstacles, thus clearing the way for the free and full action of commercial laws, in which alone is to be found a permanent and solid basis for the establishment of mutually beneficial relations.

I feel that your friendly words, Mr. Mayor, convey not only the warm greeting of this great city, but also her enthusiastic indorsement of the purposes which have called the Conference into being, and I trust I express the sentiment of my honorable colleagues when I assert that those purposes we will strive to the best of our ability to encompass, as far as it may be done for the common welfare and the common profit of all the nations of this our own, beautiful, rich, and self-sufficing American Continent.

Senor Zegarra's response evoked a good deal of enthusiasm.

Each member of the party was then individually presented to the mayor by Mr. William E. Curtis, and the ceremony was over.

After dinner at the hotel two subcommittees were at the service of the visitors. One was composed of J. M. Munoz, D. A. De Lima, Joel B. Erhardt, Edward J. Berwind,

John F. Scott, and T. C. T. Crain, and its desire was to have the party go to the Casino, there to witness a performance of "Erminie." The other committee consisted of William H. T. Hughes, George M. Olcott, Granville P. Hawes, Alexander E. Orr, R. A. C. Smith, and Ratcliffe Baldwin, and they wanted to escort as many as possible to the Hamilton Club, of Brooklyn, where a ladies' reception was the attraction. About thirty-five of the guests went to the theater, while fifteen elected to go over to Brooklyn.

The reception was a really magnificent affair. Decorations were very lavish and everything necessary to make the affair a thorough success had been provided by the Brooklynites. The best people of the city, to the number of one thousand, were present, and most of them were somewhat disappointed because there was not a larger Pan-American delegation in their midst. The visitors who did put in an appearance were cordially welcomed by President George Olcott and hospitably entertained by the more active members of the club, among whom were Directors James McKeen, Thomas S. Moore, John Notman, William H. Wallace, J. Sherwood Coffin, John F. Praeger, William A. Read, J. Spencer Turner, Henry L. Faris, Edward H. Litchfield, John N. Partridge, William W. Rossiter, and Theodore E. Smith.

The great majority of those present were club members and relatives, the only invited guests being Edward Eggleston, George William Curtis, Edward Lassetter Bynner, Robert Grant, W. Hamilton Gibson, F. Hopkinson Smith, Theodore Roosevelt, Mayor Chapin, Admiral Braine, General O. O. Howard, Benjamin C. Silliman, and Alonzo Slote.

Members of the general committee were around early on Tuesday morning. Mayor Grant had made provision for much hospitality by appointing a sufficiently large committee, as follows: Cornelius N. Bliss, chairman; T. C. T. Crain, secretary; Woodbury Langdon, William H. T. Hughes, Joel B. Erhardt, Granville P. Hawes, R. A. C. Smith, J. M. Munoz, D. A. De Lima, J. A. De Lima, G. Amsinck, Charles S. Smith, Cyrus T. Lawrence, Elihu Root, Charles R. Flint, J. Edward Simmons, E. H. Am-

midown, Alexander E. Orr, John H. Inman, William E. Dodge, Henry G. Marquand, Col. Daniel Appleton, Morris K. Jesup, John F. Scott, Radcliffe Baldwin, M. T. Coleman, Howland Robbins, Commodore Henry H. Porter, John R. Voorhis, Controller Myers, J. H. V. Arnold, George M. Olcott, William C. Whitney, George G. Haven, E. C. Stanton, J. W. Alexander, J. E. Alexander, E. J. Berwind, James A. Scrymser, W. M. Isaacs, Smith E. Lane, Ambrose Snow, and William L. Bull.

It was 10 o'clock when the male portion of the Conference party started out to visit the Normal College, the procession of carriages headed by a squad of mounted policemen. J. Edward Simmons, president of the board of education, and Dr. Thomas Hunter, president of the Normal College, received the visitors, who were individually introduced by Captain Bourke. Seats were provided for them on the platform in the lecture-hall, and these were occupied until the eighteen hundred female students commenced to march into the room. Then every delegate and attache arose and remained standing until the ladies had been seated.

One of the numbers on the programme was the rendition by the entire college of the Brazilian air "Life is Liberty," and in response to it the Brazilian delegates arose and bowed their thanks. A number of young ladies read selections in English, French, German, and Spanish, and one of them read a passage from Andrew Carnegie's "Triumphant Democracy." It brought the Pennsylvania delegate to his feet instantly, and when the reading was concluded he advanced to the front and said:

Permit me to say that this is the greatest compliment Andrew Carnegie ever had paid him—that any words of mine should be thought worthy of repetition in the Normal College. The compliment will be forever treasured by me with profound satisfaction.

President Simmons made a short statistical address and then a speech was demanded from Delegate Nicanor Bolet-Peraza.

Senor Peraza said it was a great misfortune, although a great honor, for him to be called on without preparation,

but on such an occasion he was ready to open his heart and let the sentiments flow. He admired the marvelous ingenuity of the American people. He and his colleagues had been deeply impressed by the new forces that had been developed in this country and by the unlimited progress the American people were making. But his admiration rose to a higher plane when he saw the development of the American people, not only in the natural sciences, but in the science of humanity. The American people had discovered that woman had a noble heart and a superior brain; that she had a clear intelligence, and that she had been endowed with the same light that God had put into the souls of men.

Here there was a tremendous outburst of applause, and when it subsided Senor Peraza went on to say that she had here her share of glory and of liberty. Older nations might boast of their material advances, the discovery of continents and the consummation of conquests, but America had surpassed them all because it had discovered, with other new forces, the true thoughts and intents of God with regard to women.

Delegate Carnegie spoke for a minute, and in the course of his remarks said that no man had ever done anything great who had not drawn the inspiration from his mother, a sentiment that was liberally applauded.

Delegate Caamaño, of Ecuador, who spoke in Spanish, said he recognized the fact that in America they saw the best kind of education. The people were not only brought up in the principles of morality, but in the principles of patriotism as well. He and his colleagues had gone through the country observingly, and in matters of education they had seen much they might advantageously imitate in their own countries.

The primary and other departments of the college were then inspected, and as the delegates were about to leave the building the eighteen hundred girls showed the strangers how American girls can cheer—a most surprising novelty. There was a mutual desire on the part of visitors and students to be sociable, and in a moment an enormous amount of handshaking was in progress. Mr. Curtis,

with the aid of Captain Bourke and attaché E. W. P. Smith, finally rescued their charges and took them out to the carriages.

"To the Metropolitan Museum of Art" was the next command, and there were found the ladies of the party, in charge of Lieutenant Lemly. President Henry G. Marquand, of the board of trustees, welcomed the gentlemen in a brief speech, and then all went through the galleries, escorted by William E. Dodge, C. R. Smith, Thomas Watson, John Bigelow, Hiram Hitchcock, D. O. Mills, Salem H. Wales, Cornelius Vanderbilt, General Di Cesnola, Smith E. Lane, Rev. John J. Hughes, and Brian J. Hughes. Among the ladies were Mrs. C. P. Huntington, Mrs. Andrew Carnegie, Mrs. W. E. Dodge, Mrs. H. G. Davis, Mrs. M. M. Estee, Mrs. William E. Curtis, Mrs. John G. Bourke, Mrs. John B. Henderson, Miss Aldrich, Mrs. Lemly, Miss Grace Davis, and Miss Anna Studebaker.

An hour or so was spent at luncheon and in wandering around the galleries, and then came a drive through the park to the American Museum of Natural History, where a committee of the trustees, composed of Morris K. Jesup, Adrian Iselin, D. Jackson Steward, James M. Constable, Charles Lanier, Oliver Harriman, Charles G. Langdon, Prof. Albert P. Bickmore and D. Willis James, received them. Mr. Jesup made a short speech of welcome, in which he succinctly told the history of the institution.

The stay at the museum was brief, and from thence the visitors were taken in their carriages to St. Patrick's Cathedral. Here Archbishop Corrigan was present to show off the beauties of the great structure.

When the party returned to the hotel there was awaiting it a delegation from the New York Board of Trade and Transportation, which presented an address of welcome to the Conference.

What was more than probable the most magnificent reception in the history of the Conference was given in the evening by the Union League Club. The ordinary furnishings of the club-house are rich and esthetic, but to these had been added more than half a million dollars'

worth of statuary, pictures, rugs, and orchids, loaned for the occasion by the millionaires of the metropolis. Any attempt to describe the decorations would necessarily fall far short of the facts. The art committee consisted of Eastman Johnson, Robert W. Van Boskerck, Alfred E. M. Purdy, Harry W. Watrous, William G. Nichols, and Thomas B. Clarke.

The members of the club who had charge of the preparations and of the reception of the guests were Joseph H. Choate, John Jay, Alonzo B. Cornell, Benjamin Brewster, Le Grand S. Cannon, H. O. Armour, Warner Miller, Jesse Seligman, Edward H. Ammidown, Benjamin H. Bristow, J. Pierpont Morgan, Collis P. Huntington, Anson G. McCook, William L. Strong, Charles G. Landon, Thomas C. Acton, John J. Knox, Alfred Van Santvoord, William Q. Riddle, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Alfred R. Whitney, Brayton Ives, William Rockefeller, George Bliss, Richard Butler, Elihu Root, Hugh N. Camp, J. Adriance Rush, Daniel G. Rollins, Henry H. Rogers, Frederick Kuhne, Joseph W. Howe, William M. Evarts, Noah Davis, Charles S. Smith, Andrew Carnegie, Stephen B. Elkins, S. V. R. Cruger, Daniel F. Appleton, William W. Astor, Frank Hiscock, D. O. Mills, General A. L. Lee, Joseph E. Gray, Joel B. Erhardt, Woodbury Langdon, Charles Lanier, Thomas L. James, Henry Villard, John Sloane, Frederick P. Olcott, Frederick D. Tappan, Marvelle W. Cooper, Horace Porter, Cephas Brainerd, Rufus B. Cowing, Theodore Roosevelt, Edward C. Sampson, William P. Clyde, Horace Russell, Walter W. Watrous, William D. Guthrie, and D. Seaver Page.

More than one thousand of the fifteen hundred invitations sent out were accepted.

Secretary Blaine was among the early arrivals of the more distinguished guests. General W. T. Sherman was another, followed closely by Secretary of the Navy Tracy. When the occasion was at its height there was a formal reception by President Chauncey M. Depew, assisted by Secretary Blaine and Mayor Grant. Later in the evening there was dancing in more than one of the apartments, participated in by members of the Conference party and the elite of the great metropolis.

Wednesday's weather made sweeping changes in the programme which had been arranged for the delectation of the visitors. Had the day been moderately fine a trip would have been made to Blackwell's Island, but the steadily-falling rain stood in the way and proved to be an effectual barrier. But the party did not stay in the hotel all the day long. Escorted by Delegate Cornelius Bliss several of the gentlemen took a look at Columbia College, where they met Acting President Dressler and President-elect Seth Low.

Another group of delegates, headed by Delegate Zegarra, enjoyed a visit to the church of St. Francis Xavier and the Xavier Club. Father Van Rensselaer and others of the clergy received the excursionists and made their stay as pleasant as possible.

Others went to the Barye exhibition, where there was a wealth of art in bronze and on canvas; but the greater number went out shopping, returning to the hotel late in the afternoon with their arms full of Christmas presents.

In the early evening the committee on opera was busy. The gentlemen on that organization were E. C. Stanton, William C. Whitney, George G. Haven, Woodbury Langdon, Granville P. Hawes, J. W. Alexander, Elihu Root, and Joel B. Erhardt. "Il Trovatore" was the opera, the performance took place in the Metropolitan Opera House, and nearly every member of the party attended.

The first object of interest to be examined on Thursday was the Brooklyn Bridge, and it was seen under the most favorable auspices. Delegate Cornelius Bliss, with his aids—William H. T. Hughes, Charles S. Smith, J. W. Alexander, William L. Bull, E. H. Ammidown, G. Am-sinck, Alexander E. Orr, and John H. Inman—was at the hotel before 10 o'clock, and very speedily had the carriages loaded up. As soon as the bridge had been admired, the drive was continued to the Equitable Building and to the rooms of the Lawyers' Club. Here the visitors were received by First Vice-President J. W. Alexander and Second Vice-President Samuel Borrowe. Half an hour of social chat was followed by an invitation to breakfast in the banquet hall. After the meal came speeches, Mr.

Alexander referring briefly to the Equitable Company and its work, Delegate Romero expressing his admiration for the country which made such institutions as the Equitable prosper, while Delegate Castellanos was laudatory in his comments on the American bar in general and the Lawyers' Club in particular.

It was expected that Secretary Blaine would have been present, but important advices from the State Department had called him away a couple of hours before. The absence of President Henry B. Hyde, which was also unavoidable, was likewise noticed by the speakers.

From the Equitable Building the delegates, headed by Inspector Williams, Captain McLaughlin, and a detail of policemen, marched to the Wall-street entrance of the Stock Exchange. There they were received by President William L. Bull and several members of the board of governors. President Bull made a brief speech of welcome, which was responded to by Delegate Manuel Aragon, of Costa Rica. When the delegates had been escorted to the gallery overlooking the floor, they exchanged volleys of cheers with the brokers.

The Chamber of Commerce was the next place on the itinerary, and when that was reached there was seen to be an enormous crowd awaiting the arrival of the visitors.

President Charles S. Smith welcomed the strangers in the following speech:

Gentlemen of the International American Congress: We, who have been privileged to live in this latter half of the nineteenth century, have witnessed some stirring events which mark epochs in the historic march of the human race. We have seen the emancipation of the slave in the United States and Brazil and the abolition of serfdom in Russia. Germany has been consolidated into a mighty empire, and united Italy embraces in her capital the seven hills of ancient Rome. France has for the third time, and, I believe, permanently, joined the sisterhood of republics which now dominate the Western Hemisphere. Japan has discarded at one bound her feudal institutions and established a government modeled after that of England, and the peaceful change of government in Brazil has excited the wonder and admiration of the world. [Great applause.]

I have, gentlemen, the profound conviction that the meeting of the International American Congress will initiate a movement in the politi-

cal and commercial welfare of the Western World which will take rank among the important events to which I have referred. Certainly if the great countries which you represent and the United States desire an intimate political and commercial union, of which your Congress is the prophecy and the promise, then time, patience, and mutual concessions are only required to secure this great result. The conclusions of your distinguished body will, no doubt, show the way which our merchants and yours will be glad to take.

In the opinion of this chamber, we need frequent and rapid means of communication between North and South America, and we believe that our respective governments should give liberal support to all sound enterprises which tend to this result.

Systems of credit, with proper banking facilities, will naturally follow the lead of the railroad and the steam-ship. If laws in either country embarrass the free movements of trade they should be modified as experience may dictate. If your and our lawmakers will do their part, the merchants of our respective countries will do the rest. [Applause.]

Delegate Aragon responded. He said:

For a long time we have been anticipating the pleasure of meeting the chamber of commerce. Here we are come with a purpose of increasing our commercial facilities, our trade with you; and you, we know, are anxious to trade with us. We know that we have many difficult questions to deal with; your president has pointed out one. We want increased facilities for communication between the respective countries. We want banking facilities. It is plain that we must have common coins for all these countries. In this respect I am very glad that you have opened the doors of the chamber of commerce that we may ask your advice on all these delicate questions. You may be sure that the sentiments expressed by your president are deeply felt by us, and that there will be no step you enter into that will not meet with our hearty co-operation.

We take this opportunity of thanking you for your cordial welcome and once more repeat our thanks to the whole people of the United States for their sympathy with our objects and for the welcome that has been extended to us.

Vigorous applause followed Delegate Aragon's address and as soon as it subsided President Smith introduced General Sherman. It was some moments before the old warrior could begin to speak, so noisy and continuous were the plaudits that greeted his arising. He spoke as follows:

All of you, of all nationalities and of all classes who are within the sound of my voice, welcome. It was not fair for the president to call upon me, a blunt old soldier, to respond to anything like a sentiment.

He must have known that I was glad to meet my old Spanish friends here, many of whom I have met in their own countries and abroad—friends none the less welcome to-day in the presence of the merchants of New York, in this the hall where they most do congregate.

Gentlemen, you have heard the welcome of the president of the chamber of commerce. Merchants mean what they say, and they generally go direct to the purpose, and as he has selected a single event in my somewhat checkered career, the "march to the sea," I may say that it was simply one of the many expedients resorted to by a soldier to accomplish what we all wanted—the union and preservation of the Government of the United States. [Great applause.]

We have not only a written Constitution, my foreign friends, but we have many traditions. One is, no entangling alliances. I doubt very much whether in your council in Washington you will form anything like a treaty; but we welcome your coming here to New York, traveling through our Middle and Northern States, and I hope you will go everywhere—California, Arizona, where you will hear your own language spoken; to the farthest north, Puget's Sound—that used to be Spanish territory too, now a flourishing and beautiful State in this Union of forty-two States, all pulling together, all your friends, all anxious that you should follow their good example.

But, no force, no persuasion. There we stand. If you find anything to imitate, imitate it. If you find anything that is not attractive, let it go by; for peoples differ, and countries differ. What is right for Chili may not be right for New York State. The same way with the Argentine Republic. The same way with Brazil.

Turning to the Brazilian delegation, the general said:

I remember your old Emperor very well indeed, and with nothing but the most profound affection personally, but if the people of Brazil want to be a republic, welcome them also. [Cheers.] We can not raise our hand to help them. We have no intention to do so. They are perfectly able to mind their own business, and I believe they will. [Cheers and laughter.]

I remember that old Emperor when he sat upon the stand in Philadelphia in 1876, when Evarts was making that eloquent address, a hundred years after the Declaration of Independence. The original document was read by a Mr. Harrison—a descendant of the Harrison who had signed it, and, I think, a relative of our President. He was reading it in the presence of forty thousand people, and I saw the old Emperor, Dom Pedro, with a paper before him. On looking over his shoulder I saw it was the fac-simile of the very paper from which Mr. Harrison read. I said to him, "Your Majesty, what so interests you, may I inquire?" Said he, "General Sherman, that is a copy of that paper, a fac-simile from date to signatures, and I am availing myself of this opportunity to see it and hear it and compare my copy with the

original. My father gave me that paper and told me to study it and heed its counsels.' [Applause.]

Now, my friends, study our Government, study our people, study our manufactures and our mercantile affairs here, there, everywhere, and if you find anything worthy of imitation, as I said before, imitate it. Otherwise, adopt your own. It may be better.

The people of the United States seek not to meddle with others. We seek no more territories. We have all we want. We say God-speed to Mexico, our nearest neighbor on the south, and to Canada on the north, we say "Work out your own solution, for it is a social problem after all." [Laughter and cheers.] We have forty-two States, besides Territories. That's about as many as should be united under one system of government. But to you we give our hearts, thoughts, and feelings, and may God bless you is the wish of every American citizen. [Prolonged applause.]

Delegate Zelaya, of Honduras, was the next speaker. He said :

We have come to this country to learn how much a strong will can accomplish and how much labor, devoted to the development of the natural resources of a vast and rich soil, can achieve. We have received inspiration from the genius of your incomparable men, from the memory of your great Washington, who, with his great deeds and his example, inflamed the soul of Bolivar and led him to secure the freedom of the other part of the continent. [Applause.]

We have come to gather inspiration from the recollection of your noble and ever to be lamented Hamilton, who is not only yours but ours as well, for your glories are the glories of the whole American continent. We have come to inspire ourselves with the memory and example of your great Franklin, as great in wisdom as in modesty, and of whom it has been truly said by a great orator that "he snatched the lightning from the heavens and the scepter from the tyrant." [Applause.]

We have come to inspire ourselves with the memory of Lincoln, who desired liberty not only for himself and those of his race, but for all the great human family; who redeemed four millions of slaves and freed your Republic from the curse of slavery and left it pure and resplendent as the rising sun. [Great applause.] It has been our good fortune to visit his last resting-place and with uncovered heads and reverent hearts to pay our tribute of admiration and respect.

To me the tomb of Lincoln seemed as a glorious monument after an ignominious Calvary. There I gathered a few flowers which I shall carry back to my children and to my countrymen as a symbol of the sweetness, goodness, and greatness of the man whose tomb we visited, in order that by contemplation they may learn to imitate the conduct of the great and good liberator of the enslaved.

We have come to inspire ourselves with the memory so dear to you of Garfield, of Grant, of Sheridan, of Sherman, and many other illustrious men who offer us an example of how to love a country, how to serve it, and how to die for it.

Americans of the North! You have the best claim to our friendship. With our embrace receive our fervent prayers to Almighty God for the continuance of His blessings, and do not forget your friends who have left their countries and homes to come here in behalf of their various nations to grasp your hands, to unite their hearts to yours in a single and generous throbbing of love, of friendship, and of fraternity.

Delegate Romero, of Mexico, said it was only in a country like this that such an instance furnished by General Sherman's retirement could be witnessed. In European countries such a victorious soldier would have been a dictator and continued to hold power. Not so, here, however. Mexico had followed the example of the United States in achieving independence and in the establishing of republican institutions.

Ex-Representative S. V. White called attention to the fact that the nations of Pan-America were enjoying the first family reunion in four hundred years. Mr. White agreed with General Sherman that the United States was large enough; all that was needed was a closer alliance of the nations on this hemisphere.

Luncheon was then served and the party returned to the hotel.

The earlier portion of the evening was spent at the armory of the Seventh Regiment, where, commanded by Col. Daniel Appleton and Adjutant Rand, the famous citizen soldiers of New York, gave a very fine exhibition of modern tactics in the manual and in foot movements. When both dress-parade and review were over Colonel Appleton conducted Delegate Zegarra, of Peru, to the center of the hollow square, where that gentleman complimented the regiment on its skill.

Several of the delegates and attachés did not remain long in the armory and some of them did not enter it at all. The cause of the defection was the big fire at the Presbyterian Hospital; all of the strangers wanted to see the fire department in action.

Later there was a reception given the Conference party at the Scottish Rite Temple by the Spanish-American Literary Society. The prettily decorated hall was crowded with members of the society. A literary and musical programme was rendered in excellent style and the various numbers were thoroughly appreciated by the guests of the evening. Dancing and an elaborate supper concluded the evening's entertainment.

The officers of the society present were: President, Santiago Perez Triana; vice-president, Fidel G. Pierra; primer vocal tesorero, Benjamin Giberga; segundo vocal, Climaco Calderon; secretario, Rafael de C. Palomino.

The members of the reception committee were: Benjamin J. Guerra, Benjamin Giberga, Enrique Trujillo, Emilio Agramonte, jr., Miguel Castellanos, Julio Ponce de Leon, José Miguel Parraga, Ernesto Molina, Francisco Sellen, Rafael de C. Palomino.

Nearly all the members of the Conference party, gentlemen and ladies, commenced the last day of sight-seeing in New York by going to the headquarters of the fire department shortly after 10 o'clock. Commissioner Henry B. Purroy, president of the board, received the visitors and escorted them through the building, Superintendent Jones explaining the workings of the alarm system. In the rear of the structure the life-saving corps, commanded by Captain McAdam, who, in turn was directed by Chief Bonner, gave an exhibition of their skillful daring.

A little walk was then taken to the model police station of Captain Gunner, where Police Commissioner Voorhis met the party. The entire *modus operandi* was fully explained.

Shortly before noon a visit was paid to the Seventh Regiment Armory, the guests being in charge of Inspector Williams. The floor of the armory was occupied by a picked battalion of police, commanded by Inspector Byrnes. Captain Allaire, of the famous Broadway squad, acted as lieutenant-colonel, while Captain Alexander Warts performed the duties of major. Ten companies participated in the maneuvers, which were executed with wonderful accuracy and rewarded with much gratifying applause.

Fire Commissioner Howland Robbins was waiting in Union Square when the party drove thither. At his request Delegate Aragon, of Costa Rica, pulled the hook in box 428 and brought out quite a respectable section of the fire department which, after doing some very rapid work in the moistening of curious but uninvited spectators, was highly complimented upon its promptness and agility.

The majority of the party spent the later portion of the afternoon in gazing at the art treasures in the Vanderbilt mansion. The excursionists were received at about 4 o'clock by William K. Vanderbilt, Cornelius Vanderbilt, and Chauncey M. Depew. When the inspection was over an exquisite collation was served.

The home of Mr. Henry Marquand was also visited by several of the ladies of the party; the pictures and statuary were enjoyed and the entertainment was most hospitable.

The concluding event of the visit to New York was the banquet given in the evening by the Spanish-American Commercial Union. This took place at Delmonico's and partially parallel with it was a dinner given the ladies by the same organization in the same building.

A description of the decorations which made the great banquet hall truly magnificent would be far short of the actual condition of affairs. The floral beauties were of the highest order, while the walls of the apartment were covered with silk flags, each of the countries in the Conference being represented, even the new flag of the Brazilian Republic being with the others. The menus were more artistic and much more expensive than any similar souvenirs presented elsewhere. Every arrangement was complete in each and every minor and major particular.

Grace was said by the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Hall, who prayed for peace and for brotherhood among the nations of the earth.

Then followed the feast—solid and liquid. First to address the assemblage was William H. T. Hughes. His opening words produced order. He said:

Gentlemen, the two places of honor in all programmes, as I understand them, are the first and last. On the programme for your enter-

tainment the first one was naturally and by all good right given to the city of New York, so worthily represented by his honor the mayor, who welcomed you to its precincts; and it will not be out of place for me to say here how thoroughly the committee appreciated his efforts to assist us in every way in promoting the success of your week's entertainment in this city.

My duty, as president here to-night, is to welcome you in behalf of the "Spanish-American Commercial Union," to which is given the last, and, as I said before, the second place of honor in the programme. The "Spanish-American Commercial Union," gentlemen, comprises merchants, bankers, and manufacturers, and persons who appreciated the importance and value, for this great country, of the extension of our trade with the countries south of us, and I think it only natural that the people of a great continent whose governments and institutions are to-day, thank God, all founded on the great principle of a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, should desire to trade and have friendly relations with one another.

The main, and, I may say, sole object of the "Spanish-American Commercial Union," is to encourage and promote trade and intercourse between the three Americas, and if it is in the power of any of us to in any way aid you gentlemen in your deliberations tending to increase such trade and intercourse, you may rely upon it that our best services will be placed at your disposal.

I will not here attempt, with so many illustrious speakers to follow me, much more capable of dilating on the subject than I am, to enumerate the many benefits which may be derived from this Conference. What was perhaps a simple chance led me to leave my native land, that great republic at the southern end of this continent, and come to this still greater one and adopt it, or perhaps I may more appropriately say, have it adopt me. But I have never forgotten, and hope I may never forget the land of my birth, and I hope some day to see it vying in friendly rivalry with its elder sister for the first position. I think I can honestly say that my change of venue has not been a detriment to my native land, as in a humble way I have been able to do a good deal to increase and foster its trade with this great country; and this, gentlemen, I wish to use as an illustration, and to impress upon you the fact that the simplest and easiest way of bringing about the great results that we look for from your Conference is for you to suggest and aid in bringing about greater intercourse between the countries you represent, and the natural intermingling of their peoples will surely bring about an increase of the trade.

The response was by Delegate Zegarra, of Peru, who said :

GENTLEMEN : On the eve of our departure, and after having been the recipients of so many and so delicate and highly appreciated distinctions, we find ourselves in the midst of a young association the aims of which have much in common with ours. It is a trite truth that trade has been in the world's history, and is even now, one of the most potent agencies of civilization, and that the merchant, while looking after his own particular interests, and careful even, has always, unconsciously to himself, advanced the material interests of his neighbors. But in America, and I use the word in its broadest sense, commerce will advance not only the material interests of the cluster of republics comprised within its boundaries, but will advance those higher interests likewise which tend to make men of different latitudes regard each other as brothers, and to knit together races and peoples into one powerful, prosperous, and happy family.

It is when thus aided and supported by the activity of wise traders that the plans of the statesmen have the best possibility of success, and the decisions of the council chamber are feeble indeed when not in harmony with the necessities best felt and judged in the counting rooms.

It is thus, indeed, gentlemen, that you co-operate with us to a larger extent than you may be aware in the most difficult and honorable duties with which we are now entrusted.

In almost all the essential points which form the programme of the International American Conference you are peculiarly fitted to express an opinion worthy of all consideration.

You are masters of the facts of the case, perfectly acquainted with the ground which we are about to explore, guided almost exclusively by our hearty wishes of doing such things, and only such things, as may lead to the welfare of this whole continent.

Your suggestions, therefore, must be of the greatest weight and are not to be disregarded ; and I am sure that my colleagues are as well-disposed as myself to receive and appreciate them in a spirit of candor and justice, so as to secure the best results for the ultimate success of the great work of the Conference.

The position which the Spanish-American Commercial Union occupies is such a peculiar one that it is yours, gentlemen, to bring forth much good to the work in which we all feel so interested. According to my judgment you are called upon to enact a most important part in the development of the new state of things, which I trust is not far off, which will imbue America with a new life, the life of progress and greatness, through a more intimate intercourse between American nations.

The kindest word is always reserved for the last moment of parting, and the last hand-shaking is the heartiest. I address you the one and give you the other in tendering to you our thanks for this princely feast,

rich and splendid, of unparalleled brilliancy. It is more so under the happy commingling, around its profusions and delicacies, of so many hearts into one single aspiration, of so many minds into one single purpose—the happiness of all American republics.

I urge you, gentlemen of the Spanish-American Commercial Union, never to forget that such is the object you should attain, that is the supreme interest you are now to consult.

Raise high with me this wine, and as we drain the glass of joy let our looks be reflected in the crystal of gladness, and as the light breaks against its coruscations into its primitive symbolical colors, reminiscent of peace and holy covenant, let us work with a will to endow our American nations with what will undoubtedly be their richest wealth, with justice to one another, peace without end, and never ending prosperity.

Señor Zagarra's remarks were loudly cheered at times.

Then Mr. Hughes announced the toast of "The City of New York," but before calling on Mayor Grant to respond he pinned upon that gentleman's breast a replica in solid gold of the silver badge which each committee had worn while on duty during the week.

Mayor Grant, who was heartily greeted, said:

GENTLEMEN: For me to say that I am grateful for your very cordial reception would only be an expression of the heart that I am sure you know is sincere. For the kind token or souvenir which the Chairman has been kind enough to pin upon my breast this evening I return to him and the committee my most heartfelt thanks. I at the same time wish to say to him and the rest of the committee that I shall keep it in kind remembrance of the many very pleasant things that have occurred within the last week. I also wish to express to the members of the committee, who have been spoken of here, my thanks, if I may be permitted, on behalf of the citizens of New York, for the efficient way in which they have performed their duties. The work of its Chairman, Mr. Bliss, I am sure you all appreciate; for no more modest man do I know in this city, nor do I know of another gentleman who would work as hard as he has upon this occasion. To the Chairman, this evening, and the other gentlemen of the committee who have been so kind, I return the same amount of thanks that I do to Mr. Bliss. I am sure that all who are citizens join me in these thanks, and I only hope we may have the pleasure of calling upon them again to perform duties of a like nature.

I am sure, gentlemen, that you will excuse a very busy man for reading the few remarks that I have to make to you this evening.

The importance of any particular city is indicated in part by its population, in part by its wealth, and in part by its history, so far as its history affords just expectation of its future development. The history

of the world has been a history of cities. The story of their foundation, progress, influence, and decline, and the names of the state municipalities stand forth synonymous of certain stages of culture and development. In the word "advance" is bound up the idea of the development of art and the cultivation of taste for the beautiful. In the word "wrought" is epitomized our conception of stalwart manhood, vigorous thought, republican energy, and imperial splendor. In the London of to-day we have the key to the progress of Britain. In the word Paris we have the evidence of the genius of the French people. In the martial Berlin, with its ever-moving troops, we behold the spirit of Bismarck's Germany. It is no less true that New York symbolizes America. Her ample streets, her crowded walks, her magnificent shipping, her business palaces, her stately residences, her public buildings, her institutions, all speak of that crowning symmetrical development so characteristic of American life.

We are a commercial people, but not merely a commercial people; this city is a commercial city, but it is more than a commercial city. In that it differs from many places of considerable size. This difference tends to enlarge our interest and deepen the fellow feeling we have for men of other nations. Upon an occasion of civic rejoicing in Athens a stranger could have felt no pleasure in the enthusiasm. In a public demonstration in Rome one not a Roman would have known that he had no part or lot. In an hour of municipal rejoicing in London, Paris, or Berlin the element of nationality would have predominated. It is not so with us. In our moments of loftiest enthusiasm, in our times of greatest rejoicing over the prosperity of our beloved city, there is not a man of any clime who may not feel that his countrymen have had a share in the accomplishment of our marvelous development. Such we have been made by the combined force, by the wisdom, and by the genius of men of all countries. They have been co-workers with us in building our temple of freedom. Unhampered by governmental fetters, unrestrained by governmental laws, unimpeded by unjust discrimination, they have all demonstrated in this commercial metropolis the character and ability possessed by them. And thus it happens that there is a breadth to our civilization, and largeness and wideness to our development, that has been the marvel and astonishment of those who visit us from other lands. Not the least among the nations which have contributed to our greatness by their business sagacity and commercial enterprise has been the Spanish-American portion of our population. [Applause.] I could not help thinking how true and forcible were the words of your distinguished representative, Señor Zagarra, who, in his reply to the words of welcome addressed to the delegates, alluded to the prosperity attained by no inconsiderable portion of our citizens as the result of the commercial ties binding us to the republics of the south. I see in the visit of the men in whose honor this banquet is given an evidence that these ties will be strengthened; and as a New Yorker I hail as not the least of the advantages which will accrue from the close

association of our people increased opportunity for the extension of that reciprocal influence which has been so beneficial in the past. [Applause.]

“Our next neighbor” was the toast assigned Delegate Romero, who said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Spanish-American Commercial Union: I thank you very much for your toast in honor of the country I represent as its delegate to the International American Conference. It fell to the lot of Mexico to be the contiguous and nearest neighbor of the United States, and I sincerely hope that we will always be good friends.

As the city of New York is the commercial center of this great nation, the increase of the commercial relations of the country with its Southern neighbors is, of course, a matter of interest for you, and as such increase has in my opinion to begin with Mexico, which is your nearest neighbor, I hope I will be allowed to allude to the conditions which I think are necessary to the increase of that trade.

Of the several efforts which have been made to increase the commercial relations between Mexico and the United States, only have been successful those in which the Mexican Government acted alone, while those requiring the co-operation of the United States Government have not met with the same fate.

The establishment of steam-ship lines between Mexican and the United States ports, and the construction in Mexico of railways, which are really extensions of trunk lines of the United States, have proved the most efficient means of developing the commercial relations between the two countries, and they have been carried out in consequence of the liberal subsidies granted by the Mexican Government to steam-ship lines and to railroad companies, and which amount to many millions of dollars.

Several treaties have been negotiated at different times for the purpose of promoting and increasing trade between the two countries. The first one that I am aware of was signed in the City of Mexico in 1857, by Mr. Forsyth, with the administration of General Comonfort; but I do not know whether it was ever submitted to the United States Senate for ratification. The second treaty, known as the name of the McLane-Ocampo treaty, granted to the United States extraordinary commercial advantages, and was concluded at Vera Cruz in 1859, and rejected by the United States Senate.

The Congress of the United States, foreseeing that communication by rail between the two Republics would be the basis of a great increase of commerce between them, passed August 7, 1882, a bill appropriating a certain sum for the payment of the salaries and expenses of a commission to negotiate a commercial treaty with Mexico. The President of the United States appointed as commissioner one of the most dis-

tinguished citizens and greatest statesmen this country ever had, General Ulysses S. Grant [applause], who being well acquainted with the resources, conditions, and future of Mexico, and at the same time being a just and upright man, never entertained the idea of making a one-sided agreement; but intending to negotiate an arrangement of a permanent character, concluded a treaty for the promotion of the reciprocal interests of both countries. I have no doubt that if that treaty had been carried into effect that it would have greatly developed trade between them, as seventy-eight articles, the produce or manufacture of the United States, would have been admitted in Mexico free of all duties, whether federal, State, or municipal.

Mexico had to overcome many difficulties to accept that treaty. The Government there depends for its support mainly, and almost exclusively, on the import duties, and can not reduce them without serious loss of its public revenues with all its evil consequences. Although Mexico is not yet a manufacturing country, several industries have sprung up there, under the shadow of high import duties, which afford incidental protection; and many of such industries were threatened with utter ruin by the franchises granted to similar manufactures of the United States. The long credits given to Mexican merchants for the payment of goods bought in Europe, and in fact the whole mercantile system at present established in Mexico, were also endangered by the stipulations of a reciprocity treaty with the United States. Notwithstanding all these obstacles, the Mexican Government, wishing to increase her trade with the United States, overcame them all, and the treaty of reciprocity was signed January 20, 1883.

It was then thought by American statesmen that the production of manufactured articles in this country, stimulated by the protective laws enacted since 1861, at the commencement of the civil war, had then begun to exceed the home consumption, notwithstanding the fact that its home market—on an average of about fifty millions of inhabitants, consuming proportionately more than any other people—was a very large one. It was thought that in order not to check that production it had become necessary to open new markets, and none was certainly more convenient than that of Mexico, a country which adjoins the United States for over 2,000 miles; which is inhabited by 12,000,000 people; which produces relatively very few manufactured articles, and which possesses all the advantages of climate, and the labor necessary for the production of the raw material which this country needs as a supply for her manufactories.

The reciprocity treaty, however, met with opposition from some comparatively small productive classes of this country, who considered their interest endangered, and it only passed the Senate of the United States by the number of votes absolutely required for its ratification.

The necessary bill to carry out the treaty having been introduced in the House of Representatives, in accordance with the constitutional provision which requires that all laws affecting the public revenue

should originate in the House, it was referred to the Committee of Ways and Means, composed, as it is well known, of the most eminent financiers and principal leaders of the two political parties into which the House was divided. The committee intrusted the study of the treaty and the preparation of the report thereon to a distinguished Representative of Michigan, who was thought to be especially acquainted with the matter and peculiarly fitted for such a work. After due consideration of this subject, only one member, Mr. Abram S. Hewitt, out of the thirteen of the committee, reported in favor of the treaty.

The report of the majority seemed to be a libel against Mexico rather than a report, and rested its adverse vote on the treaty on the ground that "the release of revenue was somewhat in favor of our Mexican neighbors;" but immediately after this assertion, it averred that "while the advantage in respect to duties released would seem to be, for the present, somewhat in favor of our people" (the United States), "the treaty would be an unwarrantable interference with productive industries carried on in our country," meaning sugar and tobacco. although soon thereafter it was acknowledged that "the importation from Mexico of both those articles, during the last fiscal year, was comparatively small." The Mexican tobacco could never affect the production of the same article in this country as the quality of each is quite different.

The other reasons offered in that report for the rejection of the treaty were not any sounder, as they consisted in saying that "there can not be any reciprocity, inasmuch as Mexico has only 10,000,000 inhabitants (upon the authority of the report), while the United States have 60,000,000;" that "the machinery and agricultural implements" (which were among the articles of the United States on the free list of the treaty) "were not imported into Mexico, where there was no need for them," when the statistical data published annually by the United States Government showed the reverse to be the case; that "the Mexican Government is a confederated Republic in name, and a military despotism in fact," which, even if true, would not affect at all the economical questions which the treaty intended to solve; that "although we have lived together as neighbors, geographically, for a century, we are yet to-day in a manner strangers to each other," overlooking the fact that two neighboring nations connected by the sea and by rail can not be stranger to each other, and that if any estrangement existed it would cease with the increase of commerce which the treaty intended to accomplish; that "to speak of permanent or desirable commercial relations with a Government and people thus estranged from us in sentiment, is without hope of success or promise of substantial permanent results;" and the report itself tends to make each country still more a stranger to the other; that "the first duty of the United States was to protect its citizens from the effects of constantly recurring revolutions in Mexico," when the fact is that no political disturbances of any kind have taken place there

for several years past, and none since the treaty was signed; that, "the United States citizens have been long exposed on the Mexican border to depredations by lawless bands," when in fact the Mexicans have naturally been the main sufferers from past disturbances; that "the United States citizens have no adequate protection to person and property in Mexico," which statement is, I imagine, at variance with the reports thereon received by the State Department; that "the Mexican tariff" (whose asperities, as regards the United States, were removed by the reciprocity treaty) "was a system of rank injustice," a pardonable qualification in view of the little knowledge possessed of the Mexican fiscal laws; that "while such a system exists, it was useless to conclude any treaty" when the object of this treaty was precisely the partial abrogation of said tariff; that "the establishment of the free zone was itself a revolutionary act, in violation of the Constitution of Mexico and hostile to the United States Government," a statement wholly without foundation and due to the lack of sufficient knowledge of Mexican history; that "although treaties of extradition between the two countries do and have existed, their provisions have never been fairly enforced," when the archives of the State Department must show that Mexico has delivered not only foreigners whose extradition has been requested in accordance with the treaty, but even her own citizens, while the United States Government has never reciprocated; that "France and England had demanded concessions upon several important points, in favor of their citizens and subjects, before assuming the attitude of *commercial allies*," when the treaty practically placed the citizens of the United States in a better mercantile position than the citizens or subjects of any other power; and lastly, that "the expediency of the treaty was very doubtful, under a political point of view," when the treaty did not intend to solve any political question, and only dealt with commercial problems.

It is true that several of the members of the Committee of Ways and Means who signed the report stated that they did not concur in all the reasons assigned therein, but they all agreed to its recommendations, and, as they did not specify the reasons upon which they were at variance, it is to be supposed that they accepted some or most of them.

It would be almost an insult to the people of the United States to account for the failure of the reciprocity treaty by such flimsy, incongruous, and contradictory reasons as those stated in the report of the majority of the committee, nor that their object was to protect sectional interests, which, without foundation, were considered jeopardized, as there is no reform, no matter how insignificant it may be, that will not affect some interests, regardless of the general benefit of the whole country. The only rational and philosophical explanation which I find is that the production of the manufactured articles of the United States had not then reached such a degree as to make it necessary to adopt measures to open foreign markets; and that, therefore, the effort then made with that object did not succeed because it was premature.

If such measure could not be carried out when it was limited to Mexico alone, I do not think it was likely to be successful if extended to the other American nations.

I think that the American people have all the ingenuity and fitness necessary to compete with any other people in the world in the production of manufactured articles. It is true that the higher wages paid here, the import duties on raw material, and the high price of fuel make the production of certain goods dearer here than in some other countries; but it must be observed at the same time that the application of machinery, which is used here on a larger scale than in other nations, cheapens production to such an extent that many articles are made cheaper here than anywhere else, as I believe is the case with the manufacture of steel rails at the Edgar Thompson Works, in Pittsburgh, Pa., where everything is done mechanically, and as natural gas is used as a fuel the cost ought to be less than anywhere else. If the manufacture of other articles has not yet reached that level it is due, in my opinion, to the fact that its production is not large enough for the consumption of the home market, which is such a large one—of over 65,000,000 of people—and to the fact that the protection afforded manufactures by high import duties on similar articles made in other countries keeps up high prices, which makes manufacturing here a profitable business and precludes for the present the necessity of looking for foreign markets.

But when production shall exceed consumption the object of those protective measures will have ceased, and the time for revision will then come. When this happens the cost of production will be reduced to such a degree as to permit competition with similar manufactures of any other countries. In the mean while it has been premature to speak of adopting the necessary measures for opening foreign markets to the manufactured articles of the United States, in view of the fact that they are not yet produced in sufficient quantity for the home market, where they are sold at a higher price than they could command abroad.

Such had been my views up to the time when this International American Conference met, and, since then, the expressions of opinion I have heard and the demonstrations I have witnessed in the principal productive centers of this country during the recent excursion of the Delegates to the Conference, and those which are now being made in this city—the metropolis of the country and the emporium of its commerce—have been such that I confess my views begin to shake, and I am inclined to believe that the situation is changing; that public opinion, which really controls the destinies of the nation, favors the adoption of the necessary measures for the opening of new markets abroad, and that it is becoming now possible to carry out similar provisions to those contemplated in the reciprocity treaty with Mexico.

It is my earnest wish that such provisions or any other measures which will increase the commercial relations of our respective countries

and the United States will be adopted at an early date for the mutual benefit of all concerned, and no better opportunity can certainly be offered for such purpose than the meeting in the city of Washington of the International American Conference, at the invitation of the Government of the United States, and in compliance with an act of Congress.

Ex-Chamberlain William M. Ivins was the next speaker. His remarks were in Spanish, on the subject "International American commerce," and the following is a translation thereof:

We are here to-night as guests of the South American Commercial Union, and there is not one of us, among either the hosts or the guests, who does not feel the deepest interest in the momentous questions that are to come under the consideration of the International American Conference.

It is necessary, before all things, that we should know and esteem each other in our national characteristics; that we must know and see each other in our business characters; and, in order to superinduce trade, which is always an effect and never a cause, we must know all about each other, our respective wants as well as our respective credit-worthiness.

The problem is not going to be solved by our giving subsidies to our steam-ships and our sailing-vessels. We must have cheap goods to sell before we can have any goods to carry. If our manufacturers can make and sell their goods as cheaply as their competitors, our ships will need no bounties to enable them to carry these goods. If our manufacturers can not do this, our steam-ships, bounty or no bounty, will have no goods to carry. Ships are the children and not the parents of commerce. The flag follows commerce, and not commerce the flag, in these modern days of ours, when the industrial régime has taken the place of the régime of war.

It is said that our ships would have plenty to carry outward if they had anything to carry inward. Well, whose fault is that? We have only ourselves to blame. We can quickly put an end to that complaint by taking the duty off your sugar and your wool. If our trade is to grow it is for us to study South America, not for us to ask South America to study us. Our producers of manufactured goods can not have their pennies and their cake at the same time. They can possess the home market exclusively by making the consumer pay a high tariff on all imported goods, whether raw materials or manufactured, but if they want to have foreign markets as well they must abandon the high tariff which results in the manufacture of their goods at costs which put them out of competition for the world's markets.

It is well enough for us to cry America for Americans. This will do for the sellers. But how about the buyers? Have Americans any such perfect community of international interest and international

purpose that they will consent to buy in the dearest rather than in the cheapest markets? Or are they likely to do so merely for the pleasure of dealing with each other? I think not, at least until there shall have been many more of International American Congresses and to which your grandchildren's grandchildren shall have been the delegates.

We may talk of reciprocal tariffs. There are difficulties here. In the first place, 80 per cent. of all your goods which now come into this country come in free of duty, while all of the manufactured goods which we ship to you in return include in their cost a high protective duty. In the second place, we of the United States should know that it is only to betray our ignorance of the conditions of government in South and Central America to insist too strongly upon the possibilities of reciprocal duties. We have ample means other than those afforded by the tariff for raising a national revenue, and could, if we so desired, dispense with our tariff altogether. If it were necessary we could, at any rate, dispense with a surplus revenue of one hundred million dollars.

We levy taxation in excess of our needs, exclude your goods from our markets, and then complain that trade is bad. In your countries, however, you have all you can do to raise enough money for the most economical uses of your treasuries, and a tax upon the exportation and importation of goods is practically the only means for raising a national revenue. This is so much the case that what for us might be regarded as, and would be, an absolutely prohibitory duty would in Bolivia or Venezuela, for example, be nothing more than a tariff for revenue only. The best sort of reciprocity treaty is that we should agree all around not to tax trade in excess of the actual necessities of government, and then leave the question as to what, in view of all the circumstances in each country, is the best way of supplying those necessities, to the good sense of each country.

As to the suggestion for a single international silver coin, with a uniform silver standard, let us bear in mind that the natural laws of trade always and invariably nullify the unnatural laws of states and legislatures. In all international trade—for international trade is only barter—silver will pass solely at its commodity value, and it is not possible to establish an invariable equation between gold and silver. A uniform coinage, however, will have the inestimable benefit of simplifying the process of exchanges, and so bring in its wake tremendous commercial advantages.

The conditions of our countries, north and south, are radically different. Ours is a highly developed industrial community, as you who have seen it so thoroughly have every reason to know. With the advantages there are disadvantages, and these latter you have not in your country, because you have not the highly developed conditions of production out of which they spring and which are so conducive to all sorts of social disturbances.

Your countries have untold mineral and agricultural wealth. If you become the miners and the farmers of the world, perhaps you may escape

the evils and dangers of a highly developed industrial community. You should consider yourself happy as a country in that you do not hear in your own lands the rumblings which are beginning to be heard here as in Europe of the conflict between labor and capital. You have seen the brightest side of our country. But you must remember that it is just because this light is so strong and brilliant that it also casts a deep shadow.

There is one more most important thing which we have to learn from you. You have been wiser far than we in not granting your great franchises in perpetuity, and so give birth to powerful institutions—states within states—the interests of which may become divergent from those of the states and which may become omnipotent in legislative halls by controlling elections, by creating plutocratic senates, or taking active possession of gubernatorial chairs.

We must forget that such a thing as war is possible. Let us recognize that modern society exists on industrial bases, on the common brotherhood, and not the common enmity of man. As we have shown the world a successful democracy, let us teach it by our own example that, as between American States, war for the future is abolished. Let us as the active initiators organize our half of the world, so far as international relations are concerned, in such a way that all international disputes shall be submitted to arbitration, just as in each of our countries disputes between individuals are submitted to the courts.

Let us perfect our systems of domestic law. Let us perfect our public and private international laws. Let our treaties be models for mankind. Let us study our respective national institutions. Let us in all things learn each from the other. Let us qualify ourselves properly to judge wherein we may be of mutual aid and benefit. Let us always remember that character among nations, as among men, lies at the bottom of genuine prosperity. Let us make our international motto "Equality and fraternity," or, better yet, the motto of the United States of Brazil, "Order and progress." Let us always keep America in the forefront of the great democratic movement and if we look well after these things our trade relations will take care of themselves. The question is not how we shall make money, but how splendidly and successfully we shall guide and control the great democratic experiment.

Delegate Alfonso, of Chili, spoke as follows:

GENTLEMEN: One experiences a natural feeling of pleasure and satisfaction and, one might say, pride upon being the object of manifestations such as those now observable in the city of New York, which by reason of its population, its commerce, and its wealth can well be considered the metropolis of free and independent America.

And this union, which, like all important enterprises, can not be the work of a day nor the fruit of a single effort, can be brought about and realized little by little, in furtherance of the progress and well-being of

all the nations of this continent, by directing the common effort to the attaining of the objects of the International Conference, called to meet in Washington, and which, it is confidently expected, will make a long stride in the direction of the desired union.

It is a fact that we Americans have begun to commingle with more frequency and with more intimacy; to mutually know each other better; to form a more correct and complete idea of our interests and necessities, and this will make it easy to eradicate the prejudices and errors which may have been the cause of unfounded jealousies.

And at the same time, why should not the whole continent have a common coin, which shall both facilitate and expedite transactions in the many necessities of life?

And why should it not have the same standard of weights and measures, which would be of great advantage to the operations of commerce and industry in the international field?

Who could oppose the existence of a single system of customs regulations, a system simple in its mechanism, easy in its application, and economic in its results?

Without fear of falling into error, permit me to assert that even if a strong and determined impulse did not exist, all this could be attained without much labor, and probably without any sacrifice, if only we are governed by the conviction of a mutual and obvious advantage; and it is evident that the results would be all the more complete if, having the same ends in view, sanitary regulations in the relations between nation and nation should be prescribed, limiting them strictly to what is indispensable to the preservation of the public health, avoiding unnecessary obstructions to travelers and commerce.

If patents on inventions and trade-marks were amenable to equitable regulations which should constitute on the whole continent a guaranty to the owners of property; if criminals and persons charged with grave offenses should be delivered over to the authorities of the country wherein the crime is committed, in accordance with simple rules of easy application, for no nation can have any interest in retaining within its limits corrupt and evil elements; if, finally, public business should meet in all parts of America with prompt consideration and action, then all this could be done without much labor.

This, I believe, would be the way to march with firm step towards the union, for work alone, properly laid out, has elements of durability and stability. All this is not only possible, but practicable, and there is no doubt that the result would be more complete and of easier attainment if, what is the most possible and practicable, means of communication by land and sea should be extended and multiplied.

I close expressing the wish that our common land of America may exist peaceful and assured of its future, dedicated to the productive labors of peace, united by sentiments of fraternity and strengthened by the community of its interests.

"International justice," was the toast to which Elihu Root was called upon to respond. He said:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: International justice has been done, and well done, here to-night at the dinner. And it has been fittingly done, for the Swiss, Delmonico, representative of the oldest sister among Republics, has furnished in the chief city of the country of Washington the substantial basis for peace and good will to the representatives of two continents of Republican government. And not only has international justice been done, and well done, but it has been condoned. The North American Indian, the immediate ancestor of those savages whom European tourists describe as residing in the outskirts of Harlem, used to make his captives run the gantlet of clubs and knives. The good old-fashioned pirate of the Spanish main made his invited guests walk the plank. The captives of our kindness we have compelled during the past week to run the gantlet and walk the plank through the muddy streets of our busy mart, till they must have said "How the Greek taught the use of the flute to the shepherds of Arcadia." In their turn the shepherds piped unto the Pan-American, and he has danced till, as I have been privately informed, in very weakness he has wished that he could lie down with McGinty, at the bottom of the sea.

This dinner has given not only an illustration of international justice done, but of international injustice forgiven, by its illustration of the first principle of international law; for never did white-winged and glad-eyed peace come down to earth but she found the lion and the lamb lying down together, and always the lamb inside of the lion. [Laughter.] That is the first principle of international justice. [Laughter.] Alas! that it has been so! Where in the history of nations can be found a page which has not been sullied by acts of injustice, done in the name of the nation, which would have been spurned by the Indians? Where in the history of nations can be found a case in which the passion, the miscalled patriotism of the people, has not pushed aside that sense of justice which would actuate the leaders of every nation in their dealings? But we here, upon these American continents, have made long strides toward that millennial idea of international justice. I call it a millennial idea because it is the last, ultimate attainment of man. You know that progress is always through the individual to the general. Justice, like charity, begins at home. Men must be just first to each other. Nations must be just first among themselves before they are just afterwards to each other. [Applause.] I say that we have made long strides towards this millennial and European idea of international justice. The virgin soil of this New World has been the great workshop and laboratory of experiment in government. The men who landed here, whether North or South, whether of Teutonic, Celtic, or Latin birth, found themselves freed from the bonds which limited them in the Old World; from the bonds of class

distinction; from the bonds of poverty; from the bonds of rank and wealth. There were no palaces and no hovels, no princes and no paupers; but here, on the virgin soil of this New World, they found the opportunity to work out the problems of free government unrestricted and untrammelled. [Applause.] And here we have set an example in these United States of America, and in every nation whose representative listens to my voice to-night, of faithful, God-fearing, and man-loving effort towards working out the great problems of humanity. [Applause.] We have done these things towards reaching this utopian idea of justice among nations; the process and method of national injustice is by war and the threat of war. We have accomplished this: that the people who are to stand up and receive the bullets are the people to determine whether there shall or shall not be war. The men who are to do the weary marching and to lie down and die are the men to say whether it shall be war or peace; and the women and children whose homes shall be desolate have their voice to-day in all this broad land in determining whether war shall be waged or not. From ocean to ocean, from the frozen North to the frozen South, no monarch rules who, to heal his injured vanity or promote his vain ambition, can send his subjects to death and homicide in an unjust war. [Applause.] So much, fellow-Americans, North and South, Teutons, Celts, and Latins, we have accomplished.

Another thing we have done towards the attainment of this Utopia. We have inaugurated the most marvelous and magnificent system of self education in the principles and the practices of justice that the world has ever seen. The greatest government, not only in modern times but in all times, is that of constitutional limitation to which a great nation voluntarily submits. A great people, dispassionately, having no particular end or aim or occasion in view, establishes for itself a rule of action. It says, "We will lay down for ourselves this limitation upon our own conduct, that we will not take the private property of any man without just compensation; that we will not permit our rulers to pass any law which violates the obligations of contracts; that we will not permit any man to inflict unreasonable searches or seizure; that every man shall be protected in his life, in his liberty, and in the pursuit of happiness." That rule of action is declared forever after; whatever may be the passions or frenzy of the people, that rule is supreme. Against themselves they submit to it; against themselves they bow in submission to it; and so throughout the whole mass of people, swaying by contrary and conflicting influences, roused by passion, frenzied by excitement, that is the rule of justice. That is the rule which is the "Vox populi, vox Dei" of popular government. Every human progress is from the individual to the general. No nation can be just to other nations which is not just within itself. [Applause.] And when the people of the Western Hemisphere adopted the method of written constitutions, with constitutional limitations binding upon themselves, prescribed and established without reference to

particular cases or to the motives that moved public sentiment at any particular time; provided that the hand of justice should be powerless the instant it attempted to transgress these limitations; provided that the moment a judge attempted to infringe upon them his power as a judge ceases; provided that the moment a President attempted to infringe upon them his power as President ceases—when they did this they made the greatest step towards that ultimate ideal of justice which we seek in the Utopia of the future.

What else have we done? We have established upon a firm foundation the fact that nations can confederate for justice among themselves. Upon the soil where we now stand less than two centuries ago the men of New England and the men of New York were seen in mortal conflict, fighting out the very last arbitration of their differences. To-day they submit their differences to a higher power and voluntarily concede to that power the right to compel justice between them. And that process of voluntary submission to the common sense of the confederated States is going on throughout the entire Western Hemisphere. It may spread into broader fields, and in the future, if the dreams of philanthropists prove true, will include and embrace all the nations of the earth. And so, fellow Americans, the feeble light dimly discerned by the anxious eyes of the lookout upon the Santa Maria four centuries ago has become a beacon light for the universal globe. And by assuming a government “of the people, by the people, and for the people,” by casting off the bond of personal government; by repeated and painful trial of the experiment of confederation and interstate justice, the people of the Western Hemisphere, out of this great workshop and laboratory of governmental experiment, have accomplished a great work for international justice. And we hail you, gentlemen, not only for the immediate results which we expect from this international conference, but for the bright promises of the future. The vision of one generation is the project of the next; the project of this generation is the accomplished fact of the next; the fact of this generation passes into history with the next, and all the world wonders that men have so long been blind. Just three-quarters of a century ago James Monroe enunciated the doctrine which has taken his name out of the ordinary list of American Presidents and made it immortal in connection with a great principle: that all the people of the whole American continent should do justice to each other and repel injustice from abroad. Sixty years ago or more such a congress as we have been holding was agitated, and sixty years have passed before it became possible. The dream of James Monroe and the men of 1823 has become the project, the practical, living project, of the men of 1889. It will be the living fact of the next generation; it will be the history of the generation to come. And you gentlemen who participate in this conference between all the peoples of the free Western Hemisphere are the advance guard in the greatest movement since civilization began towards the brotherhood of man and the federation of the world. [Applause.]

To the toast, "Our Homes," response was made by the Rev. John R. Paxton. He said:

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN: I am delighted, as every American of the United States is, to be here to-night to extend a cordial greeting and tenderest friendship to our brethren of South America. [Applause.] God Almighty made us relatives when he made us from the same elements, dust; and whether a man speaks Spanish or Anglo-Saxon, he is my brother. [Applause.] North America and South America! If it had not been that whatever you call him steered southwest instead of north the Spanish Americans would have settled Florida and come to Cape Hatteras, and you and I, if descendants of the people who settled this continent, would have belonged to the Spanish race; but God Almighty overruled it. Every nation in this world has emigrated on parallels of latitude. The sun has as much to do with us where we settle as hereditaries forbid marriage. The sun has made South America south of you and me, and North America to the north. I don't wish to make a speech on England. We have been delighted to come here to-night to testify to and confirm the appreciation we have of the great strides which the great people south of us, as well as we ourselves, have made. The hour is late, and to make a speech when you are tired of listening and I am tired of making speeches is hard on me and hard on you. But South and North America have Latin blood in their veins. We have Teutonic blood, and we have the Aryan stock back of both of us. But one thing in this age we want, and that is that our brothers and ourselves upon this continent should see each other face to face and eye to eye. Though we may talk different languages we are of the same stock and our interests are mutual. On the Day of Pentecost they began to talk with other tongues, and to-day there is no language, or color, or race, or tongue. We are our brother's keeper; and if any people ever ought to live in peace and harmony and good-will, and have free commercial exchange, and be knit together, it is the American people. Whether north or south they are one in every tie and in every interest. And if a gun should be fired in Valparaiso, or at the mouth of the Rio Janeiro, the American continent north should take up arms for our brethren of the south. [Great applause.] I don't want to boast, though we have the biggest rivers, the Amazon and the Mississippi, the widest pampas, and I think the best people in the world.

Señor Romero, my friend, and the intimate friend of General Grant [applause], happened to be at Saratoga, as I was, when General Grant died. He and I were on the same platform, and no more glowing tribute was paid to the memory of that great man, whom I followed for three years, than was paid by him. Señor Romero paid the highest tribute I ever heard a living man pay to another on General Grant's life.

Now my toast is really to the ladies. When God Almighty made a

man he found he could not take care of himself, and then he made a woman to look after him. [Laughter.] And we are here because we believe in woman. And we are here not only because we believe, but we know that at the bottom of our liberties as an American Republic there is a woman. Sometimes we can not live with them, but it is pretty sure we can not live without them. A soldier friend of mine, in my company, one day, when I was polishing up my musket in the Army, said to me: "John, what made you enlist?" I was eighteen and one-half years old. "Well," said I, "old man, I loved war." I had read about Cæsar's Tenth Legion, and Wellington and Waterloo, and Xenophon's Anabasis, and I loved war. "But, great Scott, what made you enlist? You are fifty years old!" "Well," he said, "you enlisted because you loved war; I enlisted because I love peace—I am married!" [Great laughter.] I hope the ladies will forgive us. But I wish to say this, that the palladium of our liberties is not universal suffrage. I think there is too much of it. The palladium of our liberties! Do you know what it is? It is a famous word with us Americans. The "Palladium," and "the Stars and Stripes," and "the Flag." I dare say some of our South American friends smile, if they do not sneer, at our complacency over what we have done. The greatest country is not the wisest country. Little Athens and Sparta produced the biggest men.

Yet, in spite of our tendency to brag, I say that the American people are about as good a people and as tolerant a people and ordinarily as comprehensive and bright-minded a people as the sun looks down upon when it shines. He does not shine much—but when he does. [Laughter.] Universal suffrage is not our hope. "The hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world." So said Douglas Jerrold. Lord Byron said that he learned more from his old Scotch Presbyterian nurse when he was ten years old than he learned from all his schoolmasters and teachers in his life. So I say to you, for we do not recognize tongues any more since Pentecost. We all talk the same tongue. And wherever we are I would not like to be called Judas Iscariot, and I never knew a woman to call her son Pontius Pilate or Nero. But I say to Señor Romero to-night that no man ever blushed to be called an American or a republican. So I say to-night we Americans and we republicans. The prefix "South" and the prefix "North" are indifferent; we are Americans and remain Americans. We stand in our individual right. We believe as our conscience dictates; we love and worship and live according to the dictates of our own private consciences. And though Latin blood may flow in your veins and Teutonic blood in ours, yet we are one; and I hope that one day the continent of South and North America may be one in sentiment, in commerce, in everything that makes a nation great and helps mankind to a higher level of living. These are my sentiments.

Now for the ladies and our homes. On our home and on the woman you and I and all our institutions rest. When she fails us, and

when good mothers cease to be found in South America, Mexico, or North America, our institutions and our boasted liberties are imperiled and ready to be overthrown. It is only so long as we have homes that we shall have good citizens, for the domestic virtues precede the civic; and if we do not train our children, what shall become of the nation? A filthy and miserable home means bad citizens; and a good home and fair wages and everything that makes life pleasant, agreeable, and healthy tends to make good citizens. On our homes—the homes of South America and the homes of North America—depend the well-being of this Republic and the perpetuity of free government throughout the world. [Applause.]

I bless God, and think it was His happiest thought, when he made a woman. [Laughter and applause.] I am sorry for the bachelors, not sorry for their friends. The Vicar of Wakefield was written by a man who was a bachelor, and is the most delightful picture of home life ever portrayed. John Howard Payne, who wrote "Home, Sweet Home," was a beggar in Paris, and had not where to lay his head; starving, he went up into the garret of one of those apartment houses in Paris and wrote "Home, Sweet Home!"

These women whom we love and who rule us—for God so ordained—never invented the sewing-machine. Man had to do that for her. But living a few brief years, what do you get out of life? I say this to our bachelor friend, the Mayor of New York; what do you get out of life? In this country we want a home, where we can take off the mask and cease to fight the people on the exchange and on the street, and be by ourselves; where there is somebody in whom we can absolutely trust, whose interests are identical with ours, and whose judgment, gentlemen—and you know it in Wall street and I know it in the pulpit about a sermon—is infinitely better than ours. God bless woman! It was the happiest thought of God when he made a woman to take care of you and me. God bless our homes; in North America the palladium of our liberty is the *home*; the home out of which come men and women who respect the institutions under which they were born and perpetuate them to their children. God bless our homes! the broad and beautiful pampas, the wide rivers, and sweet domestic life of South America; and God bless you and me in the homes that were committed to us and transmitted by the sires who made us free, and who have instilled in us a reverence for womankind next to that for God—for a preacher called a woman, "God's best gift to man." [Applause.]

Delegate Nicañor Bolete-Peraza, of Venezuela, was requested to say something of the homes of the South. He did so in the following language:

GENTLEMEN: At this late hour of night, when the hands of the clock point to the high region of dreams, and the glare of lights, the perfume of flowers, the sparkling foam of wine, and the echoes of eloquence are

inviting us to poetic thoughts, there is but one word to be uttered, and that is "home."

As among all people who work, think, and hope, home has here great charms. When the American people proudly say: "Our homes," they mean the temples of love, the schools of generous feelings, where their children are taught how to praise God, how to cherish liberty, how to love their country. [Applause.]

At the gate of New York Harbor stands the mighty figure of Liberty; at the doors of American homes stands the moral figure of Hospitality.

Those doors are open to all who come here with good-will. We have been invited over those thresholds; we have been admitted to those sanctuaries of American life. There we have seen comfort and happiness; there we have felt the respect which sacred things inspire; there we have bowed to the queens of those little kingdoms, and have caressed the angels of those heavens on earth.

Those who wish to study the causes of the wonderful prosperity of this country must not forget that its sources are in the American home. The self-reliance, the noble ambition, all the moral forces of this people come from that cradle of society; from those nests start the majestic eagles which we then see flying above the summits of American progress and American civilization. I propose a toast—"The American homes." [Loud applause.]

At this point Chauncey M. Depew appeared in the gallery, where a number of the ladies were seated, and the chairman at once said: "Gentlemen, I see in the gallery the greatest American orator, who will, I hope, say a few words to us."

Thus adjured, and amid much cheering, Mr. Depew moved to the front of the gallery and said:

GENTLEMEN: If I had not been detained by an engagement which is very sacred to me, the regular meeting of the Yale Alumni Association, of which I have the honor to be president, and where to-night I was engaged to deliver the address, I would have been with you in person, as I have been very lately.

If ever there was a picture which bore unusual and uncomplimentary relation to the frame, it is the man who now speaks to you. Two continents have contributed to the loveliness which surrounds and enshrines us. I feel as if I was the nebula of the meteor. [Laughter.] Perhaps all the sentiments uttered here this evening I do not know, but if I know anything I know what is the sentiment of the American people upon the occasion which calls together this assemblage. We are nothing if not political; nothing if not partisan. Since the inauguration of George Washington a hundred years ago, there has been no question upon which the American people have been unanimous. [Laughter.] It demonstrates their independence that they can not agree, because there

is nothing in science, in politics, in philosophy, or in love, where two men are of the same side [laughter], especially in love; and for the first time in a hundred years the American people are unanimous in their admiration and their hospitality, and in the heartfelt welcome which they extend to these guests from our Southern continent. It is a trite remark that our centennials are over, but we celebrate this centennial of affection. [Applause.]

We look upon the union of the two continents, which are one in commercial and in political relations, as the efflorescence of ideas; ideas which in politics give liberty, and in commerce give prosperity. [Applause.] From the meeting, not of the Latin and Teutonic races, as I heard my friend Doctor Paxton say—a Yankee talking about being a Teuton—[laughter] but from the union of all races, Latin, Teutonic, Saxon, Celt, when they once feel the spirit of American liberty; when they once breathe the air of the American Continent; when they once are inspired with American individuality, then they are one in their love for the institutions which enable them to be free and permit them to develop intellectually, morally, religiously, and commercially to the highest standard. [Great applause.]

“America, All Republican,” was responded to by Delegate John B. Henderson, of Missouri who said:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: If there be any fitness in calling on me to respond to this toast, it is to be found possibly in the fact that I believe with all my heart in the efficacy and ultimate success of republican institutions.

I would not offensively urge my opinions on others. I would establish no propaganda to spread abroad my political tenets.

I greatly admire the wisdom displayed by our forefathers in the formation of the Federal Constitution, but I admire no less their sagacity in refraining from all interference with the affairs of other nations.

The author of our Christianity tells us, “A city that is set on a hill can not be hid.” If our system of government ensures to men a greater degree of freedom and happiness, of comfort and wealth, than any other, the world will see our “good works” and follow our example.

Do you ask the reasons for my faith in republican institutions? Behold then a Republic one hundred years old. Place it by the side of those monarchies whose civilization dates with the Christian era and whose industrial systems were established five or six centuries ago. If we turn to its agriculture, we find ten millions of prosperous and contented farmers whose farms are worth fifteen thousand millions dollars. Half as many engaged in manufacturing and mining, equally as rich and happy, whose annual products are seven thousand millions dollars; as many more receiving the most remunerative wages ever paid to men for labor and service—and half as many more no less content, engaged in trade and transportation. From the products of its industries, it annually exports about eight hundred millions dollars in

value, while no less than ninety-six per cent. of its total production is consumed at home, thus making that total production not less than twenty thousand millions dollars per year.

The whole world has 360,000 miles of railway, of which we have 160,000, or nearly half of all.

We make more iron and more steel ingots than any nation on earth. We manufacture two steel rails for every one made in Great Britain, and as many rails as all the world beside.

We operate more telegraph wire than France, Germany, Great Britain, and Italy combined. France sends annually thirty-three millions messages, Germany twenty two millions, and Great Britain ten millions, while the United States sends over seventy millions messages each year.

Our telegraph wire is sufficient to encircle the earth thirty times. Our telephone wires would girdle the globe six times, and for these the human voice speaks unceasingly through half a million instruments.

We have more public schools than any other three nations of the world. The daily attendance of pupils at these schools is six times that of Austria, three times that of Great Britain or France, ten times that of Russia, with her population of an hundred millions, and twenty times that of British India with her two hundred million inhabitants.

We have here no laws to support the church, no connection between it and the State. To exact tithes, in our opinion, excites hostility to the church, and enforced worship begets hypocrisy and infidelity. As between religious sects, the only concern of government is to protect all in the absolute freedom of worship. We, therefore, have two hundred thousand churches, all built by voluntary contribution, from which twenty million members send up the incense of unconstrained and heartfelt prayer.

In the last twenty-five years, we have defrayed the National expenses, fed the Indians, improved harbors and rivers, liquidated twenty hundred million dollars of public debt, paid a thousand million dollars in pension to the soldiers of the late war, and still the Treasury is full to overflowing. The wisdom of statesmanship, sufficient for all other emergencies, is now bewildered by the increasing surplus. In the same time we have created a currency which legislative folly alone can destroy, freed many millions of slaves and demonstrated that justice is the true policy of nations as well as of individuals.

While we covet nothing that is our neighbor's and will bring no force to change their institution, yet we Americans claim to be no more, no less, than men. Seeing men, we are interested in all that concerns mankind. Is it strange then, that Bolivar had our sympathy and prayers while he defended the people of Venezuela and Granada against Morillo and La Torre? When he rushed to the side of San Martín in Peru and freed that State from the yoke of Spanish oppression we were with him in spirit. When he planted the banner of freedom on the mountain tops of Bolivia, he was not without our sym-

pathy, and we gaze upon his statues at Lima and at Bogota with all the admiration of those whom he delivered from the oppressive yoke. The inscriptions on those statues will warm millions of hearts that grow cold at the mention of those who turned their swords against mankind.

Remembering Kosciusko's unselfish devotion to us during the American revolution he had our prayers for success when we saw him struggling to save his own country from that colossal crime of the eighteenth century.

American sympathy accompanied Marco Bozarris in every contest for Grecian liberty, and no less did American sympathy follow Louis Kossuth in Hungary.

That same invisible but potent spirit is now hovering over the plains and scaling the mountain tops of Brazil, unfurling the new banner of liberty, and teaching the patriot how to defend it.

Ten weeks ago this International Conference convened with representatives of the last made, but I hope, the best made Republic of them all. Its change of government seems not to have been a revolution. It is rather an evolution, the result of an all-pervading moral conviction that men chosen by the people themselves are better rulers than they who inherit the right through the accident of birth.

That numerous kindred States can be harmoniously governed under one national system with large delegated powers, has been already proved.

It remains for this Conference, whose members you now entertain with such generous hospitality, to establish another epoch in the progress of republican government.

If we can bring these independent States of the Western Hemisphere into a federation or league pledged to the establishment of unfettered commerce and the preservation of peace among themselves, the last problem will have been solved. Difficulties will be met at every step, a partisan press will deride, the politician will denounce, and even the hopeful will hesitate. Nothing is won without labor and perseverance.

The great English drama'ist truthfully said:

Our doubts are traitors
And make us lose the good we oft might win,
By fearing to attempt.

Our own experience teaches us that the hardest and best pioneer of civilization, of commerce, and all their blessings, is the locomotive. Let us then build railroads from Hudson's Bay to Cape Horn.

The ocean is the great highway of nations, and wherever commerce goes, it carries the arts of peace. We have given land to railroads, the generous bounty of protection to manufactures, and, in the last eighteen years, we have donated to settlers on the public lands enough to make five States as large as the State of New York.

Can we not now make a small contribution from our great abundance to encourage and strengthen the merchant marine?

Reciprocity treaties and customs' unions can be so formed as to bring mutual benefits to all. It will require labor and time and patience to perfect them but perfect they will be, and possibly the merchant now lives who may take his goods through contiguous Republics from Baffin's Bay to Cape Horn without payment of duties.

To crown this great work with success the sword should be put away. "States can live without it." Give us an International Court, a tribunal of learned and just men to whom shall be brought all causes of complaint. Let its judgment be the law among our kindred Republics.

With these things accomplished we may with a loftier pride, in 1892, celebrate the discovery of America. On that occasion let the combined Republics of America invite the nations of the Old World to a gorgeous banquet in their new home, over whose every portal shall stand in golden letters, the inscription:

"In the family of Republics there is room for all."

Delegate Henderson's speech was liberally punctuated by applause.

Delegate Mendonça, of Brazil, was listened to with the closest attention and was frequently applauded as he delivered himself of the following remarks:

GENTLEMEN: When, in his modest cabinet, Darwin, as a contribution to the natural sciences, discovered the law of natural selection and the survival of the fittest, he had not thought that at the same time he was discovering the law of evolution as a contribution to sociology. The transformation of the Brazilian Empire into the United States of Brazil is no mere accident of the life of political parties, the unlooked for result of a military pronunciamiento; it is the logical product of the historical evolution and progress of my country in the ascending path of liberty and civilization.

The Christian faith had guided to the subjugation of the East, and next it engaged itself in the subjugation of the races of the West; from the time of Pizarro to the last Portuguese captain, our free continent was baptized in the blood of its aborigines, in those frightful hecatombs which form the dark background to the apotheosis of the great discoverers. For us the colonial period began. In the wake of the Latin race came the French and Saxon, and along with the latter the liberty of conscience. The law which rules the progress of nations was severe for Brazil; for, though the declaration of religious liberty of Maurice of Nassau in Pernambuco preceded that of Rhode Island, we repelled our Pilgrims, come from that small but glorious land of Holland, which was the first to offer refuge to the persecuted of Rome and the inquisition throughout all Europe.

Four centuries ago the Latin world was experiencing a resurrection; the Iberian Peninsula was being illuminated with a light divine that

moved upon the waters like a spirit—the spirit of a new genesis. Cadiz and Lisbon were sending their galleons into the Atlantic darkness for the discovery of forgotten land beyond the seas, on both sides of the Dark Continent. The observatory of Sagres was at that time in possession of the mariner's compass, and there were laid out the courses and routes of the globe. Africa was circumnavigated. America and Asia arose from the unknown. No half-century of the world's history was ever so rich in so many conquests, never were conquered for the human race regions so broad and mighty. This glory belongs to us, and by it the Spanish and Portuguese languages have been saved from oblivion—languages destined to be spoken by hundreds of millions of men, when from their banners shall have disappeared the lions of Castile and the towers of Portugal.

You laid the foundations of your civilization on Plymouth Rock. When the light from that rock—where should have been raised the statue of liberty which adorns your harbor—had extended its rays over America at the end of the last century, your evolution was completed, and from the condition of a tributary colony you passed to that of *alma mater* for all the republics of the world. The heroic torch of liberty burned for half a century, illuminating the entire continent and lighted the rising of this legion of free peoples, whose representatives are here assembled to-day. The noblest and most generous of the nations of Europe caught the contagion of freedom, and '89 appeared, the Reign of Terror arose, and from the ashes of the French Revolution up sprang the Corsican eagle to rend with beak and claws the entrails of the monarchies of the world.

In America Brazil alone remained under the old régime, condemned by the revolution. Was she, for this, less the friend of liberty? Let us see. At Nîmes, in 1787, Thomas Jefferson, then American minister to France, had given a secret interview to a young Brazilian named Vandeck, who had gone to ask the moral support of the United States for the proclamation of a republic in Brazil. Your archives at Washington still contain that page of history, which a century ago recorded us among the first-born of republicans.

In the heart of the Portuguese colony, in the province of Minas, in the city of Ouro Prieto, a name which this sarcasm of destiny gave to the last prime minister of the Empire, a club of poets, magistrates, and soldiers had planned the freedom of the country under a form of free government. They were denounced; the government of Maria the First of Portugal ordered the seizure and punishment of the conspirators; Claudio Marioel, the poet, was garroted in prison without a trial; Gonzaga, the sweet Dirceu, was, along with others, banished to Africa and the most active of the conspirators, the immortal Tiradentes, was executed in Rio de Janeiro, a few yards from the spot which became a way of sorrows, through which have passed into exile the two only monarchs Brazil has ever had.

Pedro the First, the ambitious prince, who by his father's advice

placed the imperial crown on his own head after the declaration of Brazilian independence. ruined the prestige of his reign by the execution of republicans in Rio, Pernambuco, and Bahia, and the revolution of April 7, 1831, forced him to abdicate in favor of his son.

The cradle of Pedro the Second was thus stained with the blood of the patriots. The people took him, yet an infant, in their arms, educated him, and before the lawful age proclaimed him Emperor. The Emperor commenced in 1840 a reign of expiation. He grew up surrounded by the love of the Brazilians and he desired to requite it. He became a philosopher, a man of letters. He made many mistakes, but always with patriotic intention, and his errors were overlooked. Never more magnanimous heart beat in a royal breast; never sovereign more fond of justice, or who cared so little for the gift of fortune.

Under his reign liberal progress was slow; less so from the obstacles presented by him than from the weakness and fatuity of his ministers. Under his reign capital punishment was effectually abolished, since for a quarter of a century not a single criminal has been executed. In his reign the abolition of slavery was accomplished. Under his rule the liberty of the press was perfect, the tribune and conscience free; Brazil maintained herself united and prosperous at home, dignified and respected abroad. So great a respect had the Emperor for political convictions, that they were never an obstacle in the way of any Brazilian who would serve his country in public offices. When in 1870 the reorganization of the republican party was begun, its members were allowed to form clubs, publish newspapers, hold public meetings; in short, make full profession of their political faith untrammelled by law.

But there came the regency of the Princess heiress apparent, and the aspect of affairs was changed. Those who viewed the course of events from a near stand-point were convinced that a third reign would bring back the struggles of the country with the despotism of the first Emperor, that the royal succession would be drowned in blood, and that to wait for the death of the Emperor would render inevitable civil war. The blow of November 15 prevented the shedding of blood, and gave to the world the marvelous spectacle of the fall of an empire without the falling of a head.

In fact, the monarchy was dead long ago in Brazil; it was a tree whose roots lay too near the surface, ready to fall at the first blast of the storm. We had no dynastic interest worth mentioning; aristocracy and its traditions had passed away with the equality of the citizen before the law. In a land where men of color sat in the senate, holding their seats for life, or occupied high places in the court; in a land where there existed no longer any class distinctions, except such as are based on intelligence and labor, the monarchical institution was a dead institution. The Emperor still has friends, but the empire had none. If the imperial edifice still remained upright, it was upheld by the moral greatness of the man, who, well or ill, had founded our country

as it is, and who by himself alone had occupied the public stage in Brazil for half a century, first as a hope, afterwards as a disappointment—for both he and the country were deceiving themselves, he unconsciously assenting to the suicide of the monarchy, the country in the expectation that the monarchy, like Brutus, from nobility of character, would condemn its own children to death.

In the dim hours of the morning of the 17th of November, when the aged monarch left the old palace with all his family and took his way to the place where he was to embark, he turned his eyes back to the city and wept. The line of dark mountains that encircles the bay of Rio de Janeiro, shutting out the horizon, must to his eyes have worn a funereal aspect, and the last tear that fell from them must have washed out the last stain of the blood of the martyrs of the Republic which his predecessor had shed. With bowed head the aged Emperor descended the steps of stone like an Egyptian king, following with his steps the stairway that was carrying him to his tomb, before the formal judgment of his vassals. The moment had arrived when the political evolution, commenced a century ago, had reached its completion; and when the last American monarch passed in front of the tower Belem, on the Tagus, whence almost 400 years ago Pedro Alvarez Cabral sailed out beneath the banner of Don Manuel on the voyage in which he discovered the land of the Southern Cross, a historic cycle was closed with gates of bronze that no human force shall ever re-open.

The Republic in Brazil is accomplished and no one can undo the work. Either I am greatly mistaken in my understanding of the character of Pedro II, after having studied it for a space of thirty years, or I may safely venture a prediction. On the day in which the constitutional convention of Brazil shall be assembled the noblest and most loyal of Brazilians will resign the crown into the hands of the representatives of the national sovereignty, laying aside forever all petty ambitions of others which might yet try the fortunes of a fratricidal struggle, removing his venerable person from the mob of common kings, and raising himself thus so high that, in America, only your Washington shall be his equal. For his glory and the glory of the Brazilian people I expect him thus to crown his career, and to come at last to ask his native land for the few feet of soil that shall cover the remains of the first of Brazilians and the greatest of monarchs our age has seen.

Whatever may be the purposes of the ex-Emperor, the fate of the Brazilian Republic depends not on any man; it is the completest realization of the social evolution.

I have heard the expression of unfounded fears of military domination. Military ascendancy is as impracticable in Brazil as it would be among you. The country which is, in point of extent of territory, already the second republic in the world, and in population the third, and not inferior to any in love of liberty and order, will not submit to a dictatorship any longer than shall be necessary for the declaration of the principles and reforms accepted by public opinion in order to issue from the ballot-box all armed like the Greek Minerva.

Militarism! And what was Washington, the greatest and most fortunate of heroes? Was he not a general? And Bolivar, what was he? And what was San Martín? Ah! we all know the sacred traditions of the American patriots who have drawn the sword only in the service of liberty, and whose greatest glory is that they have founded these nations, into whose communion we are the last to come, but not with less love for the human dignity.

I have received this news from Brazil: "Mutiny in the army." Against whom? Against themselves; against the Provisional Government.

I am going to remind you of the legend of Cadmus. Cadmus, when he was founding Thebes, sent some companions to draw waters from a well sacred to Mars. A dragon, which guarded the well, devoured the intruders. Cadmus slew the dragon, and by direction of the gods sowed the monster's teeth. A host of armed men sprang from the ground and was about to turn upon Cadmus, when he threw a stone among them and a fight ensued, which left only a few alive. But the survivors aided in the building of the city, and Cadmus, for his perils, received from the gods as wife Harmonia, the daughter of Mars and Venus, and became the founder of a great nation.

Be it enough to add that in Brazil the stone of Cadmus is now in the hands of the people, and in our time there is no mightier power than that of a people who love freedom.

I accept without hesitation, on the part of Brazil, the toast: "America, all republican," adding, "Thrones no more; every citizen a sovereign. To America, free; the home of peace, of toil, and of civilization."

The applause which frequently interrupted Señor Mendonça's delivery was of the most enthusiastic description.

Delegate Decoud, of Paraguay, was called and spoke as follows:

GENTLEMEN: I am profoundly grateful for the generous sentiments the honorable gentleman who presides at this banquet has addressed to me.

After the eloquent speeches which have just been heard, little can I add which will heighten the brilliancy of this feast. I am barely able to say two words in behalf of the meaning of our fraternal mission to this sympathetic country.

Pardon me, then, if I address you in my own tongue. I fear to mutilate my thoughts by speaking to you in a language I do not possess with perfection, even though I understand and admire its beauties and have delved into its enchanting mysteries.

But this very disadvantageous circumstance affords me the welcome opportunity to express a sincere and ardent desire. I would earnestly wish to see the beautiful tongue of Milton and Longfellow studied with

preference in our schools and colleges, as well as our language, which immortalized Cervantes, in your institutions of learning. Both languages intimately joined would constitute the most beautiful bond of fraternity. Our public men could thus penetrate the innermost secrets of your grandeur and prosperity, studying in the original language your wise commentators on constitutional law, your eminent jurists and judges, whose sound judicial opinions are cited with respect and admiration in our courts of justice; and you, in turn, would have the opportunity to appreciate the beauties of our luxuriant and vigorous literature, and of our history which inspired the best and most brilliant pages of Ticknor, Prescott, and Washington Irving. If commercial intercommunications contribute to the development of the material interests of countries, the interchange of ideas is an indestructible moral bond of fraternity.

After various attempts to call the American nations together in a Congress, an idea conceived originally by the genius of Bolivar, the honor of realizing it has fallen upon the elder of the sister republics, the land of Washington, the first to conquer her political emancipation and to proclaim before the world the declaration of the rights of man. And under what propitious circumstances we meet to decide the highest American questions and interests. All America from one pole to the other is at peace, the din of battle is hushed, its internal struggles have ceased; on every hand is heard only the great clamor produced by fruitful labor, causing astonishing transformations in the moral and material status of our countries, and, as if desirous to present itself grander and more dignified in the fraternal concert, it has hastened to bravely strike the last chains from the slave, raising with proud hand to the very zenith of its skies the republican standard in whose shade all the American nations are sheltered. The first stage is past. The American continent swinging in space like a radiant constellation, prosperous, free, and republican, constitutes the grandest event in the history of humanity.

The second stage must now be completed. To seal our confraternity by means of compacts intended to develop our moral and material interests, is the most constant and unanimous aspiration of the nations we each have the honor to represent. While the whole of Europe finds herself obliged to keep standing armies, which absorb a considerable portion of her revenues, rendering useless millions of her best sinews which might be utilized in commerce, industry, and agriculture, I believe that America can present the glorious spectacle of fraternal accord, consecrated to the perfecting of free institutions, to the development of popular education, to the extending of its commerce and industries, and to assuring the fullest measure of well-being and happiness to the people. To realize these great benefits we should begin by recording on the first page of the immortal code of American public law the adoption of the principle of arbitration as the means to settle the differences which may arise between our respective countries.

Thus shall we present to the world the most sublime of examples, paying tribute to the sovereignty of reason and justice.

And now permit me to beg you to rise and respectfully bow to republican America, expressing fervent wishes for the perpetual unity of the nations composing the American continent.

Delegate Caamaño, of Ecuador, was also requested to add to the oratory of the occasion, which he did as follows:

GENTLEMEN: Overcome by pleasant impressions and borne on the smooth current of pleasing scenes and sincere demonstrations offered us by this active, generous, and magnificent people, you have us here, worthy representatives of the "Spanish-American Commercial Union." You have us here, without our object being to discuss whether or not it is meet to bind our political and commercial relations, nor to inquire of each other our views touching the possibility of establishing practicable measures tending to the advancement of our interests, nor much less to render a decision upon what might undermine the harmonious and autonomic existence of the countries we represent.

Why? Because we treat only of the *modus faciendi* for the application of measures upon the necessity of which we are all agreed; for in our actions, in our amicable discussions, secret maneuvers or indecorous intrigues are not, can not be factors; for we have not been called to disunite, but to unite, rendering differences between the sons of Columbus impossible; and eighteen countries and one hundred and eighteen millions of men who embrace before the eyes of the world, establish as a fact foundations for mutual respect and for common interests and affections which must be enduring.

I do not enter into the expression of opinions unbecoming this occasion or which might be interpreted as a prejudgment of what our Conference should, would, or can establish; but perhaps it is not untimely to record that, in my judgment, there will be nothing which will directly injure any pre-existing interests. It is desired solely to procure advantages for the markets of our continent, bettering the conditions of payment and of trade, without closing the door to others who will always send us their commodities, for the necessities which, day by day, civilization demands grow faster than the population, and, furthermore, the soil of our republic is so extensive and so rich that it will meet universal demands, if we are but given the facilities for transportation and cultivation required by millions of leagues anxious to become productive, but at present removed and uncultivated.

Our mission, gentlemen, is fraternity, in its broadest acceptation; propagandists of a policy of peace, we form the links of a chain as great as it is strong and durable, to unite us and assure our tranquillity and our advancement. And this advancement does not depend solely upon the maturity our countries are reaching, but it also obeys the irresistible impulse which commerce communicates to countries and gov-

ernments; for these latter are not the original initiators of economic doctrines, but are only the factors which, interpreting what the general advantage makes necessary, assists the development of the principle which comes to be recognized as useful, and open the way for it, and aid and regulate it, guided by the rules which good judgment and the public weal suggest.

But the general advantage needs nucleuses to make it concrete, and serious organs to spread it; for this reason the respectable society which to-day gallantly invites us and affectionately greets us, is the sensible and authorized echo of the numerous interests which develop themselves in this immense laboratory, whose prodigious activity reaches the threshold of fable and is the center of all advantages, of all necessities, fortunes, enterprises, amusements, inventions, and of enlightenment, work, and the full exercise of all rights. For this reason the steps our Conference may take will be in a considerable degree connected with the indications of the "Spanish-American Commercial Union," which carries in its hand the thread of this new Crete, studies transactions, estimates the capitals, and follows the course of the changes in public wealth.

And if to these matters, of a purely utilitarian character, we add homogeneity of views and language and we gather the kindly sentiments expressed to us and the cordiality with which we are flattered, what shall we give in return? Are perchance our souls denuded of feeling and of generous affections? Is it to be believed that in these hearts anything can dwell that is not honest gratitude, and that in quantity sufficient to sate those who shower upon us their courtesies and their affections?

No, gentlemen. American hearts have been formed by their brothers of America, having a trend with them towards the progress of the hemisphere, towards the cultivation of their minds, towards the benefit of their races; to march together in search of possible perfection; to form a compact mass, which should assimilate and give an example of cohesion and solidarity; to share joys, triumphs, and disasters; and, in a word, to be one and united so as to taste of the sweet fruits of progress, carrying, with both hands clasped over the heart, the rapturous emblem of liberty.

Gentlemen, to our brothers of America; to the 20th of December of 1889.

It had been generally expected and hoped that Secretary Blaine would have been present at the banquet, but his place was vacant. During the evening the following telegram was received from him:

Official duties rendered my return to Washington yesterday absolutely necessary. I greatly regret that pressing engagements make it impossible for me to be present this evening at the banquet to the Conference by the Spanish American Union.

The excursion party said good-bye to New York on the morning of Friday, leaving Jersey City at 9 a. m. on a special train. On their arrival at Philadelphia the travelers were taken possession of by a delegation of Wilmington (Delaware) representatives, composed of Mayor Austin Harrington, ex-Secretary of State Thomas F. Bayard, George H. Bates, Preston Lea, President Daniel Taylor, of the Board of Trade, and Superintendent H. H. Carter, of the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore division of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

Wilmington was reached shortly before 12 o'clock, and as the time for visiting was brief only the most hurried survey of the local industries was possible. President William T. Sellers, of the Edgemore Iron Company, conducted the party through the mammoth works run under his direction and escorted the guests of an hour to the steamer John A. Warner, which conveyed them to the ship-yards of the Harlan & Hollingsworth Company. Luncheon was served in the saloon of the steamer. Brief visits were also paid the establishments of the Jackson & Sharp and Pusey & Jones Companies. A short call was also made at the Lobdell Car Works.

The municipal and other principal buildings were decorated with flags, and the visitors expressed their regrets at not being able to make a longer stay.

The special train arrived in Washington shortly after 8 o'clock p. m.

PART III.

VISIT OF THE DELEGATES TO BALTIMORE.

From the time when it first became known that the International Conference would visit the industrial centers of the United States Baltimore was anxious that a visit be paid it and the merchants of that city desired much to break bread with the distinguished gentlemen representing all of the republics on the Western Hemisphere. The promise made them at that time was redeemed on January 25, 1890, when a number of delegates and attachés journeyed to the Monumental City.

The Conference party was met in Washington by a committee of Baltimoreans, composed of the following-named gentlemen: Capt. Irving A. Buck, Gen. Thomas J. Shryock, Edward B. Bruce, William H. Hennegen, A. D. Jones, David Hutzler, H. S. Platt, D. F. Gambrill, Joseph Walters, E. Stanley Garey, Lloyd L. Jackson, P. H. Macgill, and Vice-President C. K. Lord, B. F. Bond, and F. A. Wheeler, of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company. Escorted by these gentlemen the delegates and attachés boarded a special Baltimore and Ohio train at 8 a. m.

The train was met at Locust Point by members of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association and together hosts and guests went to the steamer *Columbia* after inspecting one of the big grain elevators, Superintendent Wheeler acting as guide. Luncheon was disposed of on the boat.

At Steelton the party was met by the officers of the Steelton Company—general manager F. W. Wool, local manager Col. W. S. Franklin, agent R. K. Wood, constructing engineer J. B. Ladd, and superintendent Daniel Baker. Furnaces and the various and interesting de-

partments of the great works were visited and inspected.

A trip was made to Curtis Bay and from there several of the strangers went to the South Baltimore Car Works, where a hearty greeting was extended by President J. S. McDonald.

Baltimore was reached at about 5 o'clock and from the York River Line pier the party was conveyed in carriages to the Carrollton Hotel, where, two hours later a magnificent banquet was given by the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association.

The banquet was worthy of Maryland in every respect. Of floral decorations there was no lack, much of the ornamentation being highly artistic.

President James A. Gary presided over the feast, while the duties of toastmaster were performed by John R. Bland. Grace was said by the Rev. M. D. Babcock, of Brown Memorial Church.

With the cigars and cigarettes came the speeches, president Gary breaking the ice with the toast "Welcome to our guests; distinguished themselves, they distinguish us by their presence." Mr. Gary said:

In behalf of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Baltimore, I give you kindly greetings and a most hearty welcome to the hospitalities they tender you.

An association composed of over six hundred of the leading business men of our city and State could not fail to be in full sympathy with the object of your Conference, and we await with interest the result of your deliberations, believing that the conclusions reached will redound greatly to the benefit of the governments you so ably support, and serve to bring into closer political and commercial relationship the republics of our Western Hemisphere.

For those reasons our association was anxious that you should visit Baltimore and witness for yourselves our great resources and the natural advantages we possess as a commercial and manufacturing center.

Situated at the head of the Chesapeake Bay, upon whose bosom and between whose protecting shores the entire merchant marine of the world might congregate and not be crowded; with a spacious harbor, whose ample depth of water permits the largest ocean steamers to load and unload their cargoes at our wharves—a center, also, of vast systems of railroads, placing us in close communication with all parts of our country; with terminal facilities unsurpassed, if indeed equaled in any port in the Union—we are fully equipped to transact an unlimited commerce.

Baltimore's advantages for manufacturing are equal to its commercial facilities, and this fact is so generally recognized that no city in the country is developing more rapidly along these lines. They are much diversified in character, and some of them of great magnitude. One of the most important of these, the large iron-works at Steelton, you have to-day had the opportunity of personally inspecting. In regard to another, I may mention as a matter of interest that over 75 per cent. of all the cotton sail duck manufactured in the United States is produced within the limits of our city, and I am informed by a gentleman, who is well advised upon the subject, that it would be safe to say that 60 per cent. of all the cotton duck used in the world is produced in the State of Maryland.

I might elaborate at length upon these lines of thought, but I am mindful that after-dinner addresses should not be ballasted too heavily with cold figures and intricate statistical information, no matter how instructive they may be.

It is to be regretted, gentlemen, that your stay with us is so brief, because we thereby lose the pleasure of giving you the opportunity, by personal inspection, of informing yourselves in regard to our progress in other lines than those of purely business development.

I have called your attention to some of the enterprises by which our citizens make money, and we would like you to know how some of them spend it; and to have shown you the monuments that have arisen in our midst upon the solid basis of the liberal and thoughtful dedication of their millions to art, education, and charity.

The Peabody Institute, with its superb library for scholastic reference and research, its conservatory of music, and its growing gallery of art; the Free Library, the gift of our honored townsman Mr. Enoch Pratt, that, although in operation but three years, circulated last year through its central library and branches 460,000 volumes among 42,111 readers; the University and Hospital, endowments of Mr. Johns Hopkins, the first of which, with its thorough equipment of brains and means, has promptly taken a high rank among the great educational influences of the country, and the magnificent hospital, which in extent and perfection of arrangement is thought to be the equal at least of any similar institution in the world.

We will indulge the hope that as you are so near us during your Conference, many of you will revisit us at such times as may be convenient to you, and inspect these institutions for yourselves, assuring you that you will meet with cordial welcome, and have full opportunity given you for examination. On the part of our business men, every facility for further information concerning the resources and activities of the city will be gladly afforded you; for we indulge the hope that the results of your Conference will be to open to us all new avenues of valuable commercial intercourse, as well as to rivet the friendly relations of the great constituencies we respectively represent.

President Gary's toast was responded to by Delegate Camaano, of Ecuador, whose remarks were translated by the official interpreter of the Conference, A. W. Fergusson. Señor Camaano said:

We have just heard the kind words and hospitable greeting that, in the name of his colleagues, has been extended to us by the honorable president of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of this city, a city which captivates the attention of the traveler, and is one of the principal centers of this admirable Republic. To describe this great nation, to enumerate the resources of the flourishing State of Maryland, or even those of this its principal city, we should have to write volumes; but to manifest our impressions in the language of the heart, which can not be unknown to any of you, two words are sufficient. The delegates to the International American Conference to-day grasp the hands of the indefatigable citizens of Baltimore and accept another proof of the kind reception that has been everywhere extended to them in this hospitable country. We are to be congratulated, gentlemen; the balm of fraternity has overflowed on us; but we, at least, have words of profound gratitude, and this excursion, although short, will live forever in our memories. We shall record that the 25th of January, 1890, was a memorable day; that we passed it in this city, which reflects unmeasured activity and wealth; that, although foreigners, we felt as if we were in our own country and in our own homes; that we contemplated your progress, and that we have contracted with the honorable citizens of Baltimore a debt of gratitude which we can only pay by constant prayers to Heaven for their continued prosperity.

When the applause had ceased another toast was given: "The City of Baltimore: famed in the past for its enterprise and hospitality, it proposes to continue in the van of commercial advancement and intellectual development." To this Mayor Davidson made the following response:

In the toast which has just been read you have given me a subject most difficult to respond to. Were it the city of Baltimore, I could talk to you of the beauties of her situation, how she lies in the lap of her lovely hills, her feet bathed by the limpid waters of Jones's Falls and her far-famed basin.

I could tell of her monuments, and give something of the history, real and mythical, connected with them. And I could tell of monuments that ought to be, as well as of those that are. I could talk to you of our great public buildings, and public and private libraries, and private art collections, and suggest to you the influences of culture and refinement emanating therefrom.

I could speak of our great university, our institutions of learning, our noble foundations in hospitals and other public charities, which are

sources of pride with our own people and of admiration on the part of our neighbors.

But how am I to talk of something so well, so generally, so universally known to all men as the enterprise and the hospitality of the people of this city. There is no novelty, no opportunity for surprise in a subject such as this. We do not make a boast of the air we breathe, of the water we drink; indeed, we never think of these blessings, they are so common to us; they make so much of our constant life that they never occupy our attention.

And so it is of the two subjects of your toast, "Baltimore's enterprise and hospitality."

Let me rather turn them around and say, "Baltimore's hospitality and enterprise," for enterprising as we are, we rather reverse the old adage in this city, and say, "pleasure before business."

Baltimore's hospitality. Do we pride ourselves upon it? Not at all. The latch-string has been out so long that it never occurs to us that we never had any latch on the door.

Not only have we ever been ready to lavish our hospitality upon the distinguished of other lands—such as our guests of this evening—but the door has even been thrown open to the stranger. It is enough that he is a stranger. But let us not lose ourselves in vain glory over our love of hospitality. Nature has absolutely enforced the duty upon us by bountifully providing in our waters and air the greatest abundance of what we may call the instruments of hospitality.

Our waters teem with the toothsome spoils of hospitality. Where are such oysters to be found? Where such "fauna" as the canvas-back and the red-head and the other ducks of the Chesapeake? But how can I speak with admiration enough of that glory of the Chesapeake, the diamond-back terrapin, once so plentiful that a more than yellow contract of old slavery days is still extant, in which it was stipulated that the hired slaves should not be fed on that dainty more than two or three times a week.

But sometimes the instruments of our hospitality are not entirely understood, for it is related that a winter or two since a learned pundit, who lectured for a few days at the Johns Hopkins University, being treated to a banquet by some of his admirers in that institution, spoke afterwards with great appreciation of the feast, with the exception of "some kind of nasty hash" which they had given him. But we love to think, Mr. President, that we are hospitable here, because we are sincere, because there is in Baltimore less of a mixture of discordant or unassimilated elements than in other large cities. We know each other; we keep touch better of each other's elbows; we keep later the warmth and magnetism of our more youthful years. There are no words so pleasant in our mouths as "come again." I cannot repeat them as I would like—in Spanish—but to our honored guests of this evening I would say in good, round, genuine, sincere English, "come again." There is the essence of Baltimore hospitality.

We do not say, come once or come twice, but come; take part at our boards, take part in our homes, come again.

But what shall I say of our enterprise? For, however useful to our hospitality, it at least is not so pleasant a subject to think or talk of. There never has been a time when Baltimore has lagged in the race of progress, although sometimes we find people among us affected with a sort of chronic "grip" and species of down-heartedness, who are always looking behind the cart and never clucking to the horses.

But the great machine rolls on all the same and takes them along with it, and when they look back every decade they are quite astonished to see how far ahead they have gotten, and how completely the old land marks have been lost.

What has there, in fact, ever been in this country in which Baltimore has not been in the advance? Why, sir, in Revolutionary days no community was more alive, more brave, more determined in the vindication of their rights, or more intelligent in ascertaining how to do it.

A few days later, what people were more ready to fly to arms for the protection of their homes and the preservation of their liberties? Where in the world were to be found vessels as fleet and as reliable as the famous Baltimore clippers? Where was capital so early prepared on this continent to dare the risks in the untried field of railroad building, and to attempt a feat so extraordinary as the first railroad projected over the mountains to our Western country?

How many of the good things, great and little, of the material world have had their beginnings here? Here was heard the first click of the telegraphic instrument over any commercial line; here was produced the first pin of American manufacture.

Baltimore, like other great cities, has ever been in a condition of commercial and industrial war; jealous rivals surrounded her, intelligent competitors assail her, but she holds her own in spite of all. Her manufacturers have added 397 new establishments, employing 7,901 hands, within the last ten years, and the gross product last year of our various industries was \$145,000,000, together with the value of the jobbing trade and foreign shipments, which is placed at \$255,000,000, gives us a total business for the year 1889 of \$400,000,000.

Such, Mr. President, is the enterprise of Baltimore; but long may it be associated with her hospitality. Let us hope that the time will never come when, like some churls, she will think only of piling dollar upon dollar and of sitting down alone in her own house because her barns are full.

Let us hope that she will ever, as now, love to have the stranger within her gates, and have him share with her her stores of milk and honey, and while seeking to increase the graceful activity begotten of energy let us appreciate that hospitality is one of the brightest gems in the sparkling diadem which crowns the brow of fair Baltimore.

Following the mayor, whose remarks were frequently applauded, came J. Morrison Harris, who spoke as follows:

I respond with pleasure to the spirit of the toast just offered, and do so briefly, that I may not encroach upon the time of others whom we expect to hear. We realize that the occasion is invested with a peculiar interest, and we all join heartily in the welcome that has been given these distinguished gentlemen who are with us to-night, on the part of the Congress of which they are members.

A conference of nations must always be impressed with a certain dignity and importance, and will, of necessity, exert an influence for good or evil upon those in whose name it acts. This particular Congress is unusual, unique, and full of interesting suggestions. It is in no respect akin to those historic congresses which, on the page of history, sadly illustrate the false and bitter maxim that in international dealings might makes the right.

It proposes neither acquisition nor dismemberment of territory. It wears no mask of sharp diplomacy to hide injurious ends, but in friendliness of spirit aims, by practical results of mutual value, to bind in closer kindred states which nature has already joined. It is suggestive on two important lines. The business aspect is the first. It is a business association representing our largest commercial and manufacturing interests on whose invitation you meet to-night. That its members have much pleasure in welcoming you to such hospitality as they can offer is very sure, but beyond this they mean business.

The addresses you have heard and the excursion which you have enjoyed have given you some idea of the commanding character of our fortunate surroundings in connection with both foreign and domestic trade, as well as of the rapid development of our manufacturing interests. Some of you have passed through large sections, and have realized the immense resources and marvelous development of our country on all lines of mercantile, manufacturing, and mechanical industry.

We on our part are familiar with the states you represent. We know how rich they are, not only in the luxuriance of natural beauty, but in the untold treasures stored in precious metals that seam the slopes and gorges of your majestic mountains, in the abundant wealth of your forests of rare timber, your coffee, sugar, cattle, wool, and the thousand other resources of your several states. We realize that it is of large importance that we should extend our trade with the great continent southward of us, and believe that the future commercial prosperity of the United States makes this demand.

The late ex-President Arthur, as will be seen by reference to Mr. Curtis' admirable book on the "Capitals of Spanish America," tersely presents the case when he says:

' It is our duty and interest to encourage and assist our merchants

and manufacturers in the expansion of our foreign trade by seeking new markets and furnishing facilities for reaching them. But there is a higher achievement in promoting the welfare of our sister republics through the consistent exercise of every friendly office tending to secure their peaceable development and national prosperity."

Further in the same work is forcibly set out the great value of developing this trade. Take out of many an illustration, some facts in connection with the Argentine Republic: "It imports yearly \$100,000,000 worth of manufactured goods—one-third from England, one-fifth from France, one-fifth from Germany, while the United States comes in at the end with Sweden and Denmark. While in 1885 England sent over \$35,000,000 worth of merchandise, we sent \$7,000,000; she sent \$7,000,000 of cotton goods, we sent \$500,000; she sent over \$7,000,000 hardware and other manufactures of iron and steel, we sent \$500,000 worth, and in similar ratio as to a long list of manufactured articles in which we, with equal transportation facilities, can compete with any nation on the globe. And this, while our goods are so popular there, as everywhere in South America, that the manufacturers at Manchester and Birmingham imitate our trade-marks and send cargoes of merchandise which appears to have been produced in the United States, but never got nearer to Yankeeland than Liverpool."

Gentlemen, your need and ours is the formulation of some plan by which we can come together in the practical realization of mutual advantage by enlarging this intercontinental trade, and we look hopefully to the thoughtful and intelligent labors of your Congress for such conclusions as under subsequent legislation may bind us more closely together. But in estimating these mere plausible advantages, let us also speak of trade on somewhat higher lines—think of it as Bulwer aptly styles it, "The calm health of nations." As the discoverer, whose adventurous barks have pierced all seas, and brought to light islands and continents before undreamed of; as the civilizer, bearing to the dark regions of the earth the forceful influence of cultivated life; as the explorer, checked by no obstacle, reckless of danger, instinct with tireless energy, at whose approach the gates of long-sealed empires are thrown open, "let us recognize in it a mighty factor in the splendid civilization of to-day, that on luminous wings soars Phoenix-like to Jove."

But if regarded only as the channel through which wealth flows to men, let us of the unmillions mass bear in mind how grandly it ministers to noblest ends; how freely those whom it enriches put it to higher uses, and temper the bitterness of criticism by asking from whose but the hands of merchants come in largest part the contributions that sustain our Christian enterprise, endow with lavish millions our universities and colleges, opens to the suffering poor our complete hospitals, throws wide to all the wealth of splendid libraries, and sustain the countless charities that grace and dignify the land.

To condemn is easy, to be just is nobler.

There is yet another relation in which we are bound together by ties of closest sympathy. Not only does this Congress suggest these momentous issues of commercial interest, but it reminds us that on higher lines we are one. Through long years of conflict and the fierce rigor of bloody revolutions you have steadily wrought your way to independence, and, throwing off the burden of a foreign rule, have come to rule yourselves. We are all republicans, and may well look out to-day on the world's progress and note with cordial sympathy and interest how, with rapid stride, the broad idea of the people's rights is striking down the old prerogative of kings and building up the fairer fabric of government "by the people and for the people" upon the wreckage of these needless thrones.

These friendly conferences breed mutual respect and confidence, tend to peaceful arbitration, and may inaugurate a new power better than the sword.

The age is wearying of this perpetual mobilization of great armies and these countless cruelties of war, and men are yearning for time and space to fill out, in the enjoyment of all rights, civil, social, and religious, to the stature of a higher and more perfected manhood.

To-day the Old World over, the great masses of the people, burdened and oppressed, are heaving restlessly, as stirs the bosom of some storm-swept sea, and like the voice of many waters comes to our ears the utterance of their menacing demand. Crowns sit insecurely on uneasy heads; faith is waning in the old methods of repression, and we believe that:

Not on swords and spears
Is the reliance of the coming years;
Not by the cannon's throat shall truth proclaim
Her mighty mission; not with blood and flame
Inscribe her lessons in the book of Time.
Her strongest lessons shall be words sublime;
Her armies, thoughts; her banners, printed sheets;
Her captains, voices crying in the streets:
"The earth is good, and bountiful, and fair;
Her choicest blessings are the destined share
Of all her children who in love combine
Wisely to labor."

And so, gentlemen, looking hopefully to large and fortunate results, gratifying to yourselves and us, we all cordially echo the sentiment of the toast to which I speak; that, in friendly intercourse and profitable trade "the continent may, indeed, be ours, and this natural wedlock be cemented by new and enduring ties."

The seal of noisy approbation was set upon Mr. Harris's speech, and none the less so was it affixed to the speech which followed it, that of Delegate Carlos Martinez Silva, of Colombia, to whom was given the task of responding to the toast: "The trade relations of the American Re-

publics; at present harmonious and profitable, may this friendship so increase as to develop more extended commercial relations, promoting thereby the wealth and prosperity of each."

Delegate Silva spoke as follows:

There was a time when the belief was general that he who devoted himself to commercial pursuits engaged in a sort of unworthy profession, because he enriched himself in the same ratio that he impoverished others. At the gaming table what one gains another necessarily loses, since a piece of money can not be in two pockets at once. Such was the notion entertained regarding commerce; so that merchants and swindlers were considered synonymous terms. To interpose ramparts and obstacles before so great an evil was deemed the bounden duty of every good government and every wise legislator. This notion, as is natural, ended by influencing international relations. It was not conceived possible that a rich and powerful nation could exist by the side of another equally rich and powerful. Commerce made them enemies, and it was necessary that one of them should perish from the face of the earth. Such was the origin of the Punic wars. When Cato, surnamed the Virtuous, desired to offer a decisive argument in favor of the destruction of Carthage, he drew from beneath his toga some fresh figs, which had come from the city of Dido, and showing them to the Roman Senate, said: "These figs grew at only three days' distance from Rome." That was considered an insult and menace to the queen of the Tiber. War was declared and Carthage was destroyed.

Rome persevered in this policy as long as she remained mistress of the world, surrounded by ruins and desolation. To her may well be applied the words which the poet Shelley placed as an inscription upon the mutilated statue of Osimandias, which he supposes a certain traveler to have encountered in the desert:

"My name is Osimandias, king of kings! Look on my work, ye mighty, and despair! Nothing beside remains. Round the decay of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare, the lone and level sands stretch far away."

Nor was it enough that Jesus Christ came to bring peace on earth and good-will toward men and nations. For centuries the policy of commercial suspicion, jealousy, and rivalry continued to bathe the earth in blood, and devastate nations, because it was not yet understood that all legitimate interests are harmonious, as is, indeed, every grand work of the Creator. Powerful nations endeavored to enrich themselves with the spoils of others. They sought prosperity in the path of conquests, and not in that of labor and the reciprocal exchange of products, which, by nature's law, are as various as the zones, climates, and religions of the globe, and the capacities, talents, and aptitudes of men.

A long and bitter experience has at length demonstrated that inter-

national commerce is advantageous for all; that the wealth of one country augments that of those with which it exchanges the products of industry and the soil; that isolation is death, and that expansion and free and honorable intercourse is life. The divine anathema thunders forth, "*Vae Soil!*"

And so commerce is equivalent to peace. To establish and cement it discussions, laws, and public treaties of little avail. But let the people be united by the bond of common interests, and then, however much the intrigues of diplomatists and the ambitions of princes may be brought to bear, they will all be shattered upon the clear forethought of those who know that in war they risk their all. It is said that upon a certain occasion, when a rupture seemed inevitable between England and France, Rothschild was asked for his opinion of the situation, and he answered haughtily: "The King wishes war; but I want peace," and war was not made. He, the representative of commerce and industry; he, the banker king, had more power than the one who bore the crown and scepter.

From this may be well understood the immense importance of the project of strengthening the ties and increasing the commercial relations which exist between the United States and the people of the rest of the American continent. It is a work of peace, of civilization, and of progress. To strive for this end is to labor for the good of all humanity.

Europe can no longer be contained within her own limits, and in Asia her swarming population is dying of starvation. And this goes on while our America, with its immense and fertile territories, might give food to the whole world! This can not, should not, continue. You, sons of this grand Republic, which knows no impossibility, have understood this full well, and you are prepared for this great conquest. Forward! The work is worthy of you. Go to our America. There await you lands which shall crown your ambition, peoples which will receive you with open arms, governments which will protect your rights. So much can we offer you.

And what is necessary to realize this great thought?

Three things only will I name: Rapid and easy communication, by land and sea; monetary unity, for commerce is society, and society is language, and the language of exchange is money, and prolongation of credit, that powerful lever which, like faith, can move mountains and sever continents.

Let me summarize what I have said in this toast: To the intimate, full, and increased commercial relations between the American Republics.

Then the toastmaster announced "The resources of the Western Hemisphere; with mines rich and inexhaustible, forests unbounded, and ability to feed the world, 'Excelsior' is our motto."

This brought John V. L. Findlay to his feet and kept him there while he delivered the following speech:

Whoever mapped out the itinerary of our foreign guests who honor us by their presence to-night could not have hit upon a happier thought than to exhibit the great cities of our country in regular succession, reserving, as all good things are reserved, for the last the queenly mistress of the Chesapeake for the fitting crown and climax of this splendid panorama.

Almost from the date of her own commercial life, Baltimore has maintained the closest relations of business and friendship with the Republics of South America.

At the very commencement of the struggle of these Republics for independence, muskets and flour shipped from this port helped to arm and feed their military forces, and more than one of her sons left the quiet of home and family here to share in the uncertain fortunes of the revolution. The intercourse thus begun has been continued ever since, at one time supporting a matchless fleet of vessels, recognized everywhere for speed and beauty, as the peculiar product of Baltimore skill, and still managing to fly in the face of every reverse, a few of the tattered rags of that once superb commercial marine, whose proud ensign floated in every sea, and even challenged the supremacy of Great Britain herself. Not as aliens and strangers, therefore, making your first appearance in a strange place, in the exercise of the ordinary rites of hospitality, do we send you our greeting, but as men and brethren, whose political and commercial life are intimately bound up with the past of this metropolis, and whose future we ardently hope may be still closer linked with her destiny.

As to the northern half of this hemisphere, with which I am more familiar, its resources at this particular season would appear to be permanent blizzards in the West and premature blossoms in the East—a climatic change on our Atlantic sea-board, which has been attributed to a variety of influences, as a deflection in the course of the Gulf-stream and other far-fetched suggestions of a like kind, but for which I find a readier and more natural solution in the presence of our Southern brethren at this Pan-American Conference. What short of the warm hearts, the ardent natures, the glowing intelligence and sympathies of these brilliant sons of the tropics could have so moderated the rigors of a Northern winter and caused the lilacs to bloom and the trees to bud in January? Why, I remember when the annexation of the Belt was imminent, when we took in that long coveted piece of territory, or rather when it took us in, there were all sorts of portents and prodigies in the air.

It was said that an old hen at Waverly, intoxicated with the prospect, contrary to all precedent, fell to laying three eggs a day, and the knowing ones interpreted this as a sign of the fruitfulness of the Belt, foreshadowing the value and importance of its new connection.

And so here, when a genial sun and balmy airs, borrowed from another clime, shed their strange and unaccustomed blessing, along with the grip, in midwinter, and this extraordinary phenomenon happens to coincide with a visit from a neighboring continent and contiguous powers, so significant and full of promise, it seems to me that nature, by one of her subtlest expressions and gentlest of whispers, is indicating the new quarter from which a fresh impulse is to be given to the national life of this hemisphere. You ask me to speak of its resources, and I understand you to mean not the mere outward sign and symbol by which these are revealed, but the spiritual forces by which they are developed and made a part of the world's activities. The resources of a country, in this sense, are the energy, conscience, and intelligence of its people.

What has made the United States great? Why is it that she is the richest, the most prosperous and powerful nation on the surface of the globe to-day? Surely not because iron and coal, silver and gold, lay embodied in her soil; not because that soil was surpassingly fruitful, and only needed the scratch of a plow to make it sprout into a harvest; nor that the natural highways of commerce over great rivers and lakes were ready to transport this harvest and distribute it among the people and pass the surplus beyond the seas. These are natural resources, it is true, the value of which can not be overestimated, but they existed in all their imperial superabundance—waters, minerals, soil and all—when the untutored savage ran naked in his native woods, and could lay no closer claim to his mother earth than the right to feed, and finally to repose in her bosom.

Over this scene of primeval simplicity as great a change has come as when the earth itself, gradually assuming form and consistency, and shaking her drowning locks, emerged at length from the watery wastes of original chaos. The transforming hand of man has changed the face of nature, and, although the everlasting hills still lift up their heads to the skies, and the rivers still flow to the sea, there is a new earth and a new heaven, whether in point of conception or development of the natural body. What, I again ask, has wrought the change? In answer to the question, I thought I almost heard some enthusiast whisper "the tariff," but if such an answer trembled on the lips of any one, permit me to say, gentlemen, that, in my poor opinion, it would have been a great mistake.

The tariff has played an important part in the development of this country. Many of our manufactures would not have been established without its aid, many perhaps would languish now if its fostering hand was suddenly withdrawn; but the tariff is not a thick and thin fetich to be worshiped but a governmental agency to be molded and regulated by practical men to meet the exigencies of state as they arise.

Unfortunately for us, it has become a question of politics rather than policy, the noisy arena of contending parties, instead of the sober meeting place of the people, a game at foot-ball and not a problem in statesmanship.

Now, I contend that the resources of a country are just what the people make them, and no more, and that the resources of a hemisphere as a text for a speech, have no significance or pertinency to this occasion, unless we have in mind all the people who inhabit this hemisphere, and their union or identification with some common plan to make these resources mutually minister in a reciprocal exchange of benefits to the common advantage of both of the continents. If there are any conventional barriers erected by either party; if there are any chasms suffered to exist by the neglect or indifference of either which need bridging; if there are any crooked places to be made straight, mountains to be leveled or valleys to be raised, that man does not deserve the name of statesman who permits himself to be restrained or hampered by mere party traditions from treating the commercial situation as it is, tariff or no tariff.

One of the most splendid and audacious conceptions of modern engineering is the project by which it is proposed to run a railroad through the whole extent of the three Americas. Consider for a moment what that means in the way of overcoming natural obstacles; the tunnels, the bridges, the fills along this intercontinental railway stretching almost from pole to pole!

And yet, however apparently insurmountable the difficulties, there are ears now listening to me which will yet catch the click of the wheels on a through car from Baltimore to Buenos Ayres or Valparaiso. Is it not strange that we will go to any expense to break down any natural barrier which stands between us and our interests; defy the mountains, brave the seas, challenge the equator itself in the mad rush of commercial and political affinities, and yet all the while erect artificial barriers across these very highways of traffic, which we ourselves have created, and destroy in part, at least, the very advantage we expected to derive from their establishment? Whatever may be said of other peoples and continents, fixed in a different and economic environment, our relations with whom should be determined by a practical rather than a speculative or theoretical treatment of the tariff question, there ought to be no doubt, it seems to me, that the Americas are bigger than the tariff, and certainly neither one can exploit its resources to the fullest advantage without radical modifications in the system.

The poet has sung of the parliament of man and the federation of the world; the political economist has dreamed of the blessings of unrestricted commerce; the Christian hopes for the day when all nations and tongues shall unite in praise of Him who died for all; but towards all these ideals the approximation can be at best but slow, inconstant, and fluctuating. The world moves slowly. It was several thousand years old, according to biblical chronology, before Christ himself appeared. Nearly fifteen hundred years passed by ere the second great event in its history was recorded—when Columbus, with his own glistening eyes, caught the first twinkling light of the New World.

What matters it whether it moves slowly or moves rapidly? Time is eternal, and there is eternity to work in. A thousand years puts us no farther from the beginning, and brings us no nearer to the end. Some things only seem to be nearer, and others farther off. But, among these apparently near things, something that can be heard and almost felt in the darkness is the drawing together of the two peoples who dominate at least half of the world in bonds of closer sympathy and union, without imperiling the identity of either, or destroying that diversity in unity which is the life of both. However long the expression of the formal relation which this new alliance is to take may be postponed, whenever it is announced a long stride will have been made towards that ultimate unification of the peoples of the world which poets have sung and for which philanthropists have sighed; for you will have demonstrated that one-half of the world can come together, and an experiment conducted upon such a stupendous scale must, in the nature of things, be the precursor of that ampler union which, sooner or later, will embrace all the nations of the earth.

Gentlemen, we sometimes build wiser than we know, and upon such a structure as this you are now engaged as the willing but perhaps unconscious agents of the Master Builder.

The liberator did not foresee, however much he may have felt, the future in the instant all the consequences of Carabobo. The sage of Mount Vernon did not comprehend the full significance of Yorktown. The predecessor of both, who discovered the New World to which another has given his name, died in ignorance of the great boon he had conferred upon mankind. But Columbus, Bolivar, and Washington, although they did not foresee the end from the beginning, with prophetic instinct laid the foundations of their unconscious work deep and strong, as though the temple of perfected empire had burst in full upon their straining vision. To you an international trust, not less far-reaching in its consequences has been confided, and while it would be entirely out of place in me to attempt to indicate the lines on which this trust can be most beneficially executed, even if I were fit for the task, it is not trespassing upon the bounds of propriety, in developing the sentiment of my toast, to say that any performance will be partial and incomplete which does not end in converting the resources of the Western Hemisphere, as near as may be, into interchangeable commodities between both continents upon the basis of the freest trade compatible with existing conditions. This I believe is the aspiration of the people of this country; this I know is the ardent wish of the people of Baltimore, some of whose deserted wharves and empty warehouses furnish mournful memorials of what that trade was in the heyday of her prosperity. May we not say of it in this presence,

Great Glamis! worthy Cawdor!

Greater than both, by the all-hail hereafter!

Delegate Estee was unexpectedly called upon to make a few remarks. He was roundly applauded. Said he:

When we got down to the depot this morning to come over to your beautiful city I was misunderstood by one of your committeemen. He asked me from what country I came. I told him the Far West. He did not seem to understand me, and said, "I suppose from Mexico." He asked me where I was born, and you know this is a pretty uncertain question. I told him I was born in Pennsylvania. He told me it was a mistake, I should have been born in Maryland. You all know I had no control over this matter. I asked him the area of Maryland, and he said fifty-odd square miles. He afterwards added that thirty-four square miles of it was in the Chesapeake Bay. When we boarded the steamer we went on the hurricane-deck to see a launch. He advocated my going below, where it was more comfortable. I told him a launch was something I wanted to see, and he said it was a common occurrence here, and a vessel was usually launched every day. Now, my friends, after having listened to my predecessor (Mr. Findlay), I think some one has made a mistake. I could not understand the marvelous growth of Baltimore, and yet see its docks vacant. I can tell you what is the matter with your wharves. All Americans are afraid to do what they should for American commerce—what all other nations have done before for their individual commerce. This nation of unsurpassed wealth and unlimited resources has allowed England with a judicious prudence to make the dollar with our pursuits.

Mr. Estee advised Americans to subsidize their merchant marine, and then he said there would be prosperity for all American commerce.

"The American Woman" was eulogized by John M. Carter, and his kindly words were repeatedly cheered by the delegates.

General Felix Agnus was the last of the speakers, and he was welcomed very heartily. He said:

I was not on the bill of fare, but I was in hopes, however, I would have an opportunity to say something in behalf of the fair ladies of Baltimore. Their lovely blue eyes, rosy cheeks, and lily-white bosoms is what we boys of the war-times used to call the pretty girls of red, white, and blue. They are the noblest creation of God and the helpmeet of man. To stray from such an entrancing subject, I would like to answer one little argument I have heard to-night from the gentleman from California. He made you feel very bad in saying the American flag had been swept from the seas. What has our Squadron of Evolution been doing but floating the Stars and Stripes under the very nose of foreign monarchies? Is it our merchant marine that he refers to?

If so, there is one cause, and that is our internal prosperity is so great

we decline to compete with the vagrant Italians, English, and French, or other poor nations. He speaks of subsidies. We may not have the vessels, but when it comes to sailors we can at short notice man a navy superior to that of any other country with men both tried and true. Are we sick and tired of having recorded from day to day the honest history of our country? We are not, and this brings us to the location of the World's Fair. The other day I had the opportunity of addressing the Senate of the United States, and I told them as a public educator I came before them to represent the city of Baltimore and urge the location of the World's Fair at the national capital. I told them that the history of this great nation should not be written at a country seat, but at the capital of the nation; that if, in the ages to come, we should be swept as Egypt and the Nubian coast of Africa was by inundations and earthquakes, our libraries destroyed, and that the generations to come after us should dig up from the earth our stone history, would it be honest to show them that New York or Chicago were nothing but county seats of their States? It would be a mocking and an insult to the great name of Washington.

The general then spoke of the center of population, and demonstrated that the Southern sea-ports would regain their old prosperity and the center of population would return to the South again, with Washington in its midst. He made some allusion as to the great increase in value of property in Washington and Philadelphia, and encouraged his Baltimore hearers with the fact that Baltimore was hemmed in between these two great cities, and that its real estate would advance as rapidly as in those cities. He quoted the fact that a Washington architect had built thirty-five houses to be sold at \$10,000 each. Four of them he sold at that price, and when he saw the demand gaining on him he raised his price to \$12,500. Four he sold at the latter price, and he again increased his price to \$15,000, and to-day he had raised the price to \$18,000.

"Such prosperity in our beautiful city of Washington speaks volumes for itself," said the general. "Men of Baltimore, your time is near, your patience has been great, but your success is now assured."

Among those who were present at the banquet table were Representatives Charles H. Gibson, Henry Stockbridge, jr., Louis E. McComas, Herman Stump, and Harry Welles Rusk.

INDEX.

ADDRESSES OF—	Page.
Horace Porter at West Point.....	10
Col. John M. Wilson at West Point	14
Secretary Proctor at West Point.....	15
General Sherman at West Point.....	16
New York City	274
Delegate Calderon at Boston.....	19-31
Omaha.....	172
St. Louis.....	182
Louisville	217
General Hastings at Boston.....	19
President Hardy at Boston	23
Delegate Zegarra at Boston.....	23
Ann Arbor.....	112
St. Louis.....	181
Indianapolis	209
New York City.....	265-281
Mayor Hart at Boston.....	24
Lieutenant-Governor Brackett at Boston.....	24
Delegate Henderson at Boston.....	25-33
Hartford.....	52
New Haven	57
Albany	66
Kansas City.....	190
Indianapolis.....	211
Louisville	221
New York City.....	300
Delegate Bolet Peraza at Boston.....	26
St. Paul	159
Springfield	196
Indianapolis.....	210
Louisville	220
Philadelphia	238
New York City.....	268-298
Mr. Hersey C. Goodwin at Boston	27

ADDRESSES OF—Continued.	Page.
Delegate Cruz at Boston.....	28
St. Louis.....	185
Philadelphia.....	246
John E. Russell at Boston.....	28
Jonathan A. Lane at Boston.....	29
Delegate Francisco Silva at Boston.....	31
Delegate Davis at Boston.....	32
Delegate Velarde at Boston.....	32
Hartford.....	50
Springfield.....	199
Indianapolis.....	209
Delegate Zelaya at Boston.....	32
Cleveland.....	95
St. Louis.....	183
Indianapolis.....	210
New York City.....	276
Delegate Flint at Boston.....	33
Portland.....	43
Chicago.....	139
President Henry Saltonstall at Lawrence.....	34
Judge Daniel Clark at Manchester....	38
Mayor Melcher at Portland.....	41
Senator Hale at Portland.....	41
Delegate Mendonca at Portland.....	44
New York City.....	303
A. A. Strout at Portland.....	45
Delegate Martinez Silva at Portland.....	46
New Haven.....	58
Sioux City.....	167
Kansas City.....	191
Baltimore.....	321
General Bulkeley at Hartford.....	50
Senator Hawley at Hartford.....	50
New Haven.....	60
Delegate Aragon at Hartford.....	51
New York City.....	274
Mark Twain at Hartford.....	52
Professor Knapp at New Haven.....	57
President Dwight at New Haven.....	58
Morris F. Tyler at New Haven.....	58
Delegate Castellanos at New Haven.....	59
Kansas City.....	189
Indianapolis.....	210
Lieutenant-Governor Merwin at New Haven.....	59
Consul-General Calvo at New Haven.....	60

ADDRESSES OF—Continued.	Page.
Chairman Hyde at Springfield.....	61
Mayor Maher at Albany.....	63
Governor Hill at Albany.....	64
Norris Morey at Buffalo.....	70
John G. Milburn at Buffalo.....	72
Delegate Guzman at Buffalo.....	74
Philadelphia.....	237
E. Carlton Sprague at Buffalo.....	75
Delegate Bliss at Buffalo.....	76
Delegate Varas at Buffalo.....	76
Senator Payne at Cleveland.....	79
Mayor Gardner at Cleveland.....	80
William Eleroy Curtis at Cleveland.....	82
Sioux City.....	169
Louisville.....	221
A. J. Ricks at Cleveland.....	85
Delegate Caamaño at Cleveland.....	87
New York City.....	269-309
Baltimore.....	316
Senator Sherman at Cleveland.....	88
F. G. Pierra at Cleveland.....	92
Governor Foraker at Cleveland.....	93
M. A. Foran at Cleveland.....	96
R. C. Parsons at Cleveland.....	99
J. C. Covert at Cleveland.....	100
James H. Hoyt at Cleveland.....	103
President Angell at Ann Arbor.....	112
Delegate Studebaker at South Bend.....	117
St. Paul.....	157
Indianapolis.....	212
Mayor Longley at South Bend.....	118
Delegate Trescot at South Bend.....	118
Minneapolis.....	163
Rev. T. E. Walsh at South Bend.....	118
Mayor Cregier at Chicago.....	120
Senator Farwell at Chicago.....	130
Governor Fifer at Chicago.....	131
Springfield.....	200
Delegate Romero at Chicago.....	132
Milwaukee.....	152
New York City.....	277-284
Lambert Tree at Chicago.....	134
Delegate Alfonso at Chicago.....	136
Springfield.....	197
Indianapolis.....	209

ADDRESSES OF—Continued.	Page.
Delegate Alfonso at Cincinnati	224
New York City	291
Delegate Nin at Chicago	137
George R. Blanchard at Chicago.	142
Mayor Brown at Milwaukee.....	149
Mr. John Johnson at Milwaukee	149
J. V. Quarles at Milwaukee	153
Thomas Cochran, jr., at St. Paul	156
S. J. R. McMillan at St. Paul.....	158
D. A. Monfort at St. Paul	161
Mayor Babb at Minneapolis.....	163
Mayor Cleland at Sioux City	165
Governor Larrabee at Sioux City	165
Senator Allison at Sioux City	166
John A. Kasson at Sioux City ...	168
Mayor Broatch at Omaha	171
Governor Thayer at Omaha	171
Charles A. Cox at St. Louis	176
Governor Francis at St. Louis .	177
Kansas City ...	192
Mayor Noonan at St. Louis.....	180-183
Father Hoeffler at St. Louis.....	184
Mr. Paul Fusz at St. Louis	185
L. E. Irwin at Kansas City.....	188
Mayor Davenport at Kansas City	189
J. C. Tarsney at Kansas City	191
Governor Oglesby at Springfield.....	194
Senator Cullom at Springfield	198
Representative William M. Springer at Springfield	200
Judge Walter Q. Gresham at Springfield.....	202
George G. Tanner at Indianapolis	204
Governor Hovey at Indianapolis	204
Mayor Denny at Indianapolis.....	205
Thomas H. Nelson at Indianapolis	207
President Cornwall at Louisville.....	214
Harvey M. Watterson at Louisville	214
Representative McCreary at Louisville.....	215
Governor Buckner at Louisville	220
Mayor Mosby at Cincinnati.....	224
Representative Dalzell at Pittsburgh.....	228
Mayor Fitler at Philadelphia	237
Dr. Pepper at Philadelphia.....	245
Mayor Grant at New York City	264-282
President Simmons at New York City	268
Delegate Carnegie at New York City	269

	Page.
ADDRESSES OF—Continued.	
Charles S. Smith at New York City.....	273
S. V. White at New York City	277
William H. T. Hughes at New York City	279
William M. Ivins at New York City	289
Elihu Root at New York City	293
Rev. John R. Paxton at New York City.....	296
Chauncey M. Depew at New York City	299
Delegate Decoud at New York City.....	307
James A. Gary at Baltimore.....	314
Mayor Davidson at Baltimore.....	316
J. Morrison Harris at Baltimore	319
John V. L. Findlay at Baltimore	324
Delegate Estee at Baltimore.....	328
General Felix Agnus at Baltimore	328
ALBANY, VISIT TO.....	63
Address of Mayor Maher.....	63
Governor Hill	64
Delegate Henderson	66
ALTOONA, VISIT TO	235
Pennsylvania Railroad car shops at.....	236
ANN ARBOR, VISIT TO	111
Michigan University	111
Address of President Angell.....	112
Delegate Zegarra	112
BALTIMORE, VISIT TO	313
Address of James A. Gary	314
Banquet.....	314
Address of Mayor Davidson....	316
Delegate Caamaño.....	316
J. Morrison Harris	319
Delegate Martinez Silva.....	321
John V. L. Findlay	324
Delegate Estee	328
General Felix Agnus	328
BESSEMER, VISIT TO.....	231
BOSTON, VISIT TO.....	18
Reception by committee.....	18
Visit to public schools.....	18
Address of Delegate Calderon.....	19
General Hastings.....	19
Banquet of Commercial Club.....	21
Speech of President Hardy (Commercial Club)	23
Address of Delegate Zegarra.....	23
Mayor Hart.....	24
Lieutenant-Governor Brackett.....	24

	Page.
BOSTON, VISIT TO—Continued.	
Address of Delegate Henderson.....	25
Bolet Peraza.....	26
Mr. Hersey C. Goodwin.....	27
Delegate Cruz.....	28
John E. Russell.....	28
Jonathan A. Lane	29
Visit to benevolent institutions	30
Reform school	31
Address of Delegate Calderon	31
Delegate Francisco Silva	31
Delegate Davis.....	32
Delegate Velarde.....	32
Delegate Zelaya.....	32
Delegate Flint.....	33
Delegate Henderson.....	33
Visit to Harvard College	33
BUFFALO, VISIT TO	69
Banquet at.....	70
Address of Norris Morey	70
John G. Milburn.....	72
Delegate Guzman.....	74
E. Carlton Sprague	75
Delegate Bliss.....	76
Delegate Varas	76
CHICAGO, VISIT TO.....	120
Address of Mayor Cregier.....	120
Reception.....	120
Visit to the Armour Mission.....	121
McCormick Reaper Works.....	122
Stock-yards	122
Post-office.....	124
Reception by Mrs. Potter Palmer.....	124
Visit to Marshall, Field & Co.'s store.....	126
the Board of Trade.....	126
the Auditorium	127
Oaklawn	127
Mark Dunham's stock farm	127
Banquet at Grand Pacific Hotel	127
Address of Senator Farwell.....	130
Governor Fifer	131
Delegate Romero	132
Lambert Tree.....	134
Delegate Alfonso.....	136
Delegate Nin	137
Delegate Flint.....	139
George R. Blanchard.....	142

	Page.
CINCINNATI, VISIT TO.....	224
Address of Mayor Mosby	224
Delegate Alfonso.....	224
Banquet at Commercial Club.....	225
Inspection of election	226
CLEVELAND, VISIT TO	78
Rolling mills... ..	78
Banquet at Stillman House.....	78
Address of Senator Payne.....	79
Mayor Gardner	80
William Eleroy Curtis.....	82
A. J. Ricks	85
Delegate Caamaño.....	87
Senator Sherman	88
F. G. Pierra	92
Governor Foraker.....	93
Delegate Zelaya.....	95
M. A. Foran	96
R. C. Parsons.....	99
J. C. Covert	100
James H. Hoyt	103
Visit to the Garfield Monument.....	106
Reception by citizens. . .	107
COLLINSVILLE, VISIT TO.....	53
CRUISER YORKTOWN—Voyage on.....	17
DETROIT, VISIT TO	108
Reception by Senator McMillan.....	109
DISTANCES TRAVELED ON TOUR.....	260
ERIE, VISIT TO	76
EXCURSION—	
Description of train	3
Pullman cars	3
Delegates participating in	7
Secretaries participating in.....	7
Attachés participating in.....	7
Newspapers represented on.....	8
FRAMINGHAM RUBBER FACTORY, VISIT TO.....	20
Reception by school children	20
GRAND RAPIDS, VISIT TO	113
Furniture factories.....	114
HARTFORD, VISIT TO.....	48
Banquet.....	49
Address of General Bulkeley	50
Delegate Velarde .	50
Senator Hawley.....	50
Delegate Aragon.....	51

	Page.
HARTFORD, VISIT TO—Continued.	
Address of Mark Twain	52
Delegate Henderson	52
Reception by Governor of Connecticut	52
HOLYOKE, VISIT TO	62
INDIANAPOLIS, VISIT TO	202
Tile works	203
Banquet	204
Address of George G. Tanner	204
Reception by Governor Hovey	204
Address of Governor Hovey	204
Mayor Denny	205
Delegate Caamaño	207
Thomas H. Nelson	207
Delegate Zegarra	209
Delegate Alfonso	209
Delegate Velarde	209
Delegate Castellanos	210
Delegate Bolet Peraza	210
Delegate Zelaya	210
Delegate Henderson	211
Delegate Studebaker	212
ITINERARY of the journey through the United States	253
JEANETTE GLASS WORKS, VISIT TO	235
JOHNSTOWN, VISIT TO	235
KANSAS CITY, VISIT TO	187
Smelting works	188
Resolutions offered by Delegate Romero	188
Address of L. E. Irwin	188
Banquet	188
Address of Mayor Davenport	189
Delegate Castellanos	189
Delegate Henderson	190
Delegate Martinez Silva	191
J. C. Tarsney	191
Governor D. R. Francis	192
LAWRENCE, VISIT TO	34
Pacific Mills	34
Address of Henry Saltonstall	34
Paper Mills	35
LEXINGTON, VISIT TO	222
LOUISVILLE, VISIT TO	212
Reception at the Board of Trade	213
Address of President Cornwall	214
Harvey M. Watterson	214
Representative McCreary	215

	Page.
LOUISVILLE, VISIT TO—Continued.	
Address of Delegate Calderon.....	217
Reception at Fincastle Club	219
Address of Governor Buckner.....	220
Delegate Bolet Peraza	220
Delegate Henderson	221
William Eleroy Curtis	221
Reception	222
LOWELL, VISIT TO	36
Middlesex Woolen Mills.....	36
Carpet Mills	36
MAMMOTH CAVE, VISIT TO	222
MANCHESTER, VISIT TO....	37
Amoskeag Cotton Mills.....	37
Address of Daniel Clark	38
MERIDEN, VISIT TO	53
MILWAUKEE, VISIT TO	148
Address of Mayor Brown	149
Mr. John Johnson	149
Delegate Romero	152
J. V. Quarles	153
Reception by John L. Mitchell to delegates.....	155
MINNEAPOLIS, VISIT TO	162
Address of Mayor Babb	163
Delegate Trescot.....	163
Visit to the Pillsbury Mills	164
Banquet.....	164
Reception by citizens	165
NEW HAVEN, VISIT TO.....	55
Banquet.....	56
Address of Professor Knapp.....	57
Delegate Henderson	57
President Dwight.....	58
Delegate Martinez Silva.....	58
Morris F. Tyler.....	58
Delegate Castellanos.....	59
Lieutenant-Governor Merwin	59
Consul-General Calvo.....	60
Senator Hawley.....	60
NEW YORK CITY, VISIT TO	262
Address of Mayor Grant	264
Delegate Zegarra	265
Visit to the Normal College	268
Address of President Simmons	268
Delegate Bolet Peraza	268
Delegate Carnegie	269

	Page.
NEW YORK CITY, VISIT TO—Continued.	
Address of Delegate Caamaño.....	269
Visit to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.....	270
Museum of Natural History.....	270
St. Patrick's Cathedral	270
Reception by Union League Club.....	270
Visit to Columbia College	272
the Metropolitan Opera House.....	272
Lawyers' Club	272
Brooklyn Bridge	272
Chamber of Commerce	273
Address of Charles S. Smith.....	273
Delegate Aragon.....	274
General Sherman	274
Delegate Zelaya.....	276
Delegate Romero	277
S. V. White	277
Seventh Regiment drill	277
Reception by Spanish-American Literary Society.....	278
Fire department inspected	278
Police department inspected.....	278
Visit to the Vanderbilt Mansion	279
Marquand Mansion.....	279
Banquet of Spanish-American Commercial Union.....	279
Address of William H. T. Hughes	279
Delegate Zegarra	281
Mayor Grant	282
Delegate Romero	284
Wm. M. Ivins	289
Delegate Alfonso.....	291
Elihu Root	293
Rev. John R. Paxton ..	296
Delegate Bolet Peraza.....	298
Chauncey M. Depew.....	299
Delegate Henderson	300
Delegate Mendonça	303
Delegate Decoud.....	307
Delegate Caamaño	309
Telegram from Secretary Blaine.....	310
NIAGARA FALLS, VISIT TO	68
OMAHA, VISIT TO	171
Address of Mayor Broatch	171
Governor Thayer	171
Delegate Calderon	172
Visit to Fort Omaha	173

	Page.
PHILADELPHIA, VISIT TO.....	237
Reception address of Mayor Fitler	237
Address of Delegate Guzman.....	237
Visit to Girard College.....	238
Address of Delegate Bolet Peraza.....	238
Visit to Wanamaker's Store.....	240
Baldwin's Locomotive Works	241
United States Mint.....	241
Independence Hall.....	241
Reception by the Union League Club	242
Silk-Culture Association	243
Visit to George W. Childs,.....	244
Sugar Refinery	244
University of Pennsylvania	244
Address of Dr. Pepper	245
Delegate Cruz	246
Reception at University.....	248
Visit to the Disston Saw Works	249
Cramp's Ship-yard.....	249
Reception at Manufacturers' Club	250
Visit to the Keystone Watch Company	250
Watches presented to wives of delegates	250
PITTSBURGH, VISIT TO.....	227
Reception.....	228
Address of Representative Dalzell.....	228
Visit to Carnegie's Iron Works	231
Exposition building.....	232
Gas display.....	233
PORTLAND, VISIT TO....	39
Banquet.....	40
Address of Mayor Melcher.....	41
Senator Hale	41
Delegate Flint	43
Delegate Mendonça	44
A. A. Strout.....	45
Delegate Martinez Silva.....	46
RAILROADS TRAVELED OVER.....	260
SIoux CITY, VISIT TO.....	165
Address of Mayor Cleland.....	165
Governor Larrabee.....	165
Senator Allison	166
Delegate Martinez Silva.....	167
John A. Kasson.....	168
William Eleroy Curtis	169
Visit to Corn Palace.....	169

	Page.
SOUTH BEND, VISIT TO.....	115
Reception by Delegate Studebaker.....	117
Address of Delegate Studebaker.....	117
Mayor Longley.....	118
Delegate Trescot.....	118
Visit to the University of Notre Dame.....	118
Address of Rev. T. E. Walsh.....	118
SPRINGFIELD, VISIT TO ...	193
Tomb and Monument of Abraham Lincoln.....	193
Address of Governor Oglesby.....	194
Bolet Peraza at Lincoln's grave.....	196
Delegate Alfonso at Lincoln's grave.....	197
Banquet at Leland Hotel.....	198
Address of Senator Cullom.....	198
Delegate Velarde.....	199
Governor Fifer.....	200
Representative Wm. M. Springer.....	200
Judge Walter Q. Gresham.....	202
SPRINGFIELD, VISIT TO	60
Address of Chairman Hyde.....	61
STEELTON, VISIT TO	313
ST. LOUIS, VISIT TO	175
Reception at Chamber of Commerce	176
Address of Charles A. Cox	176
Governor Francis.....	177
Mayor Noonan.....	180
Delegate Zegarra.....	181
Visit to manufactories	182
Address of Delegate Calderon.....	182
Visit to Manual Training-School.....	182
Address of Delegate Zelaya.....	183
Visit to the Anhäuser-Busch Brewery.....	183
Address of Mayor Noonan.....	183
Reception by the Marquette Club.....	184
Address of Father Hoeffler.....	184
Mr. Paul Fusz ...	185
Delegate Cruz.....	185
ST. PAUL, VISIT TO	155
Young Men's Christian Association.....	156
Address of Thomas Cochran, jr.....	156
Delegate Studebaker.....	157
S. J. R. McMillan.....	158
Bolet Peraza.....	159
Reception at Hotel Ryan.....	160
Address of D. A. Monfort	161
WALTHAM WATCH FACTORY, VISIT TO	20

	Page.
WASHINGTON, RETURN TO	251
WEST POINT, VISIT TO	8
Presentation of portraits by Geo. W. Childs.....	9
Address of Horace Porter.....	10
Col. John M. Wilson.....	14
Secretary Proctor.....	15
General Sherman.....	16
President Harrison's letter to Mr. Childs.....	17
WILLIMANTIC THREAD WORKS, VISIT TO.....	47
WILMINGTON, VISIT TO.....	311
WORCESTER, VISIT TO.....	46

51ST CONGRESS, }
1st Session. }

SENATE.

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Part 4.

INTERNATIONAL AMERICAN CONFERENCE.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES
AND
DISCUSSIONS THEREON.

Volume IV.

HISTORICAL APPENDIX.

THE CONGRESS OF 1826, AT PANAMA,

AND SUBSEQUENT MOVEMENTS TOWARD A CONFERENCE OF
AMERICAN NATIONS.

WASHINGTON:
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1890.

THE HISTORY OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK

FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY JACOB LEVINSKY

NEW YORK

1890

HISTORICAL RECORDS
OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

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1890

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page.
HISTORICAL PAPERS RELATING TO THE CONGRESS AT PANAMA.	
Adams, President John Quincy, Message to Congress, 1825..	19
Adams, President John Quincy, nominates Commissioners to Panama Congress.....	23
Adams, President John Quincy, reply to Resolution of In- quiry from the House of Representatives.....	34
Address of President of Panama Congress.....	101
Agreement, secret, of South American Republics, 1826.....	197
Agreement of Panama Congress.....	112
Anderson, Richard C., nominated commissioner to Panama Congress.....	23-53
Anderson, Richard C., commissioner, instructions to.....	113, 151
Bolivar's suggestion of International Conference.	155
Bolivar's "Prophetic Letter".....	158
Canaz, Antonio José, to Henry Clay.....	32
Central American Minister to Henry Clay.....	32
Clay, Henry, letter to the President on Panama Congress...	23
Clay, Henry, to Mexican Minister.....	30, 99
Clay, Henry, to Central American Minister.....	33
Clay, Henry, reply to Resolution of Inquiry.....	50
Clay, Henry, instructions to United States Delegates.....	113, 151
Colombia ratifies action of Panama Congress.....	201
Colombian Minister to Henry Clay.....	27, 111
Commissioners, U. S., to the Panama Congress nominated...	93
Commissioners to Panama, Senate refuses to confirm	53
Commissioners to Panama Congress.....	101
Constitutional history of the United States, extracts from..	7
Conference, International, proposed by Bolivar	155
Delegates, United States, instructions to.....	113
Foreign affairs, report of Senate Committee on.....	53
Foreign affairs, report of committee on, H. of R., 1826.....	81
Guatemala represented at Panama Congress.....	101
Guatemala refuses to ratify action of Panama Congress....	201
Installation of President of Panama Congress.....	101

	Page.
CONGRESS AT PANAMA—Continued.	
Instructions, Mr. Clay's, to United States delegates.....	113, 151
Message of President Adams to Congress, 1825.....	19
Message of President Adams in reply to the Resolution of Inquiry.....	34
Message of President Adams to Congress, 1829.....	113
Mexican Minister to Henry Clay.....	25, 101
Mexico represented at Panama Congress.....	101
Mexico refuses to ratify action of Panama Congress.....	201
Monroe Doctrine, history of.....	12
Notes on Panama Congress by J. I. Rodriguez.....	155
Obregon, Pablo, to Henry Clay.....	25
Peru represented at Panama Congress.....	101
Peru refuses to ratify action of Panama Congress.....	201
Poinsett, Mr., letter to Henry Clay.....	101, 110
Proceedings of Panama Congress.....	173
Protocols of Panama Congress.....	112, 174
Report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, 1826...	53
Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, H. of R., 1826..	81
Representatives, House of, Resolution of Inquiry.....	34
Representatives, House of, reply to, by Mr. Clay.....	50
Representatives, House of, approves appointment of Commissioners.....	81
Resolution of Inquiry, reply of Henry Clay to.....	50
Results of Panama Congress.....	174
Rochester, William B., Secretary to Panama Congress.....	23
Salazar, José Maria, to Henry Clay.....	30, 111
Senate, U. S., refuses to confirm Delegates to Panama.....	53
Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, report of.....	53
Sergeant, John, Commissioner to Panama.....	23-53
Sergeant, John, Commissioner, instructions to.....	113, 151
Smith, John Speed, Secretary to Panama Congress.....	152
Tucker, George F., history of Monroe Doctrine.....	12
Venezuela represented at Panama Congress.....	101
Vidaurre, Antonio de, President of Panama Congress.....	101
BOLIVAR DELIVERS INVITATION TO THE CONFERENCE OF 1826.	159
Columbia replies to.....	161
Mexico replies to.....	163
Chili replies to.....	164
Brazil replies to.....	165
Argentine Republic replies to.....	166
United States replies to.....	30
BOLIVAR'S INSTRUCTIONS TO PANAMA CONGRESS.....	169
CONGRESS AT LIMA IN 1847.....	203
CHILI, TREATY WITH COLOMBIA.....	220
CONFERENCE OF 1856.....	207

	Page.
CONGRESS AT LIMA IN 1864	209
CONTINENTAL TREATY OF 1856	207
CONGRESS OF 1881 PROPOSED.	
Invitation from Colombia to.....	218-237
Argentine Republic, reply of.....	230
Bolivia, reply of.....	244
Chili, reply of.....	222
Costa Rica, reply of.....	226
Ecuador, reply of.....	242
Guatemala, reply of.....	241
Honduras, reply of	248
Mexico, reply of.....	228
Nicaragua, reply of.....	229
Peru, reply of.....	224
Salvador, reply of.....	241
San Domingo, reply of.....	223
Uruguay, reply of.....	246
CONGRESS OF 1882 PROPOSED.....	253
Invitation from the United States to.....	255
Bolivia, reply of.....	266
Brazil, reply of.....	263
Costa Rica, reply of.....	267
Guatemala, reply of.....	261
Honduras, reply of.....	265
Mexico, reply of.....	269
Nicaragua, reply of.....	265
Salvador, reply of.....	264
Venezuela, reply of.....	258
Invitation withdrawn by the United States.....	272
Ecuador responds to	274
Guatemala responds to.....	272
Paraguay responds to	277
Salvador responds to.....	275
Uruguay responds to.....	276
CONGRESS OF MONTEVIDEO, 1888.	
Invitation to Congress of Montevideo.....	282
Meeting of Congress of Montevideo	281
Results of Congress of Montevideo.....	284
Lagos, Garcia, President, address of.....	284
Costa, Quirno, address of.....	286
CONFERENCE, INTERNATIONAL AMERICAN.	
Arbitration, scheme presented in House of Representatives .	310
Arbitration scheme in Senate.....	311
Belmont, Perry, minority report against Conference.....	320
Bill authorizing Conference passed	329
Cleveland, President, declines to sign bill authorizing meet- ing of Conference	375

	Page.
CONFERENCE, INTERNATIONAL AMERICAN—Continued.	
Cockrell, Senator, introduces bill for.....	294
Commission, South American, authorized.....	308
Curtis, William Eleroy, appointed Secretary to South American Commission.....	309
Curtis, William Eleroy, address before Committee on Foreign Relations.....	360
Customs Union proposed.....	297
Customs Union adversely reported.....	309
Davis, David, introduces first bill for	293
Foreign Affairs Committee, adverse report on.....	297
Foreign Relations Committee, report on.....	299
Frelinghuysen, Secretary, project.....	300
Frye, Senator, bill to authorize holding the Conference.....	312
Frye, Senator, bill passes Senate.....	329
Helper, H. R. Bill for a Railway Conference	229
House of Representatives passes bill authorizing Arbitration.	375
Legislation referring to International American Conference.	291
McCreary, Representative, reports against arbitration	310
McCreary, Representative, introduces bill for Conference...	314
McCreary, Representative, favorable report for Conference..	315
McKinley, Representative, proposes arbitration Conference.	315
Morgan, Senator, introduces bill for Conference.....	295
Railway, Intercontinental, scheme revived.	311
Reagan, Senator, proposes common silver coin.....	313
Reynolds, Thomas C., appointed commissioner.....	309
Reynolds, Thomas C., to Committee on Foreign Relations...	347
Senate passes bill authorizing Conference.....	373
Sharpe, George H., appointed on South American commission.....	309
Silver, common coin proposed.....	313
Stewart, Representative, favorable report on Conference...	302
Thacher, Solon O., appointed on South American commission.....	309
Thacher, Solon O., address before Committee on Foreign Relations.....	331
Townshend Representative, proposes Customs Union.....	373

HISTORICAL APPENDIX.

THE CONGRESS OF 1826 AT PANAMA.

*Extracts from Constitutional History of the United States.
Von Holst, 1750-1832.*

As early as 1821 the idea of forming a close connection between the Spanish colonies in Central and South America, then engaged in revolution, had been suggested by Colombia. A few months before their independence was recognized by the United States a treaty was negotiated between Colombia and Chili (July, 1822), in which a convocation of a congress of the new republics was contemplated. "The construction of a continental system for America," which should "resemble the one already constructed in Europe," was the apparent project of these two powers. The idea ripened very slowly. It was not until the spring of 1825 that the meeting of the Congress in Panama was so far assured that the ambassadors of Colombia and Mexico verbally inquired of Clay, who was then Secretary of State of the United States, whether an invitation to be represented at the Congress would be acceptable to the President. Adams had an answer sent, worded in his own cautious way, to the effect that he first wished to be informed concerning the topics agreed upon for discussion, the nature and form of powers to be given to the "diplomatic agents," and the "organization and method of procedure" of the Congress. The ambassadors of the two mentioned states, in their formal letters of invitation, gave very unsatisfactory assurances on these points. Clay referred to this in his answers, but at the same time declared that the President had decided to accept the invitation "at once."

When the question of sending representatives to the Congress came up in the Senate, and later in the House, the opposition tried to make capital out of this piece of inconsistency. It was too meaningless in itself to deserve any censure. Its interest was due simply to the fact that it lifted for a moment the veil of the future.

* * * * *

Ingham of Pennsylvania read in the House of Representatives two newspaper articles, which treated the request for participation in the Panama Congress in exactly different ways. He stated that it was as good as certain that the article opposing this had proceeded from or been inspired by Adams, and the one in its favor by Clay. He gave no proof for the assertion. It must therefore remain a question whether his zeal in opposition did not lead him to put forward groundless suspicions as facts. But it may be considered as sufficiently proved that Adams at first looked on the project much more coolly than he did afterwards, and that Clay was not without influence upon this change of opinion.

Clay had rendered great services to the young republics. He had been the most determined champion of their affairs in the United States. He had at first demanded with stormy energy that sympathy for them should not exhaust itself in worthless words, but take the form of acts. No defeat frightened him from the field, and it was largely due to his constant efforts that their independence had been already recognized by the United States in the spring of 1822. His speeches on these questions are among the most brilliant productions of his genius. His most notable characteristics, as well as his greatest weakness, appeared in them in the clearest light. His enthusiasm lifted him, with a bold sweep, to a height from which he looked down with compassionate impatience upon the petty politicians who, in their routine wisdom, could not see the forest because of the trees around them. The knowledge that America was an integral part of one civilized world dawned in his mind. If his agitation was based on the sharp emphasis which he laid on the opposing positions of America and Europe, yet the fact does not contradict this

assertion. Exactly because he did not, in his political reasoning, lose sight of Europe, he strove for the consolidation of America and insisted upon its peculiar characteristics and its specific interests. The attempt of the Holy Alliance to fetter together Europe in behalf of the interests of absolute monarchy made it seem to him desirable, if not necessary, to oppose to this "unholy league" a union of the states founded upon the "American principle" of popular sovereignty.

The authorship of this idea of a solidarity of the interests of all America, resting not only upon the geographical proximity of States, but mainly, indeed, upon the identity of their fundamental political principles, belongs, not exclusively, but yet chiefly to Clay. According to his plan this solidarity of interests was to assume concrete form in the Panama Congress. It would there be legally adopted so far as this fundamental political principle had obtained practical recognition. From this firm stand-point he hoped to see the great plan he had announced as early as 1820 realized—the establishment of a "human-freedom league in America," in which "all the nations from Hudson's Bay to Cape Horn" should be united, but not simply for the sake of remaining in permanent contrast to Europe, tortured by despots. He declared that through the power of example, through its moral influence, the American system would ever extend farther and farther, so that a point of union, a haven for freedom and lovers of freedom, would be formed upon the soil that was wet with the blood of the revolutionary forefathers.

* * * * *

In his speech of March 24, 1818, "on the emancipation of South America," he denied the justice of the assertion that the South Americans were too ignorant and too superstitious "to allow of the existence of a free state." He questioned the ignorance, but yet denied that ignorance necessitated incapacity for self-government. That, he declared, was the doctrine of the throne, and conflicted with the natural order of things. The South Americans, he said, "adopt our principles, copy our institutions, and in

many cases use both the language of our revolutionary ordinances and the thoughts therein expressed."

* * * * *

The Secretary of State had known how to impart to the President something of his own enthusiasm, which let him see in the Panama Congress the boundary stone of a "new epoch of the world's history." Adams's message to the House of Representatives fairly surpassed Clay's effusions in pompous phrases. He doubted whether such a favorable opportunity for subserving "the benevolent purposes of Divine Providence" and dispensing "the promised blessings of the Redeemer of mankind" would again be presented to the United States in centuries.

* * * * *

He discusses, first and most thoroughly, the conclusion of friendly and commercial treaties, on the basis of complete reciprocity, on the footing of the most favored nation, "the abolition of private war upon the ocean," and limitations of war usages, in regard to contraband-of-war and blockade, in such a way as to favor neutral trade. After explaining, with great minuteness, his position on the Monroe doctrine and the way in which he wishes to see it brought before the Congress and treated by the latter, he touches upon Hayti and Cuba with diplomatic prudence, and finally expresses the opinion that an effort should be made on the part of the United States to obtain the recognition of "the just and liberal principles of religious liberty."

* * * * *

But the opposition was so crazed in its blind zeal that, out of policy, it had not the slightest word of approval for any point whatever of the whole scheme. Every part of it was raked over the coals, and the most innocent portion was held up as the source of sure destruction.

* * * * *

The slaveholders simply stated that they saw in the Congress peril to their "peculiar institution," and drew from this fact, in the same conclusive way, the inference that this must be recognized *eo ipso* as an absolute veto.

* * * * *

Now, the South affirmed that in reference to the rest of America, as well as to Europe, slavery must be and remain the prime motive of the foreign policy of the United States.

* * * * *

In the invitations to the Congress Hayti was mentioned, a name that had an ominous sound in the Southern States for more than thirty years. If they could have blotted one page out of the book of history, it can scarcely be doubted that they would have chosen the one which told the story of the successful negro revolution in Hayti. It was a cry of warning, the whole significance of which was recalled to the conscience of the slaveholder by the slightest cause. The thing which had been done could not be undone; but men did what they could—the independence of Hayti did not exist for the United States.

* * * * *

The history of the republics gave an example which was “scarcely less fatal than the independence of Hayti to the repose” of the South. They had not only copied from the revolutionary records of the United States the words “freedom” and “equality” and “universal emancipation,” but had actually broken the chains of all slaves.*

It had already been declared that the United States could not with equanimity see Cuba pass into the hands of a

* While connected with slavery can we consent to treat with other nations, and least of all ought we to touch this question of the independence of Hayti in conjunction with revolutionary governments, whose own history affords an example scarcely less fatal to our repose? Those governments have proclaimed the principles of liberty and equality, and have marched to victory under the banner of “universal emancipation.” You find men of color at the head of their armies, in their legislative halls, and in their executive departments.—Hayne, March 14, 1826, Debates of Congress, VIII, p. 427.

* * * * *

Deb. of Cong., VIII, p. 441.

² Hamilton, of South Carolina, declared in the House of Representatives: “I should avow what I believe to be the sentiments of the Southern people on this question; and this is, that Haytianin dependence is not to be tolerated in any form. * * * A people will not stop to discuss the nice metaphysics of a federative system when havoc and destruction menace them in their doors.

European power. Now it was directly declared that the United States would not "allow" and "permit" it. Moreover, the position of the country in regard to Colombia's and Mexico's plans of acquisition was more sharply defined. It was stated first that "the President could see no just ground for armed intervention" if Spain should obstinately continue the war, for invasion would then be only a "legal warlike operation" of the States named. Yet this declaration was linked with a significant condition.

If these Republics, contrary to all expectation, should place arms in the hands of one race in order to destroy another; if * * * they should countenance and encourage excesses and actions which, on account of our proximity, could by infection endanger our repose and safety; then the Government of the United States might feel obliged to interpose.

* * * * *

The administration gained a formal victory in both houses, but practically the opposition had reached its end by delaying the decision. When the ambassadors of the United States arrived in Panama the Congress had already adjourned and the agreed-upon reunion in Tacubaya did not take place.

* * * * *

[*Extract from the History of the Monroe Doctrine, by George F. Tucker.*]

The quotation from the diary of Mr. Plumer which concludes the preceding chapter confirms the opinion generally entertained, that Mr. Adams did something more than merely contribute to those passages of the President's message which refer to the threatened intervention of European powers. Mr. Adams's fervid patriotism was doubtless quickened by an apprehension, amounting almost to a conviction, that the adherents of absolutism in Europe were determined to let no opportunity slip to impede in some way the progress of democratic institutions on this continent. His continuance in public office,

therefore, was a guaranty of the continuance of his foreign policy; and very soon after his accession to the Presidency as the successor of Mr. Monroe an opportunity to continue that policy was presented, in the invitation of several of the South American Republics to the Government of this country to participate in the deliberations of the Congress of American States to be held at Panama.

These South American republics were now rejoicing in the assurance of their own autonomy. It was in 1808, nearly twenty years before, that the interference of Napoleon in the affairs of Spain enabled them to sever their connection with the mother country and to assert their independence. Even then a long struggle was inevitable. In vain they looked to the monarchies of Europe for succor or approval. Their only hope of recognition was in the Government of the United States. Mr. Clay became particularly prominent in the espousal of their cause. Early in the year 1818 he made a passionate appeal in the House of Representatives for immediate recognition, and it seems that the condition of those provinces was, on May 13, 1818, one of the subjects of discussion at a meeting of the Cabinet.* Recognition of the new republics by this country was delayed for four years longer, and it was followed not very long after by their acknowledgment by Great Britain. The inference, therefore, is natural that upon his acceptance of the office of Secretary of State under President Adams, Mr. Clay was as ready to join in any effort to extend help to the new republics as he had been to champion their cause in the House of Representatives.

Spain had not yet given up all hope of resubjugating her former dependencies; but coercion without the aid of some other European power was practically an impossibility. Their sovereignty and independence thus acknowledged by the two great English-speaking nations, the young republics began to agitate the calling of a Congress at Panama, to which the Governments of the American States (including the Government of this country) should be invited to send representatives to discuss questions and adopt

* See Works of John Quincy Adams, IV, 91.

measures particularly affecting the welfare and development of the American continents.

Here it should be noted that Mr. Clay, in his instructions of March 25, 1825, to Mr. Poinsett, minister of the United States to Mexico, directed him to urge upon the Government of that country the utility and expediency of asserting the principles laid down in the message of President Monroe, of December 2, 1823. In regard to the principle that the American continents are not henceforth to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power, Mr. Clay remarked :

There is no disposition to disturb the colonial possessions, as they may now exist, of any of the European powers ; but it is against the establishment of new European colonies upon this continent that the principle is directed.*

At about the time when these instructions were given to Mr. Poinsett, Mr. Clay informed the ministers of Colombia and Mexico, Messrs. Salazar and Obregon, that the President thought that the United States ought to be represented at Panama if preliminary points could be satisfactorily arranged :

Such as the subjects to which the attention of the Congress was to be directed, the nature and the form of the powers to be given to the diplomatic agents who were to compose it, and the mode of its organization and its action.†

Messrs. Salazar and Obregon, on the 2d and 3d of the following November respectively, addressed communications to the Secretary of State, defining in a general way the probable subjects of discussion at the Congress. Mr. Clay replied on the 30th of the same month that there was not a satisfactory compliance with the President's desire as to the arrangement of preliminary points ; yet the President had decided to send commissioners, provided the Senate should give their advice and consent. The same intention was also on the same day communicated to Mr. Canaz, the representative of the Government of Central America.

Only a few days after, on the 6th day of December, appeared the President's message, in which he announced

* British and Foreign State Papers, 1825, 1826, p. 487.

† *Ibid.*, p. 457.

the acceptance of the invitation of the republics of Colombia, of Mexico, and of Central America to the United States to take part in the deliberations of the Congress at Panama.

On the 26th of the same month, the President sent a special message to the Senate, in which he stated his motives for acceding to the measure, and also the probable subjects of discussion at Panama. He concluded by nominating Richard C. Anderson, of Kentucky, and John Sergeant of Pennsylvania, to be envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary. The following passage from the message particularly refers to our subject of inquiry :

An agreement between all the parties represented at the meeting, that each will guard, by its own means, against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders, may be found advisable. This was more than two years since announced by my predecessor to the world as a principle resulting from the emancipation of both the American continents. It may be so developed to the new southern nations that they will all feel it as an essential appendage to their independence.*

On March 15, 1826, the President submitted a message to the House of Representatives in which, after referring to that portion of President Monroe's message deprecating future European colonization, he remarked as follows :

The principle had first been assumed in the negotiation with Russia. It rested upon a course of reasoning equally simple and conclusive. With the exception of the existing European colonies, which it was in no-wise intended to disturb, the two continents consisted of several sovereign and independent nations, whose territories covered their whole surface. By this their independent condition the United States enjoyed the right of commercial intercourse with every part of their possessions. To attempt the establishment of a colony in those possessions would be to usurp, to the exclusion of others, a commercial intercourse which was the common possession of all. It could not be done without encroaching upon existing rights of the United States. The Government of Russia has never disputed these positions, nor manifested the slightest dissatisfaction at their having been taken. Most of the new American republics have declared their assent to them ; and they now propose, among the subjects of consultation at Panama, to take into consideration the means of making effectual the assertion

* British and Foreign State Papers, 1825, 1826, p. 391.

of that principle, as well as the means of resisting interference, from abroad, with the domestic concerns of the American Governments.

In alluding to these means it would obviously be premature at this time to anticipate that which is offered merely as a matter for consultation, or to pronounce upon those measures which have been or may be suggested. The purpose of this Government is to concur in none which would import hostility to Europe, or justly excite resentment in any of her States. Should it be deemed advisable to contract any conventional engagement on this topic, our views would extend no further than to a mutual pledge of the parties to the compact, to maintain the principle in application to its own territory, and to permit no colonial lodgments or establishment of European jurisdiction upon its own soil; and with respect to the obtrusive interference from abroad, if its future character may be inferred from that which has been, and perhaps still is, exercised in more than one of the new States, a joint declaration of its character, and exposure of it to the world, may be probably all that the occasion would require.*

Later on, the President considers the question whether the acceptance of the invitation might not have a tendency to change the policy, advocated by Washington, of avoiding foreign alliances.† He argues that the counsel of Washington "was founded upon the circumstances in which our country and the world around us were situated at the time when it was given;" that Europe has still her set of primary interests, and that our distant and detached situation remains the same; but that the Spanish-American colonies have now been transformed into eight independent nations, with reference to whom our situation is neither distant nor detached. Our territorial expansion and national development in the interval have been such that America has now "a set of primary interests which have none, or a remote relation to Europe."

The President, therefore, concludes that the acceptance of the invitation, "far from conflicting with the counsel or the policy of Washington, is directly deducible from and conformable to it;" and that it was no less conformable to the declaration of President Monroe that the extension of the European political system to any portion of this hemisphere would be regarded as dangerous to our peace and safety. ‡

* British, Foreign, and State Papers, 1825, 1826, p. 450. † See page 3.

‡ British, Foreign, and State Papers, 1825, 1826, p. 453.

After quoting this particular declaration, Mr. Adams proceeds as follows :

To the question which may be asked, whether this meeting, and the principles which may be adjusted and settled by it, as rules of intercourse between the American nations, may not give umbrage to the Holy League of European powers, or offense to Spain, it is deemed a sufficient answer that our attendance at Panama can give no just cause of umbrage or offense to either, and that the United States will stipulate nothing there which can give such cause. Here the right of inquiry into our purposes and measures must stop. The Holy League of Europe itself was formed without inquiry of the United States whether it would or would not give umbrage to them. The fear of giving umbrage to the Holy League of Europe was urged as a motive for denying to the American nations the acknowledgment of their independence. That it would be viewed by Spain as hostility to her was not only urged, but directly declared by herself. The Congress and administration of that day consulted their rights and duties, and not their fears. Fully determined to give no needless displeasure to any foreign power, the United States can estimate the probability of their giving it, only by the right which any foreign state could have to take it, from their measures. Neither the representation of the United States at Panama, nor any measure to which their assent may be yielded there, will give to the Holy League or any of its members, nor to Spain, the right to take offense. For the rest, the United States must still, as heretofore, take counsel from their duties rather than their fears.

The debate in the Senate upon the proposed mission was extremely acrimonious. Serious charges were brought against the President, and the policy and purposes of the administration were denounced as of a dangerous character. It was claimed that a participation in the deliberations of the Congress could be of no benefit to this country, and might be the means of involving us in international complications. However, the Senate at last concurred in the appointment of Messrs. Anderson and Sergeant as envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary.

The concurrence of the House was required in order to afford the appropriation necessary to carry the executive measure into effect. Daniel Webster was then a member of that body, and in April, 1826, in committee of the whole, he delivered a remarkably able speech upon the duty of the House. It was not their duty constitutionally to decide, he said, "what shall be discussed by particular ministers, already appointed, when they shall meet the ministers of

the other powers," but simply to vote the necessary appropriation. The matter would thus be left where the Constitution had left it, "to executive discretion and executive responsibility." After reviewing the events which preceded the declaration of Mr. Monroe, he declared:

I look on the message of December, 1823, as forming a bright page in our history. I will neither help to erase it or tear it out, nor shall it be by any act of mine blurred or blotted. It did honor to the sagacity of the Government, and I will not diminish that honor. It elevated the hopes and gratified the patriotism of the people. Over those hopes I will not bring a mildew, nor will I put that gratified patriotism to shame.*

The statement of Mr. Adams in regard to the parties to be represented at the conference that "each will guard, by its own means, against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders"† has been often criticised, and sometimes denounced as a limitation of the inhibition by Mr. Monroe of European colonization. Mr. Dana maintains that on the assumption, "that a sovereign State would not permit other sovereign States to appropriate its territory by colonization," Mr. Monroe simply declared, "the fact that the whole continent was within the territory of some responsible State, and not *feræ naturæ*, and so open to appropriation," and therefore that the proper view of Mr. Adams's proposal is—

that each State represented at the Congress should make for itself the declaration which Mr. Monroe made for the United States in 1823; that is, that its territories were not open to appropriation by colonization, and pledge itself to resist any attempts in that direction.‡

It is proper to remark that Mr. Adams's administration was not a popular one, and it is therefore probable that much of the opposition to the mission was inspired by personal feelings and partisan motives. Few measures in the history of the country have excited more intemperate discussion, or created greater antagonism between a President and a Senate.

Messrs. Anderson and Sergeant, provided with elaborate instructions from Mr. Clay, at last set out to attend the meeting at Panama; but before their arrival that Con-

* Works, iii, 205. † See page 27. ‡ Wheaton, edited by Dana, § 67 n.

gress had assembled, discussed the three considerations of independence, peace, and security, and adjourned. On March 3, 1829, nearly three years after, the President, in laying before the Senate a copy of Mr. Clay's instructions to the deputies, said, that while there was no probability of the renewal of negotiations, "the purposes for which they were intended are still of the deepest interest to our country and to the world, and may hereafter call again for the active energies of the Government of the United States." *

If this statement may be regarded as a prophecy, then the recent action of the United States Congress in making an appropriation for sending three commissioners to the countries south of us may be regarded as its fulfillment.

Just before the late President Garfield was shot he made the resolution, which was carried out by his successor, of issuing invitations to all the independent Governments of North and South America, to meet in a Peace Congress at Washington. These invitations were afterward recalled or suspended, in order that Congress might give an opinion upon the expediency of the step; and on the 7th of July, 1884, an act was approved making the appropriation referred to above, and providing that—

Said commissioners shall ascertain the best modes of securing more intimate international and commercial relations between the United States and the several countries of Central and South America, and for that purpose they shall visit such countries in Central and South America as the President may direct.†

Message of Mr. Adams to Congress December 6, 1825.

[Extract from the message from the President of the United States, to both Houses of Congress, at the commencement of the first session of the Nineteenth Congress.]

Among the measures which have been suggested to them by the new relations with one another, resulting from the recent changes in their conditions, is that of assembling, at the Isthmus of Panama, a Congress, at which each of

* Benton's Abridgment, x., 252.

† U. S. Statutes, 1883, 1884, chap. 333, p. 235.

them should be represented, to deliberate upon the objects important to the welfare of all. The Republics of Colombia, of Mexico, and of Central America, have already deputed plenipotentiaries to such a meeting, and they have invited the United States to be also represented there by their ministers. The invitation has been accepted, and ministers on the part of the United States will be commissioned to attend at those deliberations, and to take part in them, so far as may be compatible with that neutrality from which it is neither our intention, nor the desire of the other American States, that we should depart.

President Adams's special message to the Senate, December 26, 1825.

WASHINGTON, December 26, 1825.

To the Senate of the United States:

In the message to both houses of Congress at the commencement of the session, it was mentioned that the Governments of the Republics of Columbia, of Mexico, and of Central America had severally invited the Government of the United States to be represented at the Congress of American nations to be assembled at Panama, to deliberate upon objects of peculiar concernment to this hemisphere, and that this invitation had been accepted.

Although this measure was deemed to be within the constitutional competency of the Executive, I have not thought proper to take any step in it before ascertaining that my opinion of its expediency will concur with that of both branches of the Legislature: First, by the decision of the Senate upon the nominations to be laid before them; and, secondly, by the sanction of both houses to the appropriations, without which it can not be carried into effect.

A report from the Secretary of State, and copies of the correspondence with the South American Governments on this subject, since the invitation given by them, are

herewith transmitted to the Senate. They will disclose the objects of importance which are expected to form a subject of discussion at this meeting, in which interests of high importance to this Union are involved. It will be seen that the United States neither intend nor are expected to take part in any deliberations of a belligerent character; that the motive of their attendance is neither to contract alliances nor to engage in any undertaking or project importing hostility to any other nation.

But the South American nations, in the infancy of their independence, often find themselves in positions with reference to other countries, with the principles applicable to which, derivable from the state of independence itself, they have not been familiarized by experience. The result of this has been, that sometimes in their intercourse with the United States they have manifested dispositions to reserve a right of granting special favors and privileges to the Spanish nation as the price of their recognition; at others, they have actually established duties and impositions operating unfavorably to the United States, to the advantage of European powers; and sometimes they have appeared to consider that they might interchange among themselves mutual concessions of exclusive favor, to which neither European powers nor the United States should be admitted. In most of these cases their regulations unfavorable to us have yielded to friendly expostulation and remonstrance; but it is believed to be of infinite moment that the principles of a liberal commercial intercourse should be exhibited to them, and urged with disinterested and friendly persuasion upon them, when all assembled for the avowed purpose of consulting together upon the establishment of such principles as may have an important bearing upon their future welfare.

The consentaneous adoption of principles of maritime neutrality, and favorable to the navigation of peace and commerce in time of war, will also form a subject of consideration to this Congress. The doctrine that free ships make free goods, and the restrictions of reason upon the extent of blockades, may be established by general agreement, with far more ease and perhaps with less danger,

by the general engagement to adhere to them, concerted at such a meeting, than by partial treaties or conventions with each of the nations separately. An agreement between all the parties represented at the meeting that each will guard by its own means against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders may be found advisable. This was more than two years since announced by my predecessor to the world as a principle resulting from the emancipation of both the American continents. It may be so developed to the new southern nations that they will all feel it as an essential appendage to their independence.

There is yet another subject upon which, without entering into any treaty, the moral influence of the United States may, perhaps, be exerted with beneficial consequences at such a meeting—the advancement of religious liberty. Some of the southern nations are even yet so far under the dominion of prejudice that they have incorporated with their political constitutions an exclusive church, without toleration of any other than the dominant sect. The abandonment of this last badge of religious bigotry and oppression may be pressed more effectually, by the united exertions of those who concur in the principles of freedom of conscience, upon those who are yet to be convinced of their justice and wisdom than by the solitary efforts of a minister to any one of the separate Governments.

The indirect influence which the United States may exercise upon any projects or purposes originating in the war in which the southern Republics are still engaged, which might seriously affect the interests of this Union, and the good offices by which the United States may ultimately contribute to bring that war to a speedier termination, though among the motives which have convinced me of the propriety of complying with this invitation, are so far contingent and eventual that it would be improper to dwell upon them more at large.

In fine, a decisive inducement with me for acceding to the measure is to show, by this token of respect to the southern Republics, the interest that we take in their welfare and our disposition to comply with their wishes.

Having been the first to recognize their independence and sympathize with them so far as was compatible with our neutral duties in all their struggles and sufferings to acquire it, we have laid the foundation of our future intercourse with them in the broadest principles of reciprocity and the most cordial feelings of fraternal friendship. To extend those principles to all our commercial relations with them, and to hand down that friendship to future ages, is congenial to the highest policy of the Union, as it will be to that of all those nations and their posterity. In the confidence that these sentiments will meet the approbation of the Senate, I nominate Richard C. Anderson, of Kentucky, and John Sergeant, of Pennsylvania, to be envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to the assembly of American nations at Panama, and William B. Rochester, of New York, to be secretary to the mission.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Letter of Mr. Clay.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 20, 1825.

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES :

SIR: Agreeably to your directions, that a statement should be presented to you of what passed in the Department of State with the ministers of the Republics of Columbia, Mexico, and Central America, in respect to the invitation to the United States to be represented in the Congress at Panama, I have the honor now to report :

That, during the last spring I held separate conferences on the same day with the respective ministers of Mexico and Colombia at their request, in the course of which each of them verbally stated that his Government was desirous that the United States should be represented at the proposed Congress, and that he was instructed to communicate an invitation to their Government to send representatives to it. But that as his Government did not know whether it would or would not be agreeable to the United States to receive such an invitation, and as he did not wish to oc-

casion any embarrassment, he was charged informally to inquire, previous to the delivery of the invitation, whether it would be accepted if given by both of the Republics of Mexico and Colombia. It was also stated by each of those ministers that his Government did not expect that the United States would change their present neutral policy, nor was it desired that they should take part in such of the deliberations of the proposed Congress as might relate to the prosecution of the present war.

Having laid before you what transpired at these conferences, I received, about a week after they had been held, your direction to inform the ministers of Mexico and Colombia, and I accordingly did inform them, that their communication was received with due sensibility to the friendly consideration of the United States by which it had been dictated; that, of course, they could not make themselves a party to the existing war with Spain, nor to councils for deliberating on the means of its further prosecution; that the President believed such a Congress as was proposed might be highly useful in settling several important disputed questions of public law, and in arranging other matters of deep interest to the American continent, and strengthening the friendship and amicable intercourse between the American powers: that before such a Congress, however, assembled it appeared to him to be expedient to adjust, between the different powers to be represented, several preliminary points, such as the subjects to which the attention of the Congress was to be directed, the nature and the form of the powers to be given to the diplomatic agents who were to compose it, and the mode of its organization and action. If these preliminary points could be arranged in a manner satisfactory to the United States, the ministers from Colombia and Mexico were informed that the President thought the United States ought to be represented at Panama. Each of these ministers undertook to transmit to his Government the answer which was thus given.

In this posture the affair remained until the letters were received which accompany this report, from the ministers of the Republics of Mexico and Colombia, under date of

the 3d and 2d of November last. To both of those letters the same answer was returned, in official notes, a copy of one of which is with this report.

The first and only communication from the minister of the Republic of Central America to this Department, in regard to the Congress at Panama, is contained in his official note, a copy of which, together with a copy of the answer which was returned by your directions, will be found along with this report.

I have the honor to be, with great respect, your obedient servant,

H. CLAY.

The Mexican Minister to Mr. Clay.

[Translation.]

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF MEXICO,
Washington, November 3, 1825.

Hon. HENRY CLAY,
Secretary of State:

The underwritten minister plenipotentiary has the honor of informing the honorable Secretary of State that he has communicated to his Government the conversations which occurred between them on his making known to him the determination of the Governments of Colombia and Mexico to form a congress of representatives from the new States of the continent, who, to that end, had been invited, in which were to be discussed subjects of general interest to all the American powers, as well as those which might be particularly suggested by the existence and actual position of the new powers; and in the meeting of which it was thought proper by the Government of the subscriber that the United States of America, by means of their commissioners, should constitute and take part, as being so much interested in the first and principal subject upon which the congress would be engaged.

In consequence of which, being informed of the concurrence of this Government in the idea of discussing the first point in a congress, as was desired, and that it would

send representatives to it under condition that the neutrality in which it stood towards Spain should not be violated, and that it should be invited thereto by the Republics of Mexico and Colombia, who should, moreover, signify the affairs with which it was to be occupied, to promote its object, and the necessary uniformity of credentials or authorization of the respective representatives, the President of the United States of Mexico has charged and commissioned anew the underwritten to make the invitation and to point out the affairs as stated.

The Government of the subscriber never supposed nor desired that the United States of America would take part in the congress about to be held, in other matters than those which, from their nature and importance, the late administration pointed out and characterized as being of general interest to the continent; for which reason, one of the subjects which will occupy the attention of the congress will be the resistance or opposition to the interference of any neutral nation in the question and war of independence between the new powers of the continent and Spain.

The Government of the undersigned apprehends that, as the powers of America are of accord as to resistance, it behooves them to discuss the means of giving to that resistance all possible force, that the evil may be met, if it can not be avoided; and the only means of accomplishing this object is by a previous concert as to the mode in which each of them shall lend its co-operation; for, otherwise, resistance would operate but partially, and in a manner much less certain and effective.

The opposition to colonization in America by the European powers will be another of the questions which may be discussed, and which is in like predicament with the foregoing.

After these two principal subjects the representatives of the United States of America may be occupied upon others to which the existence of the new States may give rise, and which it is not easy to point out or enumerate, for which the Government of the United States of Mexico will give instructions and ample powers to its commis-

sioners, and it trusts that those from the other powers may bear the same.

The congress is to be assembled in Panama, at which city the representatives from Colombia, Peru, Guatemala, and Mexico will already have arrived at the date of this; they will be engaged upon the preliminary rules of the assembly, and likewise upon questions which belong exclusively to the belligerents.

The United States of America may send their representatives to that city to take part in those questions which long since they were the first in declaring to the world, as of transcendant importance to the interests of all America, and in others to which the formation of the new States will give rise, the concurrence in which will, moreover, accomplish the object so much desired by their respective Governments of manifesting, by deeds, the disposition and facility which the powers of this continent possess to act in concert in the common cause.

To which end, and in compliance with the tenor of the conversations held with the honorable Secretary of State, the underwritten minister plenipotentiary invites this Government to send representatives to the congress of Panama, with authorities as aforesaid, and with express instructions in their credentials upon the two principal questions, in which step he is likewise joined by the minister of Colombia, and with which he trusts he has fulfilled all that was stipulated to this end.

The subscriber has the honor on this occasion to present to the honorable Secretary of State his respects and highest consideration.

PABLO OBREGON.

The Colombian Minister to Mr. Clay.

[Translation.]

LEGATION OF COLOMBIA,
NEAR THE UNITED STATES OF NORTH AMERICA,
Washington, November 2, 1825.

The undersigned has the honor to communicate to the Hon. Henry Clay, for the information of his Government and the attainment of the objects proposed, that the

assembly of American plenipotentiaries, in relation to which the minister to Mexico and the undersigned have held some verbal conferences with the Secretary of State, at their previous request, will shortly be organized. The plenipotentiaries from Peru are already at the Isthmus of Panama, the place appointed for the Congress, and those from Colombia and other American Republics are on their way to this assembly, which they have provided for by public treaties.

The honorable Secretary having intimated, in the name of his Government, that the United States, if formally invited by Mexico and Colombia, and apprised of the subjects to be discussed, would on their part appoint a person to represent them, if these subjects should be approved by the United States, the undersigned is accordingly authorized by his Government to address this invitation which he now makes by this note, in all due form. He is also assured that the minister from Mexico will present the same invitation on the part of his Government, and the minister from Guatemala has just received similar instructions from his Government.

Of the points which will be under discussion by the assembly of Panama the undersigned is unable to give a minute enumeration, as they will evidently arise out of the deliberations of the Congress. He is, however, authorized by his government to assure the United States that these points have no tendency to violate their professed principles of neutrality. The undersigned has also been instructed to suggest some subjects that will form useful matter of discussion in the Congress.

These subjects constitute two classes :

- (1) Matters peculiarly and exclusively concerning the belligerents.
- (2) Matters between the belligerents and neutrals.

As the United States will not take part in the discussion of subjects of the first description, we will confine ourselves to the latter.

At Panama the best and most opportune occasion is offered to the United States to fix some principles of international law, the unsettled state of which has caused

much evil to humanity. It is to be presumed that this Government possesses more light upon the subject than the other States of our hemisphere, both from its experience during the wars that succeeded the French Revolution and from its negotiations now on foot with Great Britain and other nations relative to these principles. It belongs to each of the concurring parties to propose their views, but the voice of the United States will be heard with the respect and deference which its early labors in a work of such importance will merit.

The manner in which all colonization of European powers on the American continent shall be resisted and their interference in the present contest between Spain and her former colonies prevented are other points of great interest. Were it proper an eventual alliance, in case these events should occur, is within the range of possibilities, and a treaty, of which no use should be made as long as the *casus fœderis* should happen to remain secret; or, if this should seem premature, a convention so anticipated would be a proper means to secure the same end of preventing foreign influence. This is a matter of immediate utility to the American States that are at war with Spain, and is in accordance with the repeated declarations and protests of the Cabinet at Washington. The conferences held on this subject being confidential would increase mutual friendship and promote the respective interests of the parties.

The consideration of the means to be adopted for the entire abolition of the African slave trade is a subject sacred to humanity and interesting to the policy of the American States. To effect it their energetic, general, and uniform co-operation is desirable. At the proposition of the United States, Colombia made a convention with them on this subject, which has not been ratified by the Government of the United States. Would that America, which does not consider politic what is unjust, would contribute in union and with common consent to the good of Africa.

The inhabitants of this portion of the globe have succeeded in founding an independent Republic, whose gov-

ernment is now recognized by its ancient sovereign. On what basis the relations of Hayti and other parts of our hemisphere that shall hereafter be in like circumstances are to be placed, is a question simple at first view, but attended with serious difficulties when closely examined. These arise from the different manner of regarding Africans and from their different rights in Hayti, the United States, and in other American States. This question will be determined at the Isthmus, and, if possible, a uniform rule of conduct adopted in regard to it, or those modifications that may be demanded by circumstances.

The undersigned merely makes these suggestions by way of example ; it is left to the wisdom of the Governments and the judgment of their representatives to propose whatever may be esteemed of common good to the new hemisphere. Inviting the United States, in the name of Colombia, to a Congress, the mere assembling of which will increase the political importance of America and show the facility with which she can combine her resources in defense of common rights when necessary, the undersigned hopes that the United States will make an early appointment of a person or persons to represent them in this assembly, as the conditions that were required have been fulfilled.

The undersigned has the honor to offer to the Honorable Henry Clay his most distinguished consideration.

JOSÉ MARIA SALAZAR.

Mr. Clay to the Mexican Minister.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 30, 1825.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your official note of the 3d instant, communicating a formal invitation from the Government of the United States of Mexico to that of the United States to send deputies to the contemplated congress of Panama; and particularizing several subjects, which your Government conceives may be proper for the consideration of that con-

gress; and I have laid your note before the President of the United States.

When, at your instance, during the last spring, I had the honor of receiving you at the Department of State and conferring with you verbally in regard to the proposed congress, and to the friendly wish entertained by your Government that ours should be represented at it, I stated to you, by direction of the President, that it appeared to him to be necessary, before the assembling of such a congress, to settle, between the different powers to be represented, several preliminary points, such as the subjects to which the attention of the congress should be directed, the substance and the form of the powers to be given to the respective representatives, and the mode of organizing the congress; and that, if these points should be satisfactorily arranged, the President would be disposed to accept, in behalf of the United States, the invitation with which you were provisionally charged.

In your note there is not recognized so exact a compliance with the conditions on which the President expressed his unwillingness that the United States should be represented at Panama as could have been desired. It would have been, perhaps, better if there had been a full understanding between all the American powers who may assemble by their representatives, of the precise questions on which they are to deliberate; and that some other matters respecting the powers of the deputies and the organization of the Congress should have been distinctly arranged prior to the opening of its deliberations. But as the want of the adjustment of these preliminaries, if it should occasion any inconvenience, could be only productive of some delay, the President has determined at once to manifest the sensibility of the United States to whatever concerns the prosperity of the American hemisphere and to the friendly motives which have actuated your Government in transmitting what you have communicated. He has therefore resolved, should the Senate of the United States, now expected to assemble in a few days, give their advice and consent, to send commissioners to the Congress at Panama. Whilst they will not be authorized to enter

upon any deliberations, or to concur in any acts inconsistent with the present neutral position of the United States and its obligations, they will be fully empowered and instructed upon all questions likely to arise in the Congress on subjects in which the nations of America have a common interest. All unnecessary delay will be avoided in the departure of these commissioners from the United States for the point of their destination.

I avail myself of the occasion to offer you assurances of my distinguished consideration.

H. CLAY.

Don PABLO OBREGON,
Envoy Extraordinary and
Minister Plenipotentiary from Mexico.

(A similar letter was sent to Mr. Salazar the Colombian minister.)

The Minister from Central America to Mr. Clay.

[Translation.]

WASHINGTON, November 14, 1825.

The SECRETARY OF STATE:

The Government of Central America, which I have the honor to represent, as early as the year 1821 was sensible of the importance to the independent nations of this continent of a general congress of their representatives at some central point, which might consider upon and adopt the best plan for defending the States of the New World from foreign aggression, and, by treaties of alliance, commerce, and friendship, raise them to that elevation of wealth and power which from their resources they may attain. It also acknowledged that as Europe had formed a continental system, and held a congress whenever questions affecting its interests were to be discussed, America should form a system of itself, and assemble, by its representatives, in cortes whenever circumstances of necessity and great importance should demand it.

Entertaining these views, the Government of Central America voluntarily expressed its willingness to appoint its deputies for such an object. Sensible of its importance,

which has also been felt by the Governments of South America, it has resolved to send plenipotentiaries to a general congress, to be formed for the purpose of preserving the territorial integrity and firmly establishing the absolute independence of each of the American Republics. On the 19th of March last the Government of Central America formed a convention with that of Colombia, providing for this object; and I, as its representative, have been instructed to express to the Government of the United States the desire entertained by my government, that it should send a representative to the general congress.

To fulfill the wishes of my government, and convinced at the same time of the importance and respectability which would attach to the general congress of the American Republics from the presence of envoys from the United States of America, I now address this high Government upon the subject in the name of Central America. I am anxious, therefore, to know if this republic, which has ever shown itself the generous friend of the new American States, is disposed to send its envoys to the general congress, the object of which is to preserve and confirm the absolute independence of these republics and to promote the general good, and *which will not require that the representatives of the United States should in the least compromise their present neutrality, harmony, and good fellowship with other nations.* This my government has deemed it necessary to state distinctly in making the present invitation.

Be pleased, sir, to accept expressions of the high consideration with which

I am, respectfully, your obedient servant,

ANTONIO JOSE CANAZ.

Mr. Clay to the Minister from Central America.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 30, 1825.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your official note of the 14th instant, communicating an invitation from the Government of the Federation of the

Center of America to that of the United States to the contemplated congress at Panama. Having laid it before the President, I am instructed by him to say, that the United States, always feeling the deepest interest in whatever concerns the prosperity of the American hemisphere, and receiving, with great sensibility, this new proof of the friendly esteem of the Government of the Central Republic, will be represented at that congress, if the Senate of the United States should so advise and consent. That body will assemble in the course of a few days, and, if it concur with the President, commissioners from the United States will be deputed to Panama without any unnecessary delay. These commissioners will be empowered and instructed upon all questions which may appear to this Government to be likely to arise in the congress, on subjects on which the nations of America may be supposed to have a common interest.

I avail myself of the occasion to offer you, sir, assurances of my distinguished consideration.

H. CLAY.

DON ANTONIO JOSE CANAZ,
Envoy Extraordinary and Minister
Plenipotentiary from Central America.

*Reply of President Adams to a Resolution of Inquiry from
the House of Representatives.*

[Message from the President of the United States, transmitting the information required by a resolution of the House of Representatives of March 5, 1826.]

WASHINGTON, *March 15, 1826.*

To the House of Representatives of the United States:

In compliance with the resolution of the House of the 5th ultimo, requesting me to cause to be laid before the House so much of the correspondence between the Government of the United States and the new States of America or their ministers respecting the proposed congress or meeting of diplomatic agents at Panama, and such information respecting the general character of that expected congress as may be in my possession and as may, in my

opinion, be communicated without prejudice to the public interest; and, also, to inform the House, so far as, in my opinion, the public interest may allow, in regard to what objects the agents of the United States are expected to take part in the deliberations of that Congress, I now transmit to the House a report from the Secretary of State, with the correspondence and information requested by the resolution.

With regard to the objects in which the agents of the United States are expected to take part in the deliberations of that congress, I deem it proper to premise that these objects did not form the only, nor even the principal, motive for my acceptance of the invitation. My first and greatest inducement was to meet, in the spirit of kindness and friendship, an overture made in that spirit by three sister Republics of this hemisphere.

The great revolution in human affairs which has brought into existence, nearly at the same time, eight sovereign and independent nations in our own quarter of the globe, has placed the United States in a situation not less novel and scarcely less interesting than that in which they had found themselves, by their own transition, from a cluster of colonies to a nation of sovereign States. The deliverance of the Southern American Republics from the oppression under which they had been so long afflicted was hailed with great unanimity by the people of this Union as among the most auspicious events of the age. On the 4th of May, 1822, an act of Congress made an appropriation of \$100,000 "for such missions to the independent nations on the American continent as the President of the United States might deem proper."

In exercising the authority recognized by this act my predecessor, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate appointed, successively, ministers plenipotentiary to the Republics of Colombia, Buenos Ayres, Chili, and Mexico. Unwilling to raise among the fraternity of freedom questions of precedency and etiquette which even the European monarchs had of late found it necessary in a great measure to discard, he dispatched these ministers to Colombia, Buenos Ayres, and Chili without exacting

from those Republics, as by the ancient principles of political primogeniture he might have done, that the compliment of a plenipotentiary mission should have been paid first by them to the United States.

The instructions prepared, under his direction, to Mr. Anderson, the first of our ministers to the Southern Continent, contain, at much length, the general principles upon which he thought it desirable that our relations, political and commercial, with these, our new neighbors, should be established, for their benefit and ours, and that of the future ages of our posterity. A copy of so much of these instructions as relates to these general subjects is among the papers now transmitted to the House. Similar instructions were furnished to the ministers appointed to Buenos Ayres, Chili, and Mexico ; and the system of social intercourse which it was the purpose of those missions to establish, from the first opening of our diplomatic relations with those rising nations, is the most effective exposition of the principles upon which the invitation to the congress at Panama has been accepted by me, as well as of the objects of negotiation at that meeting, in which it was expected that our plenipotentiaries should take part.

The House will perceive that, even at the date of these instructions, the first treaties between some of the southern republics had been concluded, by which they had stipulated among themselves this diplomatic assembly at Panama ; and it will be seen with what caution, so far as it might concern the policy of the United States, and, at the same time, with what frankness and good will towards those nations, he gave countenance to their design of inviting the United States to this high assembly for consultation upon American interests.

It was not considered a conclusive reason for declining this invitation that the proposal for assembling such a congress had not first been made by ourselves. It had sprung from the urgent, immediate, and momentous common interests of the great communities struggling for independence, and, as it were, quickening into life. From them the proposition to us appeared respectful and friendly ; from us to them it could scarcely have been made without ex-

posing ourselves to suspicions of purposes of ambition, if not of domination, more suited to rouse resistance and excite distrust than to conciliate favor and friendship. The first and paramount principle upon which it was deemed wise and just to lay the corner-stone of all our future relations with them was disinterestedness; the next was cordial good-will to them; the third was a claim of fair and equal reciprocity. Under these impressions, when the invitation was formally and earnestly given, had it even been doubtful whether any of the objects proposed for consideration and discussion at the congress were such as that immediate and important interests of the United States would be affected by the issue, I should, nevertheless, have determined, so far as it depended upon me, to have accepted the invitation and to have appointed ministers to attend the meeting. The proposal itself implied that the republics by whom it was made believed that important interests of ours, or of theirs, rendered our attendance there desirable. They had given us notice that, in the novelty of their situation, and in the spirit of deference to our experience, they would be pleased to have the benefit of our friendly counsel.

To meet the temper with which this proposal was made with a cold repulse was not thought congenial to that warm interest in their welfare with which the people and Government of the Union had hitherto gone hand in hand through the whole progress of their revolution. To insult them by a refusal of their overture and then invite them to a similar assembly to be called by themselves was an expedient which never presented itself to the mind. I would have sent ministers to the meeting had it been merely to give them such advice as they might have desired, even with reference to their own interests, not involving ours. I would have sent them had it been merely to explain and set forth to them our reasons for declining any proposal of specific measures to which they might desire our concurrence, but which we might deem incompatible with our interests or our duties. In the intercourse between nations temper is a missionary, perhaps, more powerful than talent. Nothing was ever lost by kind

treatment. Nothing can be gained by sullen repulses and aspiring pretensions.

But objects of the highest importance, not only to the future welfare of the whole human race, but bearing directly upon the special interests of this Union will engage the deliberations of the congress of Panama whether we are represented there or not. Others, if we are represented, may be offered by our plenipotentiaries for consideration having in view both these great results—our own interests and the improvement of the condition of man upon earth. It may be that in the lapse of many centuries no other opportunity so favorable will be presented to the Government of the United States to subserve the benevolent purposes of Divine Providence to dispense the promised blessings of the Redeemer of mankind ; to promote the prevalence in future ages of peace on earth and good will to man, as will now be placed in their power by participating in the deliberations of this congress.

Among the topics enumerated in official papers, published by the Republic of Colombia, and adverted to in the correspondence now communicated to the House as intended to be presented for discussion at Panama, there is scarcely one in which the result of the meeting will not deeply affect the interests of the United States. Even those in which the belligerent States alone will take an active part will have a powerful effect upon the state of our relations with the American and probably with the principal European States. Were it merely that we might be correctly and speedily informed of the proceedings of the congress, and of the progress and issue of their negotiations, I should hold it advisable that we should have an accredited agency with them, placed in such confidential relations with the other members as would insure the authenticity and the safe and early transmission of its reports. Of the same enumerating topics are the preparation of a manifesto setting forth to the world the justice of their cause and the relations they desire to hold with other Christian powers, and to form a convention of navigation and commerce applicable both to the Confederate States and to their allies.

It will be within the recollection of the House that immediately after the close of the war of our Independence a measure closely analogous to this congress of Panama was adopted by the congress of our confederation and for purposes of precisely the same character. Three commissioners with plenipotentiary powers were appointed to negotiate treaties of amity, navigation, and commerce with all the principal powers of Europe. They met and resided for that purpose about one year at Paris, and the only result of their negotiations at that time was the first treaty between the United States and Prussia, memorable in the diplomatic annals of the world and precious as a monument of the principles in relation to commerce and maritime warfare, with which our country entered upon her career as a member of the great family of independent nations.

This treaty, prepared in conformity with the instructions of the American plenipotentiaries, consecrated three fundamental principles of the foreign intercourse which the congress at that period were desirous of establishing: First, equal reciprocity and the mutual stipulation of the privileges of the most favored nation in the commercial exchanges of peace; secondly, the abolition of private war upon the ocean; and, thirdly, restrictions favorable to neutral commerce upon belligerent practices with regard to contraband of war and blockades. A painful, it may be said a calamitous, experience of more than forty years has demonstrated the deep importance of these same principles to the peace and prosperity of this nation, and to the welfare of all maritime States, and has illustrated the profound wisdom with which they were assumed as cardinal points of the policy of the Union.

At the same time, in the infancy of their political existence under the influence of those principles of liberty and of right, so congenial to the cause in which they had just fought and triumphed, they were able but to obtain the sanction of one great and philosophical, though absolute, sovereign in Europe to their liberal and enlightened principles. They could obtain no more. Since then a political hurricane has gone over three-fourths of the

civilized portions of the earth, the desolation of which, it may with confidence be expected, is passing away, leaving, at least, the American atmosphere purified and refreshed. And now, at this propitious moment, the new-born nations of this hemisphere, assembling by their representatives at the isthmus between its two continents, to settle the principles of their future international intercourse with other nations and with us, ask, in this great exigency, for our advice upon those very fundamental maxims, which we, from our cradle, at first proclaimed and partially succeeded to introduce into the code of national law.

Without recurring to that total prostration of all neutral and commercial rights which marked the progress of the late European wars, and which finally involved the United States in them, and adverting only to our political relations with these American nations, it is observable that, while in all other respects those relations have been uniformly and, without exception, of the most friendly and mutually satisfactory character, the only causes of difference and dissension between us and them which ever have arisen originated in those never-failing fountains of discord and irritation, discriminations of commercial favor to other nations, licentious privateers, and paper blockades. I can not, without doing injustice to the Republics of Buenos Ayres and Colombia, forbear to acknowledge the candid and conciliatory spirit with which they have repeatedly yielded to our friendly representatives and remonstrances on these subjects; in repealing discriminative laws which operated to our disadvantage, and in revoking the commissions of their privateers; to which Colombia has added the magnanimity of making reparation for unlawful captures by some of her cruisers, and of assenting, in the midst of war, to treaty stipulations favorable to neutral navigation. But the recurrence of these occasions of complaint has rendered the renewal of the discussions which result in the removal of them necessary, while, in the meantime, injuries are sustained by merchants and other individuals of the United States, which can not be repaired, and the remedy lingers in overtaking the pernicious operation of the mischief. The settlement

of general principles pervading with equal efficacy all the American States can alone put an end to these evils, and can alone be accomplished at the proposed assembly.

If it be true that the noblest treaty of peace ever mentioned in history is that by which the Carthaginians were bound to abolish the practice of sacrificing their own children, because it was stipulated in favor of human nature, I can not exaggerate to myself the unfading glory with which these United States will go forth in the memory of future ages if, by their friendly counsel, by their moral influence, by the power of argument and persuasion alone, they can prevail upon the American nations at Panama to stipulate, by general agreement among themselves and so far as any of them may be concerned, the perpetual abolition of private war upon the ocean. And, if we can not yet flatter ourselves that this may be accomplished, as advances towards it, the establishment of the principle that the friendly flag shall cover the cargo, the curtailment of contraband of war and the proscription of fictitious paper blockades, engagements which we may reasonably hope will not prove impracticable, will, if successfully inculcated, redound proportionally to our honor and drain the fountain of many a future sanguinary war.

The late President of the United States, in his message to Congress of the 2d December, 1823, while announcing the negotiation then pending with Russia relating to the northwest coast of this continent, observed that the occasion of the discussions to which that incident had given rise had been taken for asserting as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States were involved, that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they had assumed and maintained, were thenceforward not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European power. The principle had first been assumed in that negotiation with Russia. It rested upon a course of reasoning equally simple and conclusive.

With the exception of the existing European colonies, which it was in no wise intended to disturb, the two continents consisted of several sovereign and independent na-

tions, whose territories covered their whole surface. By this, their independent condition, the United States enjoyed the right of commercial intercourse with every part of their possessions. To attempt the establishment of a colony in those possessions would be to usurp, to the exclusion of others, a commercial intercourse which was the common possession of all. It could not be done without encroaching upon existing rights of the United States. The Government of Russia has never disputed these positions nor manifested the slightest dissatisfaction at their having been taken. Most of the new American Republics have declared their entire assent to them; and they now propose, among the subjects of consultation at Panama, to take into consideration the means of making effectual the assertion of that principle as well as the means of resisting interference from abroad with the domestic concerns of the American Governments.

In alluding to these means it would obviously be premature at this time to anticipate that which is offered merely as matter for consultation, or to pronounce upon those measures which have been or may be suggested. The purpose of this Government is to concur in none which would import hostility to Europe or justly excite resentment in any of her States. Should it be deemed advisable to contract any conventional engagement on this topic our views would extend no further than to a mutual pledge of the parties to the compact to maintain the principle in application to its own territory and to permit no colonial lodgments or establishment of European jurisdiction upon its own soil; and, with respect to the obtrusive interference from abroad, if its future character may be inferred from that which has been and perhaps still is exercised in more than one of the new States, a joint declaration of its character and exposure of it to the world may be probably all that the occasion would require.

Whether the United States should or should not be parties to such a declaration may justly form a part of the deliberation. That there is an evil to be remedied needs little insight into the secret history of late years to know, and that this remedy may best be concerted at the

Panama meeting deserves at least the experiment of consideration. A concert of measures, having reference to the more effectual abolition of the African slave trade and the consideration of the light in which the political condition of the island of Hayti is to be regarded, are also among the subjects mentioned by the minister from the Republic of Colombia as believed to be suitable for deliberation at the Congress. The failure of the negotiations with that Republic undertaken during the late administration for the suppression of that trade, in compliance with a resolution of the House of Representatives, indicates the expediency of listening, with respectful attention, to propositions which may contribute to the accomplishment of the great end which was the purpose of that resolution, while the result of those negotiations will serve as admonition to abstain from pledging this Government to any arrangement which might be expected to fail of obtaining the advice and consent of the Senate by a constitutional majority to its ratification.

Whether the political condition of the Island of Hayti shall be brought at all into discussion at the meeting may be a question for preliminary advisement. There are in the political constitution of government of that people circumstances which have hitherto forbidden the acknowledgment of them by the Government of the United States as sovereign and independent. Additional reasons for withholding that acknowledgment have recently been in their acceptance of a nominal sovereignty by the grant of a foreign prince, under conditions equivalent to the concession by them of exclusive commercial advantages to one nation, adapted altogether to the state of colonial vassalage, and retaining little of independence but the name.

Our plenipotentiaries will be instructed to present these views to the assembly at Panama, and should they not be concurred in to decline acceding to any arrangement which may be proposed upon different principles.

The condition of the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico is of deeper import and more immediate bearing upon the present interests and future prospects of our Union. The

correspondence herewith transmitted will show how earnestly it has engaged the attention of this Government. The invasion of both those islands by the united forces of Mexico and Colombia is avowedly among the objects to be matured by the belligerent states at Panama. The convulsions to which, from the peculiar composition of their population, they would be liable in the event of such an invasion, and the danger therefrom resulting of their falling ultimately into the hands of some European power other than Spain, will not admit of our looking at the consequences to which the congress at Panama may lead with indifference. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon this topic, or to say more than that all our efforts in reference to this interest will be to preserve the existing state of things—the tranquillity of the islands and the peace and security of their inhabitants.

And, lastly, the congress of Panama is believed to present a fair occasion for urging upon all the new nations of the south the just and liberal principles of religious liberty. Not by any interference whatever in their internal concerns, but by claiming for our citizens, whose occupations or interests may call them to occasional residence in their territories, the inestimable privilege of worshipping their Creator according to the dictates of their own consciences. This privilege, sanctioned by the customary law of nations, and secured by treaty stipulations in numerous national compacts, secured even to our own citizens in the treaties with Colombia and with the Federation of Central America, is yet to be obtained in the other South American States and Mexico. Existing prejudices are still struggling against it, which may perhaps be more successfully combated at this general meeting than at the separate seats of government of each republic.

I can scarcely deem it otherwise than superfluous to observe that the assembly will be in its nature diplomatic and not legislative. That nothing can be transacted there obligatory upon any one of the states to be represented at the meeting, unless with the express concurrence of its own representatives; nor even then, but subject to the ratification of its constitutional authority at home.

The faith of the United States to foreign powers can not otherwise be pledged. I shall, indeed, in the first instance, consider the assembly as merely consultative; and although the plenipotentiaries of the United States will be empowered to receive and refer to the consideration of their Government any proposition from the other parties to the meeting, they will be authorized to conclude nothing unless subject to the definitive sanction of this Government in all its constitutional forms. It has, therefore, seemed to me unnecessary to insist that every object to be discussed at the meeting should be specified with the precision of a judicial sentence or enumerated with the exactness of a mathematical demonstration. The purpose of the meeting itself is to deliberate upon the great and common interests of several new and neighboring nations. If the measure is new and without precedent, so is the situation of the parties to it. That the purposes of the meeting are somewhat indefinite, far from being an objection to it, is among the cogent reasons for its adoption. It is not the establishment of principles of intercourse with one, but with seven or eight nations at once. That, before they have had the means of exchanging ideas and communicating with one another in common upon these topics they should have definitely settled and arranged them in concert, is to require that the effect should precede the cause. It is to exact as a preliminary to the meeting that for the accomplishment of which the meeting itself is designed.

Among the inquiries which were thought entitled to consideration, before the determination was taken to accept the invitation, was that, whether the measure might not have a tendency to change the policy, hitherto invariably pursued by the United States, of avoiding all entangling alliances, and all unnecessary foreign connections.

Mindful of the advice given by the Father of our Country, in his farewell address, that the great rule of conduct for us in regard to foreign nations is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible; and, faithfully adhering to the spirit of that admonition, I can not overlook the reflection

that the counsel of Washington, in that instance, like all the counsels of wisdom, was founded upon the circumstances in which our country and the world around us were situated at the time when it was given. That of the reasons assigned by him for his advice were: that Europe had a set of primary interests, which to us had no, or a very remote, relation. That hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which were essentially foreign to our concerns. That our detached and distant situation, invited and enabled us to pursue a different course. That by our union and rapid growth, with an efficient Government, the period was not far distant when we might defy material injury from external annoyance; when we might take such an attitude as would cause our neutrality to be respected; and, with reference to belligerent nations, might choose peace or war, as our interests, guided by justice, should counsel.

Compare our situation and the circumstances of that time with those of the present day, and what from the very words of Washington, then, would be his counsels to his countrymen now? Europe has still her set of primary interests with which we have little or a remote relation. Our distant and detached situation, with reference to Europe, remains the same. But we were then the only independent nation of this hemisphere; and we were surrounded by European colonies, with the greater part of which we had no more intercourse than with the inhabitants of another planet. Those colonies have now been transformed into eight independent nations, extending to our very borders; seven of them Republics like ourselves, with whom we have an immensely growing commercial, and must have, and have already, important political connections; with reference to whom our situation is neither detached nor distant; whose political principles and systems of government, congenial with our own, must and will have an action and counteraction upon us and ours, to which we can not be indifferent if we would.

The rapidity of our growth, and the consequent increase of our strength, has more than realized the anticipations

of this admirable political legacy. Thirty years have nearly elapsed since it was written, and in the interval our population, our wealth, our territorial extension, our power, physical and moral, has nearly trebled. Reasoning upon this state of things from the sound and judicious principles of Washington, must we not say that the period which he predicted as then not far off has arrived; that America has a set of primary interests which have none, or a remote relation to Europe; that the interference of Europe, therefore, in those concerns, should be spontaneously withheld by her upon the same principle—that we have never interfered with hers; and that, if she should interfere, as she may, by measures which may have a great and dangerous recoil upon ourselves, we might be called, in defense of our own altars and firesides, to take an attitude which would cause our neutrality to be respected, and choose peace or war as our interest, guided by justice, should counsel.

The acceptance of this invitation, therefore, far from conflicting with the counsel or the policy of Washington, is directly deducible from and conformable to it. Nor is it less conformable to the views of my immediate predecessor, as declared in his annual message to Congress, of the 2d December, 1823, to which I have already adverted, and to an important passage of which I invite the attention of the House.

The citizens of the United States [said he] cherish sentiments the most friendly in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men on that [the European] side of the Atlantic. In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded or seriously menaced that we resent injuries or make preparation for our defense. With the movements in this hemisphere we are of necessity more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different in this respect from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments. And to the defense of our own which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor, and to the amicable re-

lations subsisting between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the Governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition, for the purposes of oppressing them, or controlling in any other manner their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States. In the war between those new Governments and Spain, we declared our neutrality at the time of their recognition, and to this we have adhered, and shall continue to adhere, provided no change shall occur which, in the judgment of the competent authorities of this Government, shall make a corresponding change on the part of the United States indispensable to their security.

To the question which may be asked, whether this meeting and the principles which may be adjusted and settled by it, as rules of intercourse between the American nations, may not give umbrage to the Holy League of European powers, or offense to Spain, it is deemed a sufficient answer that our attendance at Panama can give no just cause of umbrage or offense to either, and that the United States will stipulate nothing there which can give such cause. Here the right of inquiry into our purposes and measures must stop. The Holy League of Europe itself was formed without inquiring of the United States whether it would or would not give umbrage to them. The fear of giving umbrage to the Holy League of Europe was urged as a motive for denying to the American nations the acknowledgment of their independence. That it would be viewed by Spain as hostility to her was not only urged, but directly declared by herself. The Congress and administration of that day consulted their rights and duties, and not their fears. Fully determined to give no needless displeasure to any foreign power, the United States can estimate the probability of their giving it only by the right which any foreign State could have to take it from their measures. Neither the representation of the United States at Panama nor any measure to which their assent may be yielded there will give to the Holy League,

or any of its members, nor to Spain, the right to take offense. For the rest, the United States must still, as heretofore, take counsel from their duties, rather than their fears.

Such are the objects in which it is expected that the plenipotentiaries of the United States, when commissioned to attend the meeting at the Isthmus, will take part; and such are the motives and purposes with which the invitation of the three Republics was accepted. It was, however, as the House will perceive from the correspondence, accepted only upon condition that the nomination of commissioners for the mission should receive the advice and consent of the Senate.

The concurrence of the House to the measure, by the appropriations necessary for carrying it into effect, is alike subject to its free determination and indispensable to the fulfillment of the intention.

That the congress at Panama will accomplish all or even any of the transcendent benefits to the human race which warmed the conceptions of its first proposer, it were, perhaps, indulging too sanguine a forecast of events to promise. It is, in its nature, a measure speculative and experimental. The blessing of Heaven may turn it to the account of human improvement. Accidents unforeseen and mischances not to be anticipated may baffle all its high purposes and disappoint its fairest expectations; but the design is great, is benevolent, is humane.

It looks to the melioration of the condition of man. It is congenial with that spirit which prompted the declaration of our independence; which inspired the preamble of our first treaty with France; which dictated our first treaty with Prussia, and the instructions under which it was negotiated; which filled the hearts and fired the souls of the immortal founders of our revolution.

With this unrestricted exposition of the motives by which I have been governed in this transaction as well as of the objects to be discussed, and of the ends, if possible, to be attained by our representation at the proposed congress, I submit the propriety of an appropriation to the candid consideration and enlightened patriotism of the Legislature.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Reply of Mr. Clay to a Resolution of Inquiry from the House of Representatives.

To the President:

The Secretary of State, to whom the President has referred that part of the resolution of the House of Representatives of the 5th instant which requests that he would cause to be laid before the House "so much of the correspondence between the Government of the United States and the new States of America or their ministers, respecting the proposed congress or meeting of diplomatic agents at Panama, and of such information respecting the general character of that expected congress as may be in his possession," has the honor now to report :

That, during the last spring, he held, at the Department of State, separate conferences, on the same day, with the respective ministers of Colombia and Mexico, in the course of which each of them verbally stated that his Government was desirous that the United States should be represented at the proposed congress, and that he was instructed to communicate an invitation to their Government to send representatives to it; but that, as his Government did not know whether it would be agreeable or not to the United States to receive such an invitation, and as it was not wished to occasion any embarrassment to them, he was charged informally to inquire, previous to the delivery of the invitation, whether it would be accepted if given by both of the Republics of Mexico and Colombia. It was also stated by each of those ministers that his Government did not expect that the United States would change their present neutral policy, nor was it desired that they should take part in such of the deliberations of the proposed congress as might relate to the prosecution of the existing war with Spain.

Having laid before the President what transpired at these conferences, his direction was received, about a week after they had been held, to inform the ministers of Mexico and Colombia, and they were accordingly informed, that their communication was received with due sensibility to

the friendly consideration of the United States by which it had been dictated; that, of course, they could not make themselves a party to the war between the new States and Spain, nor to councils for deliberating on the means of its further prosecution; that the President believed that such a congress as was contemplated might be highly useful in settling several important disputed questions of public law, in arranging other matters of deep interest to the American Continent, and in strengthening the friendship and amicable intercourse between the American powers; that before such a Congress, however, assembled it appeared to the President to be expedient to adjust between the different powers to be represented, several preliminary points, such as the subjects to which the attention of the congress was to be directed, the nature and the form of the powers to be given to the diplomatic agents who were to compose it, and the mode of its organization and its action. If these preliminary points could be arranged in a manner satisfactory to the United States the ministers from Colombia and Mexico were informed that the President thought that the United States ought to be represented at Panama. Each of those ministers undertook to transmit to his Government the answer which was thus given to both.

In this posture the overture remained until the letters were received, which accompany this report, from the ministers of the Republics of Mexico and Colombia, under date of the 2d and 3d of November, 1825. A similar answer was returned to each of those letters in official notes, a copy of one of which is with this report.

The first and only communication from the minister of the Republic of Central America to this Department in regard to the congress of Panama is contained in his official note, a copy of which, together with a copy of the answer which was returned, will be found along with this report.

Copies of conventions containing stipulations respecting the intended congress are herewith reported between the Republic of Colombia and that of Chili, the Republic of Colombia and Peru, the Republic of Colombia and the

Federation of the Centre of America, and the Republic of Colombia and the United Mexican States.*

The Secretary of State has also the honor to report to the President extracts from the instructions which were given by the Department of State to Mr. Anderson on the 27th day of May, 1823, and copies of certain parts of the correspondence which, since the last session of Congress, has taken place between the Executive of the United States and the Governments of Russia, France, Spain, and Mexico, of which a descriptive list accompanies this report. In respect to the negotiation which Mr. Middleton was authorized, by the dispatch of the 10th of May last† (one of the papers now reported), to institute at St. Petersburg, considering the lapse of time and the great and lamented event which has lately occurred in Europe, perhaps there is no adequate reason for refraining from a communication of it to the House, which is recommended by its intimate connection with the interests of the new Republics. About the same period with the date of that dispatch instructions were given to Mr. Everett to inculcate on Spain the necessity of peace and to our ministers in France and England to invite the cabinets of Paris and London to co-operate in the same work. The hope, not yet abandoned, was indulged that, by an united exertion of all the great powers, and especially of Russia, Spain might be brought to see her true interests in terminating the existing war. Other negotiations, growing out of and subordinate to that which was authorized in the before-mentioned dispatch of the 10th of May to Mr. Middleton, have been more recently commenced. They have for their object the prevention of disorder in the Spanish island of Cuba and Porto Rico and also to guard the United States against the danger of bad examples and

* These conventions communicated to the Senate in a report of the Secretary of State, accompanying the President's message to the Senate of the 10th of January, 1826, in answer to a resolution of the Senate of the 3d of January, 1826.

† This letter to Mr. Middleton of the 10th of May, 1825, communicated, *with others*, to the Senate, at the same time with the conventions above mentioned.

excesses, of which, in the course of events, those islands might become the theatre, as well as the conservation of our commercial and navigating interests.

All which is respectfully submitted.

H. CLAY.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *March 14, 1826.*

Report of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, January 16, 1826.

MONDAY, *January 16, 1826.*

Mr. Macon, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, to whom was referred, on the 28th of December, the message of the President of the United States nominating Richard C. Anderson and John Sergeant to be envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to the assembly of the American nations at Panama; and, on the 10th instant, the message communicating certain documents relating thereto, submitted the following report:

That they have examined the subject to them referred with the most profound attention, and have bestowed upon it all the consideration demanded by its novelty, delicacy, and high importance to the character and future destinies of the United States. In making this examination the committee found themselves not a little embarrassed at first by the circumstance announced by the President in his message to both Houses of Congress at the commencement of the present session, that he had already accepted the invitation given to the United States by some of the American Republics to be represented at the contemplated Congress of American nations about to be assembled at Panama. But seeing in the several communications made by the Secretary of State to the different ministers of these Republics that an express reference was made to the concurrence of the Senate as the indispensable preliminary to the acceptance of this invitation, and finding in the present message of the President the explicit assurance that he had not thought proper to take any step in carrying this measure into effect until he could ascertain that his opinion of its expediency would concur with that of

both branches of the legislature, the committee believed it became a part of the duty they owed to the Senate, and would be evidence of the proper respect due to the President, that they should fully and freely examine into the propriety of the proposed measure, the expediency of adopting which was the subject that the Senate was thus invited to deliberate upon, and to make known their opinion.

Considerations of much higher importance than even these induced the committee to adopt this course. In the ordinary progress of their proceedings, the Senate can rarely if ever find it either necessary or proper to inquire as to the objects expected to be obtained by appointments, to which their advice and consent is asked. As to all offices created by statute in which these objects are defined and their attainment positively required, the single question arising before the Senate must ever refer merely to the fitness of the person nominated by the President to fulfill such duties. The same will generally be found the sole inquiry necessary to be made in filling up vacancies happening in pre-existing foreign missions, designed to maintain the customary relations and intercourse of friendship and commerce between the United States and other nations. Very different, however, is the case when it is proposed to create new offices by nomination, or to dispatch ministers to foreign States for the first time, or to accomplish by such missions objects not specially disclosed or under circumstances new, peculiar, and highly important. In all these cases, instead of confining their inquiries to the mere fitness of the persons nominated to fill such offices, it is not only the right but the duty of the Senate to determine previously as to the necessity and propriety of creating the offices themselves; and in deciding these questions not only the objects for the accomplishment by which it is proposed to create them, but every other circumstance connected with such a measure must necessarily and unavoidably become a subject of their serious examination.

This right, conferred by the Constitution upon the Senate, is the only direct check upon the power possessed by the

President in this respect, which, relieved from this restraint, would authorize him to create and consummate all the political relations of the United States at his mere will. And as in the theory of their Government, the high destinies of the people of the United States are never to be confided to the unrestrained discretion of any single man, even the wisest and best of their fellow-citizens, it becomes a solemn duty which the Senate owes to the sovereign States here represented, most seriously to investigate all the circumstances connected with the novel measure now proposed by the President as to the expediency of adopting, which they have been invited to aid him with their counsel and advice.

Entertaining these opinions in the performance of the duty which they believe has been required by the Senate, and anxious to manifest to the President their high respect by complying fully with the wish which he has expressed upon this subject, the committee will proceed to investigate the circumstances connected with the measure proposed and disclosed by the documents to them referred, most deeply impressed with the importance of the consequences that may very probably result from it.

By the principles of this policy, inculcated by our wisest statesmen in former days and approved by the experience of all subsequent time, the true interest of the United States was supposed to be promoted by avoiding all entangling connections with any other nation whatsoever. Steadily pursuing this course while they have been desirous to manifest the most cordial good will to all nations, and to maintain with each relations of perfect amity and of commerce regulated and adjusted by rules of the most fair, equal, and just reciprocity, the United States have hitherto sedulously abstained from associating themselves in any other way, even with those nations for whose welfare the most lively sensibility has been at all times felt and otherwise manifested.

During the conflict for freedom and independence in which these new states of America were so long engaged with their former sovereign, although every heart in the United States beat high in sympathy with them, and fer-

vent aspirations were hourly put up for their success ; and although the relations then existing with Spain were well calculated to excite strong irritation and resentment on our part, yet the Government of the United States, convinced of the propriety of a strict adherence to the principles it had ever proclaimed as the rule of its conduct in relation to other nations, forbore to take any part in this struggle, and maintained the most exact neutrality between these belligerents. Nor would it ever recognize the independence of these new Republics, until they had become independent in fact, and the situation of their ancient sovereign, in relation to them, was such as to manifest that he ought no longer to be held responsible for their acts. So soon as this occurred the United States most gladly embraced the opportunity, and in being the first to proclaim the sovereignty and independence of these States, gave to them the strongest pledge of respect and cordial friendship and sincere anxiety for their prosperity.

The first question which suggested itself to the Committee, at the very threshold of their investigation, was, what cogent reasons now existed for adopting this new and untried measure so much in conflict with the whole course of policy uniformly and happily pursued by the United States from almost the very creation of this Government to the present hour ?

Since that event ministers have been dispatched to each of these new Republics, instructed to declare the sentiments sincerely and warmly felt for them by the United States, and empowered to conclude treaties with them, the objects of which should be to establish, upon principles of the most perfect justice and equity, all the ordinary relations that exist between nations. Thus much was due, not less to them than to ourselves, and in going so far we did all that our feelings dictated and the interest of either seemed then to require. What necessity has since arisen to do more ? What cause exists now to prompt the United States to establish new and stronger relations with them, and so to abandon that rule of conduct which has hitherto been here so steadily and happily pursued ?

These inquiries necessarily called the attention of the

committee to a minute examination of all the documents to them referred in order that they might therein discover the reasons assigned by the new States of America for desiring the United States to be represented at the Congress about to be assembled at Panama, and the motives of the President for intimating his willingness to accept this invitation. And in making such an examination many reflections presented themselves as connected with the proposed measure, all of which the committee will now state to the Senate.

In a government constituted as is that of the United States, in which the sentiment so natural to freedom prompts them to scrutinize most exactly the extent of all the powers they grant, and to limit this extent by the objects desired to be accomplished by their exercise, the strongest anxiety is (and it is to be hoped always will be) felt to learn distinctly what is the precise object desired to be attained, and what are the precise means proposed for its attainment. Even the confidence reposed in the long-tried patriotism and well-proved wisdom of our own best citizens does not and ought not to suffice to quiet this anxiety or to remove this jealousy, inspired by an ardent attachment to our rights and privileges. It was, therefore, much to be desired and certainly to have been expected that before the destinies of the United States should be committed to the deliberation and decision of a Congress composed not of our own citizens, but of the representatives of many different nations, that the objects of such deliberations should be most accurately stated and defined, and the manner of their accomplishment clearly and distinctly marked out.

In this opinion the President himself seems to have concurred at the commencement of this negotiation, for in the report made to him on the 20th of December last by the Secretary of State this officer states that agreeably to his directions he had informed the ministers by whom the invitation to the proposed Congress at Panama was given that—

Before such a Congress assembled, it appeared to the President to be expedient to adjust between the different powers to be represented, several preliminary points such as the subjects to which the attention

of the Congress was to be directed, the nature and the form of the powers to be given to the diplomatic agents who were to compose it, and the mode of its organization and action.

And it was made an express and previous condition to the acceptance of the invitation proposed to be given, that "these preliminary points should be arranged in a manner satisfactory to the United States."

It was, therefore, not without much surprise and great regret that the Committee discovered, that, although, in none of the communications subsequently made to this Government, by either of the ministers of the several States by whom this invitation was given, are these preliminary points even stated, and although the want of "a compliance with these conditions," is expressly noticed in the reply made to them by the Secretary of State, yet they were therein told that the President had determined at once to send commissioners to this Congress at Panama, provided the Senate would advise and consent to such a measure.

If, then, the Senate should now demand of this Committee to inform them what are the objects to be accomplished at this Congress, and what are the means by which their accomplishment is to be effected—although, as to objects, the documents referred to them will enable the committee to name a few—yet, as to all others, they must answer in the language of the communication made by the Mexican minister, that they are those "to which the existence of the new States may give rise, and which it is not easy to point out or enumerate." As to the means, however, the committee can only reply, that, while it seems to be expected that the United States are to clothe their representatives with "ample powers" to accomplish all the enumerated, and these other undefined objects also, yet the mode in which these powers, if granted, are to be used and exercised, is no where even hinted at.

One great question, therefore, upon which the decision of the Senate is called for, will be, whether, in the existing state of things, it is wise or expedient that the United States should be represented at a Congress of

American nations by agents endowed with undefined powers, to accomplish undefined objects? And this committee feel no hesitation in stating, as their opinion, that, if ever it may be proper to adopt such a measure, there is nothing known to them that requires or justifies it at this time.

It is true the power confided to the Senate to ratify or reject any agreement that may be entered into by such agents would constitute some safeguard to the important interests of the United States. But long experience must have informed the Senate that it is generally exceedingly difficult, and sometimes even impossible, to escape from the embarrassments produced by the mere act of entering into a negotiation; and that it is much better to abstain from doing so until its objects are distinctly known and approved, than to confide in the power of the Senate, in the last resort, to refuse their assent to the ratification of an agreement after it is adjusted by means of such negotiation.

In the present case, if the measures to be accomplished by the proposed congress, whatever may be their object or character, should not meet the concurring opinion of all the parties there to be represented, we need not the lights of history to inform us that many consequences mischievous in themselves, and greatly to be deplored, not only may, but most probably will, result. And that a difference of opinion will exist in regard to measures so important in themselves, and so various and diversified in their effects upon nations differing from each other in almost every particular, is much to be apprehended. The power possessed by the Senate of withholding its assent, ought not, therefore, to be regarded as furnishing sufficient assurance against the possible and probable effects of the proposed measure.

Turning from the undefined objects of this congress, so imperfectly disclosed in the vague description given of them, that, if seen at all, they are presented most indistinctly to their view, and regarding those which are particularly mentioned and described with more precision, this committee have not been able to discover in any one of

these last a single subject concerning which the United States ought to enter into any negotiation with the States of America to be assembled at the contemplated Congress at Panama.

Before proceeding to the enumeration of these objects, the committee can not refrain from calling the attention of the Senate to a singular circumstance disclosed by the documents referred to them. Although an enumeration of the subjects to which the attention of the proposed congress was to be directed was explicitly stated as a condition preliminary to the acceptance by the United States of the invitation given to them to be there represented; although each of the ministers giving this invitation had communicated this to his Government and received its instructions relative thereto, yet great diversities will be found in the enumeration of these subjects made by each of these ministers in pursuance of such instructions.

And, what is still more remarkable, while many of the subjects of intended discussion so enumerated by each of these ministers are not referred to in the message of the President to the Senate, others are therein stated as matters for the deliberation of the proposed congress to which not the slightest allusion seems ever to have been made by any one of the American ministers in any of their communications to this Government; nay, one of the subjects (the most important, probably, of any which the United States are desirous to discuss at this congress) is neither noticed in the communications made to this Government by any of the American States nor in the message of the President to the Senate, and is to be only inferred from the documents last referred to this committee, received under the call made by the Senate for further information; all which will be very clearly shown by the details which the committee will now lay before the Senate.

The first subject stated by the Mexican minister as one which would occupy the attention of the contemplated congress, and the deliberations concerning which the United States are expected to take a part, is, "The resistance or opposition to be made to the interference of any

neutral nation in the question and war of independence between the new powers of this continent and Spain." And in the deliberations upon this subject it seems to be proposed "to discuss the means of giving to that resistance all possible force," and so to adjust, by previous concert, the mode which each of the States represented at the Congress "shall lend its co-operation."

The same subject is also stated by the minister of Colombia, and in terms still more explicit. He suggests as a matter of useful discussion in the congress, the formation of "an eventual alliance" of the States there to be represented, for the purpose of preventing any European power from interfering in the present contest between Spain and her former colonies; and that the treaty for this purpose should "remain secret, until the *casus fæderis* should happen."

Notwithstanding this is so stated by both of these ministers as the first and great object of the proposed congress, yet the President, in his message, assures the Senate "that the motive of the attendance of the United States is neither to contract alliances, nor to engage in any undertaking or project importing hostility to any other nation." It thus appears, that, in relation to this first and most important point, which seems to have given birth to the scheme of this congress, the views and motives of the United States differ essentially from those of the other parties. And this difference of opinion, occurring as to the very first proposition, which is said to be "a matter of immediate utility to the American States that are at war with Spain," and is believed by them to "be in accordance with the repeated declarations and protests of the Cabinet at Washington," must unavoidably excite doubts as to "the interest we take in their welfare, and our disposition to comply with their wishes," and would so contribute not a little to defeat other objects.

The next subject stated by the Mexican minister, as presenting "another of the questions which may be discussed," and which he considers as being "in like predicament with the foregoing," is "the opposition to colonization in America by the European powers."

The minister of Colombia concurs in this enumeration. He places "the manner in which all colonization of European powers on the American continent shall be resisted," at the very head of all the subjects of proposed discussion, and couples this with the former as an object to be effected by the joint and united efforts of all the States to be represented at the congress, who should be bound by a solemn convention to secure this end.

The President concurs in part in the opinion as to the propriety of attaining this end, but differs radically as to the mode of accomplishing it.

"An agreement between all the parties represented at the meeting that each will guard, by its own means, against the establishment of any future European colony within its borders," he thinks "may be found advisable." Now, if this be meant that each nation shall, by its own means, protect its own territory against all encroachments upon them, attempted by any European or other foreign State whatsoever, the committee can not discern either the necessity or expediency of entering into any formal agreement with other States to that effect more than exists for reducing to treaty stipulations any other of the high, just, and universally admitted rights of all nations.

Such an idea, however, is obviously not that suggested by the ministers of Mexico and Colombia, and if more is meant to be comprehended in the agreement which the President thinks may be found advisable, every other article it would contain must, in the opinion of this committee, violate all the well-settled principles of the policy of the United States, and put at hazard their best interest, without any adequate motive for so novel an experiment. In the one case, the views and motives of the President differ again, essentially, from those of the other parties to be represented at this congress; and from the disclosure of these repeated differences of opinion, no good can possibly result. And in the other, should the views of the President concur with those of the other American States (which the committee do not believe), the mutual stipulations growing out of such an agreement would, in the opinion of this committee, prove fatal to the best interests

of the United States, should the *casus faederis* ever happen.

To adjust the means of most effectual resistance to the interference of neutral nations, in the war of independence between the new powers of this continent and Spain; and of opposition to colonization in America by the European powers, are said by the Mexican minister to be "the two principal subjects" of intended discussion at the contemplated congress; and, indeed, are all the subjects of discussion which he particularly states. The minister of Colombia, however, extends his enumeration of the subjects of intended discussion somewhat further; and after mentioning those before stated, adds, as another, "the consideration of the means to be adopted for the entire abolition of the African slave trade."

To this subject the President makes no allusion in his message; and, after the examination which it has received in the Senate during two successive years, this committee deem it quite unnecessary to say much in relation to it at this time. Some of the sovereign States here represented were the first in the world to proclaim their abhorrence of this traffic. Since the formation of this Government the United States have exerted (and as this committee believe have exerted effectually) all the means in their power to arrest its progress so far as their own citizens were concerned; and if all other nations, and especially those nations holding possessions in America, would follow their example, the African slave trade would no longer exist. The United States, however, have not certainly the right and ought never to feel the inclination to dictate to others who may differ with them upon this subject; nor do the committee see the expediency of insulting other States with whom we are maintaining relations of perfect amity by ascending the moral chair and proclaiming from thence mere abstract principles, of the rectitude of which each nation enjoys the perfect right of deciding for itself.

The minister of Colombia states, as another subject of discussion at the contemplated congress, "on what basis the relation of Hayti, and of other parts of our hemisphere that shall hereafter be in like circumstances, are to

be placed." To this matter also the President makes no allusion in his message. And surely if there is any subject within the whole circle of political relations, as to which it is the interest and the duty of all States to keep themselves perfectly free and unshackled by any previous stipulation, it is that which regards their future connections with any other people not parties to such an agreement. Of the propriety or impropriety of such connections each must ever be permitted to judge freely for itself, because the benefit or disadvantage to result from them must be peculiar and very different to each, and that relation which is highly desirable at one time may become hurtful at another. In the opinion of this committee, therefore, the United States should never permit themselves to enter into discussion with any foreign State whatever as to the relations they should be obliged to establish with any other people not parties to such discussions. And the objections to such a course become infinitely stronger when the discussions are intended to refer not only to those who then exist, but also to others who may hereafter be considered as placed "in like circumstances."

These are all the points particularly suggested by the minister of Columbia as subjects of discussion at the contemplated congress. The minister of Guatemala (who also unites in the invitation given to the United States) has stated no particular subject as matter of discussion at this congress. He intimates, however, "that, as Europe had formed a continental system, and held a congress whenever questions affecting its interests were to be discussed, America should also form a system for itself."

How far this general suggestion meets the views of the President the committee are not enabled, by any document referred to them, to decide. But they will present to the Senate their own ideas in relation to it; the rather because it seems now to be the prominent object of the proposed congress, the magnitude and variety of details belonging to which defy present enumeration and particular specification.

Without adverting to the great and obvious diversities

existing between the States of this continent and those of Europe, by which the system here alluded to has been established—diversities growing out of the situation of their people, the nature of their governments, and the positions they occupy, not only in relation to each other, but to the rest of the civilized world, this committee will state, as their opinion, that no effect yet produced by the continental system of Europe is of a character to invite the States of this continent to take that system as a model or example for their imitation. The great object of the continental system of Europe is, to preserve ancient institutions, and relations long known and well understood, in the position which they now occupy and for many centuries have done.

The operation of this system is, by the combination of powers and the application of mere force, to arrest the progress of improvement in the science of government and in the condition of society, ends which all free States must reprobate as much as they do the means employed for their accomplishment. If this were not so, however, a system formed for this continent for the same or even different objects would most probably produce the worst effects. The short political existence of all the States on this continent, even of the United States themselves, the most ancient of any, has enabled them to profit so little as yet by experience, that it would seem rash to proclaim their perfection at this time, or to pledge any of them to perpetuate either their present institutions or existing political relations. Our own excellent Constitution is based upon the supposition of its own probable imperfections, and most wisely provides for its amendment whenever such defects shall be discovered to exist. We can not, therefore, stipulate to preserve it as it is, and no compact with other States can be necessary to bestow upon each the power it now possesses to effect any change which experience may hereafter show to be beneficial to itself. And a stipulation to make such changes as the good for any others may hereafter require would either be futile or must inevitably lead to discord and to wars.

The committee doubt, moreover, the authority of the

Government of the United States to enter into any negotiations with foreign nations for the purpose of settling and promulgating either principles of internal polity or mere abstract propositions as parts of the public law. And if the proposed congress is viewed but as a convenient mode of conducting a summary negotiation relative to existing interests important to this continent alone, it not only may, but most probably will, be considered by all other civilized nations as a confederacy of the States therein represented for purposes as prejudicial to the interests of the Old as they are supposed to be beneficial to those of the New World. Many of the provisions in the different conventions already concluded between some of the new States relative to this very congress, and which are now public, are well calculated to create such a suspicion, even if they do not justify a belief in its truth. And whensoever this suspicion shall be entertained by the nations of the Old World, and especially by those who still hold possessions on this continent, it must be obvious to all that consequences much to be deplored will unavoidably result.

Nothing that can be done hereafter by any department of this Government in refusing to sanction the stipulations concluded at a congress regarded in this light will suffice to avert the calamity ; and the United States, who have grown up in happiness to their present prosperity by a strict observance of their old well-known course of policy, and by manifesting entire good-will and most profound respect for all other nations, must prepare to embark their future destinies upon an unknown and turbulent ocean, directed by little experience, and destined for no certain haven. In such a voyage the dissimilitude existing between themselves and their associates in interest, character, language, religion, manners, customs, habits, laws, and almost every other particular, and the rivalry these discrepancies must surely produce among them, would generate discords, which if they did not destroy all hope of its successful termination, would make even success itself the ultimate cause of new and direful conflicts between themselves. Such has been the issue of all such

enterprises in past time, and we have therefore strong reasons to expect in the future similar results from similar causes.

The committee, having thus examined the several subjects of proposed discussion, stated or alluded to by each of the ministers of the new States of America, as matters of deliberation at the contemplated congress, will now proceed to the investigation of others not mentioned or referred to by any of them, but exhibited in the message of the President.

The committee see nothing in the documents to them referred to prove that the States who originated the project of this Congress, and settled the subjects proper for its deliberation, and who most probably have already adjusted "the preliminary rules of that assembly," will admit as fit matters of discussion any other than those which they themselves have so previously announced. Should this be the case, the degraded position which the United States must then occupy at the congress must be apparent to all. Without adverting further, however, at this time, to this consideration, the committee will enter into the examination of the several topics suggested by the President, as though the discussion of them was a matter settled and already agreed.

The first of these subjects stated by the President is "the establishment of principles of a liberal commercial intercourse." The motives for desiring this are stated to be that "the Southern American nations, in their intercourse with the United States, have sometimes manifested dispositions to reserve a right of granting special favors and privileges to the Spanish nation at the price of their recognition. At others they have actually established duties and impositions, operating unfavorably to the United States to the advantage of other European powers, and sometimes they have appeared to consider that they might interchange among themselves mutual concessions of exclusive favors to which neither European powers nor the United States should be admitted."

In considering these reasons it can not escape the observation of any that in manifesting dispositions to establish

such commercial relations the Southern American nations must have been actuated by the only motive that ever operates either upon nations or individuals in regard to their mere commercial intercourse—a desire fairly to advance their own interests, and a belief that they could by such means properly accomplish this end. If, in this belief, these nations are right, then the United States can scarcely be viewed as acting toward them in that spirit of generous kindness and fraternal friendship they have professed when they would strive to induce them to establish as liberal principles such as would be injurious to the interests of these Southern nations themselves. And if they are wrong, it seems to this committee that the task of exhibiting their errors may be much better performed, as hitherto it hath been, by particular discussions with each separately than by general demonstrations made to all, assembled as a congress.

The interests of commerce are necessarily peculiar ; they grow out of numerous circumstances produced by locality, climate, population, manners, customs, and other causes, no one of which exists alike in any two nations on the globe. Few general principles, therefore, can ever apply, with equal truth, to so many peculiarities ; and such as do so apply, need not the sanction of solemn compact to give them effect. They may be very safely confided to the natural disposition of man, promptly to discover, and eagerly to advance, his own best interests.

Whatever disposition, then, may have been manifested by the Southern nations of America, this committee think that their effects, both upon themselves and the United States, will constitute subjects much more fit for separate discussions with each, than of general investigation before all. And the committee are the more confirmed in this opinion by the assurance given by the President, in his message, that “in most of these cases their regulations unfavorable to us have already yielded to friendly expostulation and remonstrance,” and, by the fact of the treaties recently concluded between these States, contain express stipulations that, in no event, will they agree or enter into any treaty with Spain, or any other nation, to the prejudice

of their independence, but to maintain, at all times, their mutual interests, with the dignity and energy proper to free independent States.

It is true a difference of opinion appears to exist at present between the United States and one of the new Republics of America in relation to a single principle of their commercial intercourse. When the Senate recollect, however, that treaties have been already concluded between the United States and three others of these Republics, in each of which treaties this point has been settled as the United States themselves think right, the committee believe that the Senate will concur with them in the opinion that it is much better to continue the discussion of this subject with the dissenting State singly, urging upon her the example of her sister States, than to put in hazard the stipulations already secured by voluntarily entering into an examination of their expediency before the contemplated congress.

“The consentaneous adoption of principles of maritime neutrality, favorable to the navigation of peace and commerce in time of war,” is the next object which, in the opinion of the President, should “also form a subject of consideration in this congress.” In relation to this, so far as it regards the commerce of peace, the committee have already expressed their opinion; and, so far as it is intended to settle the rules of war as applicable to navigation, the committee will only remark that there exists so much risk of compromising and destroying the relations of neutrality, which the United States are now maintaining, should they involve themselves by any compact relative to belligerent rights entered into with only one of the parties to the present war during its continuance, that, in their opinion, it would be highly inexpedient to make such an experiment at this time.

Any principle relating to the rights of war which one of the parties in the existing contest might be willing to adopt as promoting its interests could scarcely be regarded with indifference by the other. And the great maritime States of Europe would most probably consider that the United States had seized the occasion of this war to enter into a

confederacy with the other States of this continent now actually engaged in it for the purpose of settling principles intended to affect materially their future interests.

It is well known to the Senate, moreover, that treaties already exist between the United States and several of the new States of this continent, in which all the subjects alluded to by the President in this part of his message are already settled; and no reason is known to this committee to excite the slightest doubt that the others of these States with whom treaties are not yet concluded will feel any disinclination to enter into similar stipulations for themselves.

“There is yet another subject,” says the President, “upon which, without entering into any treaty, the moral influence of the United States may perhaps be exerted with beneficial consequences at such a meeting—the advancement of religious liberty.” And as a motive for making an effort to accomplish this object he states that “an exclusive church has been incorporated with the political constitutions of some of the southern nations without toleration of any other than the dominant sect.”

In the opinion of this committee there is no proposition concerning which the people of the United States are now and ever have been more unanimous than that which denies not merely the expediency but the right of intermeddling with the internal affairs of other States, and especially of seeking to alter any provision they may have thought proper to adopt as a fundamental law or may have incorporated with their political constitutions. And if there be any such subject more sacred and delicate than another, as to which the United States ought never to intermeddle even by obtrusive advice, it is that which concerns religious liberty. The most cruel and devastating wars have been produced by such interferences; the blood of man has been poured out in torrents; and from the days of the Crusades to the present hour no benefit has resulted to the human family from discussions carried on by nations upon such subjects. Among the variety even of Christian nations which now inhabit the earth, rare indeed are the examples to be found of States who have not established an exclusive church, and to far the greater

number of these toleration is yet unknown. In none of the communications which have taken place is the most distant allusion made to this delicate subject by any of the ministers who have given this invitation; and the committee feel very confident in the opinion that if ever an intimation shall be made to the sovereignties they represent that it was the purpose of the United States to discuss at the proposed congress their plans of internal civil policy, or anything touching the supposed interests of their religious establishments, the invitation given would soon be withdrawn.

The committee have thus exhibited to the Senate, in detail, all the subjects which they have been enabled to find particularly stated, either by the President in his first message or by any of the ministers of the new States of America, as matters intended to be discussed at the contemplated Congress. In reviewing these they will repeat that a concurrence of opinion does not seem to exist between the different parties as to the subjects of deliberation; nor has the mode of discussion or decision been in any way settled between them. In relation to some of the subjects alluded to as fit matters for consideration differences of opinion, radical and irreconcilable, seem already to exist, which discussion may aggravate but can not assuage. As to others, their very agitation in this mode threatens seriously the compromitment of the neutral relations which the United States are now maintaining and have so carefully observed throughout this whole contest. Others, again, are unfit subjects for deliberation in this mode at all times, and any agreement resulting from their discussion must impair that freedom of action which it is so necessary for the United States to preserve as to these; and, as to the residue, they are either not of sufficient importance to require the adoption of this new and untried experiment of a Congress of Nations, or may be much better adjusted and settled in separate negotiations with each than in a general conference with all. For these reasons, if there were none other, this committee should regard the adoption of the measure proposed by the President as highly inexpedient at this time.

Although in the message of the President of the 9th instant no new subject of deliberation at the contemplated Congress is specially stated, yet, from the documents accompanying that message, and therein referred to as containing information tending to show the expediency of adopting the proposed measure, it appears to this committee that the present and future condition of the remaining Spanish possessions in America are considered as proper matters to be there agitated and settled. Such being the inference of the committee they will proceed to lay before the Senate their opinion upon this subject also.

The committee are well aware that the United States can never regard with indifference the situation and probable destiny of the neighboring Spanish islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico; but so far from believing it expedient to discuss these subjects at a Congress of all the American States, and especially at this time, the committee consider the great probability that such a discussion might be forced upon the United States if they are there represented as a circumstance furnishing in itself the strongest objections to the adoption of the measure proposed.

If the existing war between Spain and the new States of America continues the United States could scarcely endeavor to arrest the progress of that war in the only direction it can hereafter take, or prevail upon one of the belligerents not to strike their enemy where alone he is now assailable and most vulnerable by them, without announcing a determination to take part in the contest; and if peace shall happily be restored all apprehension of the effects of such a blow must cease of course. Why, then, discuss the merits of such a question which it seems probable may never arise? Or why place the United States in a situation where, if the question does arise and they must speak, the language which they utter must be regarded as equally unfriendly to all the new States, and where, if the United States keep silence, this very silence will be misinterpreted?

Should the situation or policy of the United States induce them to look with indifference upon the new direction that the existing war may take and to abstain from all in-

terference in it, even though the neighboring islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico may be threatened or assailed, then the very annunciation of such a purpose must contribute much to accelerate an event that can not be desired by us. In whatever light, therefore, this subject is viewed it does not seem to be one which the United States should discuss with the other American States assembled at a Congress. The inexpediency of pursuing a course appeared more obvious to this committee when they considered that many of the nations of Europe must also feel that their interests were materially involved in its decision, and that they would not abstain from making some movement in relation to it which must greatly embarrass any course that the United States may wish hereafter to pursue.

While the United States retain the position which they have hitherto occupied, and manifest a constant determination not to mingle their interests with those of the other States of America, they may continue to employ the influence which they possess, and have already happily exerted, with the nations of Europe in favor of these new republics. But if ever the United States permit themselves to be associated with these nations in any general congress, assembled for the discussion of common plans, in any way affecting European interests, they will, by such an act, not only deprive themselves of the ability they now possess of rendering useful assistance to the other American states, but also produce other effects prejudicial to their own interests. Then the powers of Europe, who have hitherto confided in the sagacity, vigilance, and impartiality of the United States to watch, detect, announce, and restrain any disposition that the heat of the existing contest might excite in the new states of America to extend their empires beyond their own limits, and who have therefore considered their own possessions and commerce in America safe while so guarded, would no longer feel this confidence. Each would therefore endeavor to secure its own interests by its own means, and the power of Spain not being considered by any as equal to the protection of her remaining American possessions, a struggle would probably commence who should first ob-

tain the islands of Cuba and Puerto Rico, the possession of which must ever be of the last importance to the commerce of this hemisphere. Or, if such should not be the case, the interest of many European nations might seem to require that they should make common cause with Spain for the purpose of preventing these islands from falling into other hands. To the United States it would be of little moment which of these events should occur, for it can not be expected that any such contest could be carried on so near them without the most imminent danger to their neutrality.

The very situation of Cuba and Puerto Rico, therefore, furnishes the strongest inducement to the United States not to take a place at the contemplated Congress, since, by so doing, they must be considered as changing the attitude in which they hitherto have stood as impartial spectators of the passing scenes and identifying themselves with the new republics.

These reasons, strong as they have appeared to this committee, are not the only objections to the proposed measure disclosed by the documents to them referred. The manner in which this invitation has been given, of itself, furnishes many forcible obstacles to its acceptance, and, in the opinion of this committee, the United States will neither consult their own dignity nor what is due to the proper respect they have a right to claim from all nations, and especially from the new states of America, if they now agree to co-operate in carrying this proposed measure into effect.

The history of the transaction, so far as it is disclosed to this committee, seems to be this: So early as the year 1821 the project of assembling a general congress of their representatives to consider and adopt the best plan for defending the states of the New World from foreign aggression, and to conclude treaties of alliance, commerce, and friendship for the promotion of their happiness and prosperity, appears to have been received by one at least of the new states of America. This scheme of forming a continental system for America, to resemble that already formed in Europe, was communicated to the others of these

states, who, concurring in the project, negotiations were instituted between them for the purpose of concluding conventions to provide for this object.

The plan being so far matured, the United States were, for the first time, informally applied to during the last spring by the ministers of two of the new states, separately, to learn whether an invitation to be represented at this Congress, if given by both these republics, would be accepted. To this communication, informally made, the President as informally replied that he believed such a congress as was proposed might be highly useful for several purposes, but that, before it assembled, it appears to him expedient to adjust between the powers to be represented several preliminary points, such as the subjects to be discussed, the nature of the powers to be given to the agents who were to compose it, and the mode of its organization and action. And if these preliminary points could be arranged in a manner satisfactory to the United States, the ministers to whom this communication was made were informed that the President thought the United States ought to be represented at the contemplated congress. Each minister undertook to transmit to his government this answer thus given.

The affair remaining in this posture as to the United States, the negotiations previously entered into between the new states were brought to a close, and conventions providing for the objects of the proposed congress were actually concluded, some of them so far back as the 6th day of July, 1822.

After the conclusion of all these conventions, and only a few weeks since, during the month of November last, separate formal communications were made to the United States by the ministers of Mexico, Colombia, and Guatemala, respectively, disclosing some of the objects intended to be discussed at the proposed congress in the manner already stated by the committee, and giving the invitation to the United States to be there represented. In some of these communications the United States were informed that instructions and ample powers for the attainment of the proposed objects would be given by at least one of .

the new Republics, and a wish was expressed that the agents of all the others might bear the same. In none, however, is any mention made either of the mode or organization or action of the congress, nor is it anywhere stated who would be the parties, or what representatives were either invited, expected, or would be received. But in the very communication which conveys the information already stated the United States are told that at the date of that communication (November 3) the representatives from Colombia, Peru, Guatemala, and Mexico would have arrived at Panama, the agreed place of assembling, and would be engaged in settling the preliminary rules of the assembly, and in discussing the questions which should be supposed by them to belong exclusively to the belligerents.

It thus appears that, after everything relative to the meeting of the proposed congress had been settled by formal negotiations and treaties between themselves, the United States have been thus loosely invited by the other American States as if in mere courtesy to attend its deliberations. Should the United States accept such an invitation, the deputies whom they may send to Panama will there be associated with they know not whom, or for what purposes, or in what mode. When these deputies shall inquire of the congress as to any of these important particulars they will receive the information they ask in resolutions and compacts adjusted and concluded before their arrival. And if, waiving all these things, which none ought to consider as mere ceremonials, the agents of the United States shall take the places previously assigned to them, and propose to take a part in the discussions, they will find all the leading principal topics for deliberation already passed upon and concluded.

The committee are well aware that the interest and character of free States should never be permitted to rest upon matters of mere fastidious etiquette and ceremonious observance; but even in the intercourse between individuals, and much more in that between sovereignties, there is a point at which forms become substance, and when scrupulous attention to the most minute ceremonials that

comity and respect exact is due to the sacred character and dignity of the Republic. At that point the committee believe the United States should ever make a stand, and resting there should always exact even from the most ancient and puissant sovereign of the earth everything required by their own self-respect. Nor should anything be then waived even to manifest their sensibility to whatever concerns the prosperity of the American hemisphere or the sincere friendship which they feel for these new Republics.

As the most ancient State in the New World ; the first acknowledged sincere friend of those more recently existing ; as a State from whose greater experience more light is said to be expected to be shed upon the subjects to be discussed and the principles to be established at the contemplated congress than from the other States, the United States had a right to expect that when this project of a congress of American nations was conceived it should have been communicated to them as early as to any others whose presence by their representatives was deemed desirable. That they, too, should have been asked whether such a measure would be acceptable ; that they, too, should have been consulted as to the time, the place, and the manner of assembling such a congress. That they, too, should have been permitted to assist in the enumeration of the subjects to which its attention might properly be directed ; in the adjustment of the nature and form of the powers to be given to the diplomatic agents who were to compose it ; in the mode of its organization and action ; and, above all others, in the settlement of the great question, who should be invited to take a part in its deliberations. The United States had also a right to expect that the result of all such consultations should be fixed and secured by solemn compacts and conventions, in which they too should be parties.

Such the committee believe ought to have been and would have been the course pursued by the United States towards the other American States, if the project of convening a Congress of American nations had occurred to us as a measure useful and beneficial to the American

continent ; and being never disposed to exact from others more respect than in the like circumstances they are willing themselves to pay the United States, in the opinion of this committee, would themselves, even if an opinion should be entertained that anything exists requiring the adoption of such a measure at this time, courteously to decline the invitation given under the circumstances stated, and to institute the proper proceedings necessary to its consummation in the mode which friendship, comity, and deference to others require. Such a movement belongs to the high character which the United States enjoy in the estimation of all the world, the merit of which is accorded to them by none more willing than by the new born States of this continent ; and, if it be not now made, the time will go by when the position may ever hereafter be properly assumed.

The committee would not be understood as suggesting the expediency of any such measure at this time. In their opinion, there exists no adequate motive to induce its adoption. Every spot known or habitable in America is already appropriated by different nations, whose rights of territory all recognize ; and if trifling differences may exist between any upon the subject of mere common boundary, these differences constitute fit matter of friendly discussion between them alone.

The idea of colonization in America, therefore, no longer exists ; and in the present posture of nations there is little reason to apprehend the willful encroachment of any upon the American possessions of another. Each passing hour strengthens the just claims which the new States of America have preferred, to be recognized as sovereign and independent by all other nations ; and the quiet efflux of time, if it has not already done so, must very soon place their sovereignty upon the same basis on which rests that of the most ancient nations of the earth. Spain possesses not the ability to give any of them cause of serious concern ; and enjoying the friendship and proclaimed recognition of Great Britain and of the United States, there is no sufficient reason to apprehend the interference of any European nation in the question and war

of their independence. Compacts have been already concluded, or are now negotiating, between each of the States of this continent, wherein their mutual interest, both general and particular, will be firmly fixed upon principles of the most perfect justice and liberal equity. And no common subject now remains of sufficient magnitude to require a movement so new and important as the assembling of a Congress of all the American nations, which can not but excite suspicion and jealousy in the other hemisphere, and might so affect injuriously the interests of the new States themselves.

Should this happy state of things ever change the lively interest which the United States have ever taken in the welfare of these their sister sovereignties, ought to be regarded by them as the surest pledge, that we cannot be indifferent to anything that concerns them. An eye the most vigilant we shall ever direct to their prosperity; the appearance of the first cloud, rising to obscure its light, will be announced to them; and the United States will then manifest the deep interest which they feel in the elevation and happiness of all the nations of the new world.

When such an event shall occur the United States will probably be the first to solicit the assembling of a Congress of American States, and the invitations which they shall then give to others to be there represented will be such as their friendship and respect shall dictate and upon terms which the most fair and liberal principles of policy require. The same, this committee have no doubt, would have been the character of the invitation given to the United States upon this occasion if the new States of America, when they conceived or matured the scheme for assembling the Congress at Panama, had entertained the most remote idea that the United States either would or ought to be there represented. All the conventions concluded between these States, however, prove beyond doubt that even at the date of the most recent of all their compacts none others were expected or desired to be represented at this Congress, but the States of America who had formerly been colonies of Spain, and who were then engaged in war with that power. That the great object of this Congress was to adjust be-

tween themselves the most effectual means of conducting this war to the most speedy and happy conclusion; and that the presence of no neutral State could, therefore, be anticipated.

Before they conclude their report, the committee beg leave to remark, that the intimation given by the President, in his first message to the Senate, that this measure, in which he had thought proper to take no step, before ascertaining that his opinion of its expediency would concur with that of both branches of the Legislature, was, nevertheless, "deemed by him to be within the constitutional competency of the Executive," did not escape their observation. But, as the correctness of this opinion, entertained and expressed by the President, will constitute proper matter for the deliberation and decision of the Senate when they shall enter upon the consideration of a resolution now lying on the table, and not referred to this committee, they did not believe that they were authorized by the Senate to consider this subject. The committee forbear from saying anything in relation thereto.

The committee feel, most sensibly, the embarrassing situation in which they are placed. On the one hand, the duty which they owe to themselves, and to the Senate and to the President, required that they should examine fully and freely the measure proposed, and should state the reasons that lead to the conclusion which they felt themselves bound to adopt. On the other, they were well aware that the adoption of this conclusion and the assignment of the reasons which produced it might contribute not a little to embarrass the President, whose acceptance of the invitation given was already announced. Placed in this delicate situation, after bestowing upon the subject the most mature consideration, believing it to be a sacred duty which the Senate owed to the sovereign States that they here represent to exercise the constitutional power conferred upon them, by examining, at this time, every feature of this new project, and deciding upon its expediency or in expediency as to them might seem right, the committee could not hesitate to disclose all their views in relation to this important matter in order that

these, being fully exhibited to the Senate, might be by them either adopted or corrected.

The committee were induced to adopt this course with less reluctance by the assurance given by the President that until he could be aided by the advice and consent of the Senate he would take no step to carry the measure which he had proposed into effect. Most willingly would the committee recommend to the Senate to abstain from pronouncing any opinion upon this now delicate subject if they could permit themselves to propose to this body a dereliction of its bounden duty or the adoption of any course that might lead it to shrink from its high responsibility. But, convinced that the Senate had the right and were bound to decide directly upon the expediency of this new scheme without limiting their decision to the mere nominations incidentally connected with it, and convinced that the project itself, viewed in any light, was highly inexpedient at this time, the committee thought it better to exhibit these their views, and to advise the expression of the opinion of the Senate in relation thereto in the first instance. Abstaining, therefore, from any remark at present as to the nominations to them referred, the committee recommend to the Senate the adoption of the following resolution :

Resolved, That it is not expedient at this time for the United States to send any ministers to the Congress of American nations, assembled at Panama.

Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives March 25, 1826.

Mr. Crowninshield, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to which was referred the message of the President of the United States, of the 15th instant, made the following report :

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the message of the President of the United States, to the House of Representatives, of the 15th instant, with the

documents accompanying it, have had the same under consideration, and beg leave to report :

That it appears, from the above-named message and papers, that an invitation has been received by the United States, from the Republics of Colombia, Central America, and Mexico, to attend the congress about to be held at Panama. It appears that this invitation was accepted by the President, on the condition that the nomination of commissioners for the mission should receive the advice and consent of the Senate. This advice and consent having been constitutionally expressed, in the confirmation of the ministers nominated by the President, the concurrence of the House of Representatives is requested, as necessary to carry the mission into effect, by an appropriation to defray the expense of it. This concurrence being "subject to the free determination" of the House, the committee have regarded it as their duty to the House, to inquire into the expediency of accepting this invitation. The ordinary courtesy of nations, in friendship with each other, and the peculiar interest which, for the strongest reasons, the people of the United States have ever felt, and must ever feel, in the new American republics, would seem to dictate the propriety of accepting this invitation, unless there were sufficient reasons for declining it. No such reasons are believed by the Committee of Foreign Affairs to exist.

In order to present the subject in its true light to the House the committee would first make a remark on the general nature of the assembly, designated by the name of the Congress of Panama. The term Congress, it need scarcely be observed, is by no means to be here understood in the sense in which it is applied to some other political assemblies. The Congress at Panama is not a representative delegation, forming a branch of a Government, like the present Congress of the United States. It is not a body in which the government of several confederated sovereign states is deposited, like the old American Congress. Neither is it a personal meeting of sovereigns like the recent congresses of Europe. It is an assembly of diplomatic agents, clothed with no power except to discuss and to negotiate, deputed by Governments whose consti-

tutions require that all engagements with foreign powers shall be subject to the ratification of some organic body at home; and the more effectually to guard against mistake, even of the design in which this Congress has been proposed, it is stipulated in the several treaties formed by Colombia with the other new Republics, that this meeting at Panama "shall not affect, in any manner, the exercise of the national sovereignty of the contracting parties, in regard to their laws and the establishment and form of their respective Governments."

Such is the general nature of the proposed Congress, as appears from the papers referred to this committee. Of its objects, the committee will, in the course of this report, more particularly speak. They are, in general, all subjects interesting to the powers represented at the Congress, and susceptible of discussion at such a meeting. The minister of the Colombian Republic, with the liberal design, as it would appear, of excluding the supposition that his own Government, or those which joined it, in inviting us to the Congress, had any wish to exercise a dictation as to what subjects should exclusively be discussed, has observed, in his letter to the Secretary of State of 2d November 1825, that the topics of discussion therein enumerated, are designed merely "as suggestions by way of example;" while "it is left to the wisdom of the Governments and the judgment of their representatives to propose whatever may be esteemed of common good to the new hemisphere." In the same letter of the Colombian minister to the Secretary of State the following remarks also occur :

At Panama the best and most opportune occasion is offered to the United States to fix some principles of international law, the unsettled state of which has caused much evil to humanity. It is to be presumed that this Government (the United States of America) possesses more light upon the subject than the other States of our hemisphere, both from its experience during the wars that succeeded the French revolution and from its negotiations (now on foot) with Great Britain and other nations relative to these principles. It belongs to each of the concurring parties to propose their views, but the voice of the United States will be heard with the respect and deference which its early labors in a work of such importance will merit.

The sentiments here expressed by the minister of Colombia are in accordance with those of the ministers of Mexico and Central America, as contained in their respective letters to the Secretary of State on the subject of the invitation to attend the Congress.

The object of this body, therefore, as far as the United States are concerned, are all subjects which the United States may deem it for their interest to propose for discussion. They embrace, consequently, in general terms, our political and commercial relations with the new American republics.

The Committee of Foreign Affairs has accordingly been led to inquire what the principle of our diplomatic intercourse with other Governments has been? The answer to this inquiry is, that it has ever been the policy of the United States to maintain diplomatic relations with those powers, and those only with which we have important political and commercial relations. We have not formed diplomatic connections with the very powerful states, such as Austria and the Porte, where no great political, no extensive commercial relations required such connections, while with powers not of the first class, such as Holland and Spain, important political and commercial relations have led the United States to the establishment of permanent missions.

This being the principle of our diplomatic intercourse, the committee conceive it to apply, with great force, in the present instance, and to require the attendance of our agents at the Congress of Panama. In that body questions directly involving our most important political and commercial interests are to be discussed. Though the new republics there represented are so many separate Governments, our relations with them are not merely those which we hold toward each individually; they form one whole family in language, religion, law, historical fortunes, and present political alliance. From this family, as far as the enumerated circumstances go, we are necessarily excluded; out of this exclusion springs an entire class of political and commercial relations, between us on the one side and a large family of new republics on the other. This family

of republics has thought it expedient to convene an assembly of plenipotentiaries at Panama. As an important part of their public relations are those in which they stand to us; they have invited us to send our ministers to this assembly. The law of nations warrants them in thus designating the place and mode of treating with friendly powers, and if we refuse to accept the invitation, takes from us the right of complaining of any results, however inconsistent with our interests.

Under the circumstances in which this subject is before the House, the committee deem it their duty to consider some of the objections which may be urged against the acceptance by the United States of this invitation. These may be, among others: that such acceptance is unconstitutional; that all the objects of the Congress, as far as we are concerned, may be attained by negotiations with the separate States; that the subjects of discussion, the powers of the ministers, the mode of organizing the Congress, and the mode of deciding questions are not sufficiently settled to authorize our accepting the invitation; that our attendance would endanger our neutrality towards Spain; that it might involve us in an entangling alliance with the new States; that our attendance would be a novel and unprecedented measure; that there is in a Congress of States something essentially pernicious, as proved by the example of Europe in its recent history.

The first objection may be that the attendance of the United States at the Congress of Panama would be unconstitutional. To this objection the committee would reply that they are not acquainted with any restriction in the Constitution on the appointment of foreign ministers by the proper authority. It may not, however, be superfluous to add that this objection proceeds on the assumption that the Congress at Panama is either a Government, a branch of a Government, or a Confederacy of Governments; and that the United States by attending this assembly unite themselves to the said Government or Confederacy. Neither part of this assumption is true. The Congress is a meeting of diplomatic agents from independent Governments; and, granting for a moment that

the Congress at Panama were a Government or a Confederacy, our attendance at it by diplomatic ministers would be no entrance into such Confederacy—no union with such Government.

It need scarcely be urged that the United States do not enter into confederacy, do not form a union with a foreign power, or any number of powers, by sending a minister to treat with such power or powers.

It may, in the next place, be objected to our attendance at this meeting, that all its objects may be attained by separate negotiations with the several States. It may admit a doubt whether this could, by possibility, be the case. It is questionable whether separate and disconnected negotiations between States geographically so remote, and in various respects politically so different from each other could be brought to the same harmonious and systematic result, as a discussion in an assembly of diplomatic agents, promptly communicating with each other information, counsel, and argument. At all events, it may safely be affirmed that the same result may be far more expeditiously and conveniently attained by a conference with the assembled ministers of States so remote from each other; that an interchange of intelligence with their respective capitals could not take place more than twice in a twelve-month. This objection, going only to the convenience of the measure, need not be more particularly weighed.

The third objection may be that the subjects of discussion, the powers of the ministers, the mode of organizing the congress, and mode of deciding questions, are not yet sufficiently settled to justify our attendance. From the papers submitted to the committee, it appears that this consideration engaged the attention of the Executive when the invitation was made to this Government last spring by the ministers of Mexico and Colombia. It was then required by the President that previous satisfaction should be given on these points. The replies of those ministers, after having consulted their Governments, do not enter into minute detail on all these points, yet the committee are of opinion that they are satisfactory. As to the subjects in general to be discussed, there is no limitation to

the disadvantage of any Government represented; and the meeting being one of diplomatic agents, and it being stipulated in the Colombian treaties that the ministers to the congress are to go with the usual diplomatic powers and instructions, it follows that their mode of proceeding must be that of diplomatic discussion and conference, and their mode of deciding that which can alone exist between diplomatic agents—the mutual reference of whatever convention or pact may be negotiated—to the constitutional authorities at home. That such is to be the case with respect to our ministers is particularly stated in the message of the President, as also that they are to be bound by no decision of the congress without their own consent. While the committee are of opinion that these details are of no great importance, they apprehend that, as far as they are of importance, the omission to fix them, or to propose them for acceptance to the United States, is rather favorable than disadvantageous to us. The committee are persuaded that on these details, as well as in the leading business of the congress, the new States are desirous to have the advantage of our experience. This sentiment is repeatedly expressed in the letters of the ministers of the new States communicating the invitation.

The next objection may be that our attendance at this congress may put to hazard our neutrality. To this it may be answered that having already acknowledged the independence of the new States we have established the right of treating them as free and independent States, as well towards Spain as all the rest of the world. These States are nominally at war with Spain and Spain alone. Her allies have taken no part in this war. The most powerful of those allies, Great Britain has formally acknowledged the independence of several of these States, and established diplomatic relations with them. To these acts on our part and that of Great Britain Spain submits, although they not only essentially weaken her as a belligerent, but directly violate her colonial laws. But if our recognition of each of the States represented at the congress, and our trading with them in direct contravention of the colonial laws of Spain, be no breach, as it is none,

of our neutrality, so neither is our attendance at a diplomatic council of all those States united a breach of neutrality. This is particularly true when it is added that the United States, instead of going to the congress to animate the war against Spain, will go as mediators and peace-makers, to promote by every means a termination of the contest on terms honorable to the new States and advantageous to Spain. This power has already received the strongest pledges that such is the policy of the United States.

The committee are clearly of opinion that if our attendance at this Congress be desirable on the part of the new States, it is not less so on the part of Spain.

The next objection that may be urged against our attendance at the Congress of Panama is, that it may involve us in an entangling alliance with the new States. To this it may be answered that the project of such an alliance is expressly disclaimed by the President in the message referred to the committee. In the next place, the Congress is neither a government nor a confederacy of governments with which we could, by possibility, in the first instance, enter into an alliance, entangling or not; and, lastly, even if a negotiation for such an alliance were entered into by our ministers contrary to the principles on which it appears from the message of the President that the invitation was accepted, it would still remain for the treaty of alliance to be submitted to the constitutional ratifying powers in this country. Whether, under these circumstances, our acceptance of the invitation can be considered even as an approach to an alliance, the committee need not say.

If it be still objected that from the nature of this assembly there is danger that we, by our attendance, may be drawn into an alliance it may be replied that there is no other danger of the formation of an entangling alliance in consequence of this mission than that which is incident to any mission to any power. We have ministers to France, to Russia, to England. We have had ministers to European countries at periods when very strong temptations of momentary interest existed for forming alli-

ances with foreign powers. The committee are not aware that it ever was suggested that the least danger existed of the formation of such an alliance in consequence of such missions. Our minister to France followed the march of the French emperor to the confines of Russia, but no one surmised that we projected an alliance with him, although we were at the time engaged in a war with his other chief enemy, Great Britain. Yet it is plain that the way to an alliance is much more direct in an ordinary mission than in that proposed. When our minister is accredited to a foreign sovereign, particularly an absolute one, he is accredited to a party competent to form an alliance without further delay or ulterior responsibility. While, on the other hand, our ministers to Panama will be accredited to other ministers no more competent than our own to pledge their governments.

Further, it is particularly to be observed, that an alliance with any one of the new republics would be fully as entangling as an alliance with them all. They are all at war and with the same enemy. They stand in an alliance, offensive and defensive, with each other. Precisely the same consequences, therefore, would result from the formation of an alliance with either of them, Colombia for instance, as with all of them. If then the danger of being drawn into an alliance requires us to abstain from attending the Congress at Panama, the same danger with equal force requires us to withdraw all diplomatic connections with these new States.

But in truth, this suggestion of the danger of an alliance incident to a diplomatic mission carries with it so direct a reflection on the wisdom and fidelity of the treaty-making power as lodged in the hands of the President and Senate that the Committee, out of proper respect to the co-ordinate branches of the Government, will not longer consider it.

Another objection to the proposed mission may be, that the Congress is an unprecedented measure, and that our attendance at it would, on our part, be a novel and unprecedented step. A little reflection will show, that this assumption, as far as it forms an objection to our attendance

at the Congress, involves a confusion of ideas. The establishment of several new republics at once may be called an unprecedented event ; and as a historical occurrence without a parallel in the history of the world. But the committee can not admit that every subsequent political act of these new States, or of other States, in reference to them is therefore to be called novel and unprecedented, and that in an injurious sense of the words. On the contrary, it appears to the committee exceedingly natural that these States should hold diplomatic conferences with each other and neighboring nations who have important relations with them. Nothing, perhaps, is more frequent in political history than similar meetings among friendly States.

Nor when the subject is correctly viewed is there anything in principle, novel or unprecedented, in our attendance at the proposed Congress. As a merely historical event indeed it may be considered as without an exact precedent, although the negotiations between the United States, France, and Great Britain in 1782, which resulted in the treaties of peace between the several countries, were of the nature of the conferences of a meeting of diplomatic agents. It will also not escape the reflection of the House, that, had this Government ever acted on the principle that exact precedent was necessary to authorize its measures, no one of the most important measures of the Government, since the date of the constitution could have been adopted. Whatever weight there is in the mere argument of want of exact precedents applied in its full force to the adoption of the Federal constitution itself. The whole history of the world contained no precedent of such a government.

But, in point of principle, there is no novelty in our attendance at the proposed Congress at Panama. Our ministers will carry with them the same powers—no larger, no more discretionary—that have ever been vested in the foreign ministers of the United States. It has been the characteristic policy of the United States, to ask no questions about the quality or constitution of the power to which our ministers were sent. We have rested for our se-

curity, not on a timid calculation of the powers of the Government, or of the body with which our ministers were to treat, but on our constitutional safeguards at home. It has been indifferent to us whether Europe were at peace or at war ; or by what title her sovereigns filled their thrones. To instance in a single case : We have sent missions to France alike under the ancient absolute monarchy, limited monarchy, and revolutionary anarchy ; to the convention and to the directory ; to the consular and the imperial despotisms, and to the present constitutional Government. The posture of affairs which our ministers have found in that country has often been novel ; their personal position unprecedented, the scenes they witnessed strange and unexampled. But of none of our successive missions could it have been said, in any important sense, that the mission itself was novel ; that is, that it opened a door to any relaxation of the constitutional checks in the administration of the foreign affairs of the Government at home. In like manner, the mission to Panama is in the strictest conformity with our whole international policy, which is to be represented wherever we have important political and commercial connections. Our commissioners will go there to do the business of the country. Their appearance at that meeting can not surely have the effect of breaking down the Senate and House of Representatives, and by a kind of dictatorial power unknown to the Constitution, of binding the country in a foreign alliance.

Lastly, it may be objected that, in a congress of assembled powers, there is something essentially pernicious which this country, instead of approaching, ought to shun, and the existing organization in Continental Europe may be quoted as the illustration. The committee deem it hardly necessary to remark that the pernicious character of the late European congresses, or of any European congresses, does not consist in the act of assembling and treating together, but in the character of the governments assembled, and in the objects effected or aimed at. A congress of despotic powers, wielding the force of large standing armies, and meeting to concert measures for

violent interference in the internal affairs of other States, is certainly a pernicious assembly. In other words, despotic governments, standing armies, and unprovoked invasion are pernicious in a single state, and proportionably more so when several despotic governments league their forces to prevent the establishment of liberal institutions in any country not beyond their reach. But if the states of Europe were free republics, blessed with popular governments, written laws, elective magistrates, and senatorial bodies beyond the reach of corruption, the committee do not perceive that a meeting of the diplomatic agents of such governments, to form treaties and conventions, on their mutual interests and concerns that are to be sent home to their constitutional ratifying functionaries, would be in any degree alarming. Moreover, it is an obvious reflection that this argument against the mission to Panama, if it prove anything, proves too much. If the pernicious character of the power to which the mission is to be sent is a reason for not sending it, it would be impossible for the United States to maintain a single mission in Europe. Our ministers there are, in every case, accredited to governments constructed, as we think, on principles which could not be introduced here without immediate national ruin. If it be safe for us to hold diplomatic intercourse with the unlimited monarchy of Russia, it can not be dangerous to hold the same kind of intercourse with an assembly of the agents of our neighboring republics.

Having thus considered the objections which may exist to this measure, and endeavored to show that it is strictly within the line of the international policy of the United States, the committee regard it as their duty to the House, on the present occasion, to dwell for a moment on the subjects of discussion at the Congress of Panama.

By the terms of the invitation, as well as the nature of the case, the discussions at Panama are to extend to all subjects of importance to the new states, as among each other; or, as between them and Spain; or of importance directly to us, in our connection with them.

Each power is at liberty to propose what subject for

discussion or negotiation it may please; the only limitation being that which the United States impose on themselves, with the understanding of the other powers that we are to engage in no discussions inconsistent with an entire neutrality.

Although in different degrees, the three classes of subjects above enumerated are interesting to the people of the United States. The relations of the new states to each other are very important to us. They are our near neighbors—one of them has an immense landed frontier on our territory, and together with the two next in geographical succession lies on those waters into which the great internal communications of the United States are discharged. With the others, we have no direct geographical but we have highly important commercial connections.

At present there are eight or nine independent States formed out of the late Spanish and Portuguese colonies; seven of these, viz, Mexico, Guatemala, Colombia, the provinces of La Plata, Chili, Peru, and Upper Peru have adopted republican governments. Now, it is to us a matter of very great interest how these States shall stand toward each other. Should they fall into dissensions and wars those great advantages which we have reasonably promised ourselves from their growth and prosperity could not be realized. The great drawbacks on the progress of these States and on the extension of advantageous commercial relations with them arising from the war with Spain would be perpetuated by the growth of feuds and conflicts with each other. It would have been as well for us and for themselves that the mother country had continued to rule them as that their energies should be wasted in civil wars. The committee do not intend to augur unfavorably for the peace and harmony of these States, but it is obvious that the simultaneous rise of so many neighboring independent republics must be attended with its hazards. Rival claims to portions of territory may form a subject of contention among the new States as they did in our own Confederacy after the war of the Revolution. A controversy of this kind has actually arisen between

Mexico and Guatemala, which the committee trust will be settled by friendly compromise, for few events could be more to be deprecated by us than a war between two States lying on and near the Gulf of Mexico. Unfortunately a controversy of the same kind has broken out into a war between Brazil and the United Provinces of La Plata for the disputed possession of the Banda Oriental. The effect of this war on us has been instantaneous.

It has already become necessary to ask for an additional appropriation for the naval service of the year of near \$100,000 to protect the property and lives of our citizens from the dangers to which, in the progress of this war, they will be exposed. Now, it has been expressly provided in the treaties which led to the formation of the Congress of Panama, that the ministers there assembled should exercise the office of mediators when such differences shall arise. Brazil and La Plata have both been invited to the Congress ; and had it been in active operation, it certainly is within the reach of political probability, that this unfortunate controversy might, by friendly mediation, have been prevented from ripening into the fatal issue of war. To the work of mediation, in all such cases, the United States would come as the most disinterested party ; and as we ourselves have experienced the benefits of the mediation of a foreign friendly power, it may happen that we may render the like good office to our sister States. Could we but in a single instance avert or terminate a war, it would itself form a sufficient motive for accepting the invitation. We claim no right of interference ; we do not obtrude ourselves as umpires. We are invited to a congress where we are told these national differences, if any arise, will be discussed ; we are told that our presence, counsel, and experience are desired. No maxim of the most cautious political prudence bids us stand aloof. Next to peace on our own part, their peace and prosperity are our leading interest ; and the policy of maintaining peace through the instrumentality of friendly mediation is entirely congenial with the principles and feelings of the people of the United States of America, and sanctioned by their practice.

The next general class of subjects to be discussed at the

Congress of Panama are the relations of the new states with Spain. This subject, it is expressly stipulated, is only to be approached by our ministers under the reservation of strict neutrality. More than this, our great efforts will be directed to pacification. The policy of the United States in this respect is sufficiently unfolded in the letter of the Secretary of State to Mr. Middleton, dated May 10, 1825, and the letter of the Secretary of State to Mr. Salazar, dated December 20, 1825. Pacifications between the belligerents is an object which it is our most decided interest to pursue. No single political event perhaps could be named more desirable to the United States, in reference to their industrious interests, than the termination of the present contest. We suffer every way by its continuance; our commerce with Spain languishes, and it is impossible that it should assume a profitable expansion with the new States.

Connected with the belligerent relations between Spain and the new States is the fate of the Spanish Islands, particularly Cuba. If the war continues, the invasion of that island will be attempted; it is an avowed subject of discussion at the Congress. This is a subject of the greatest moment to the United States in every respect. We have an intercourse with that island which acts upon our industry in all its branches. The Moro may be regarded as a fortress at the mouth of the Mississippi; and what is infinitely more important, unless Cuba should be invaded by an overwhelming force (such a force as the new States will hardly be able to organize), that invaluable island may renew, almost within sight of our shores, the terrific example of San Domingo. Any effort on the part of the United States to avert such a catastrophe would be cheaply made; none could be justifiably omitted. Had the Government of the United States, after being invited to attend a conference of the ministers of the powers by whom that invasion is projected, declined to be present, they would have been heavily responsible to the people for whatever disastrous effects our friendly interference might have averted or delayed.

The last general class of subjects to be discussed and

treated at Panama are the direct interests between the United States and the new Republics, unquestionably, as far as we are concerned, the most important branch of the negotiations. With several of these powers we have no treaty whatever. With Mexico, as appears from the correspondence between the Secretary of State and Mr. Poinsett, we have been unable as yet to form a treaty on satisfactory conditions, and the obstacles which have hitherto prevented this from being done are precisely such as are most likely to be removed at a conference of ministers of all the new States. At such a conference we shall, of course, possess the best opportunity of establishing uniform and liberal relations with all. The arrangements to be made with them comprehend the great principles of belligerent, neutral, and commercial law as set forth in the general instructions to Mr. Anderson, by the then Secretary of State. The United States have long been laboring to introduce into every branch of public law principles of liberality, equality, and humanity, hitherto unknown in its codes. The various respects in which our policy, in many leading points of the laws of war and trade, differs from that of Europe are well known to the House, and need not here be stated. The Republic of Colombia, in inviting our attendance at the congress, has asked for herself and her sister Republics the benefit of our experience in the great school of international politics. To refuse our attendance at the congress, when urged on this ground, would be to neglect to seize, perhaps, the fairest opportunity which the history of the world ever afforded of giving a wide and prompt diffusion to liberal doctrines of public law. It would certainly put it out of our power to complain of any policy these States might adopt, however unfriendly toward our interests and however vicious in principle.

Such are the views of the committee with respect to the several classes of subjects which will be discussed at this congress. It is a very obvious reflection that our attendance may have a powerful effect in giving a character to the assembly itself. Our presence is particularly requested by one of the new States, who have joined in the invita-

tion, on the ground of "the importance and respectability" which would thence attach to the congress. The committee do not foresee the possibility that, under any circumstances, the congress could become an inconvenient or dangerous assembly. But if it be thought by any one that evil consequences are like'y to flow from it, the prospect of such consequences would furnish new reasons why we should be represented at it. Whatever opinions may be held of the expediency of such a meeting in itself, it would seem that there could be but one opinion as to the duty of our attendance at the congress to correct the pernicious tendency which it may be feared to have. To neglect to attend the congress because it was a combination of unfriendly aspect would be to neglect the ordinary preparations of defense, precisely because there was danger of war. Viewing the Congress at Panama in this unfavorable light (for which, however, the committee apprehend there is no reason), no administration of the executive government would stand justified to the country without taking measures most promptly to be informed of its proceedings. If not invited to send authorized and accredited ministers, it would have been their duty to send private political agents.

The committee have felt it their duty to consider this question chiefly on strict grounds of political expediency, and in reference to the principle of our diplomatic intercourse. They, however, accord in sentiment with the President, that a sufficient inducement to accept the invitation would have been "to meet in the spirit of kindness and friendship an overture made in that spirit by three sister republics of this hemisphere." It will not escape the consideration of the House that the conduct of the United States toward the new republics has ever been regulated by the maxims of a frank and liberal policy. Had we acted toward them even as we have felt it our duty to act toward Europe, our course would have been essentially different. Had our feelings toward them been the same as those which our political fathers have inculcated toward Europe, we should certainly have regarded it rather as an evil than a benefit that so many new republics, of which

the greater part must be powerful States, are rising into existence on the same side of the water as ourselves. We are henceforward to be without that which has formerly been regarded as the great bulwark of our national security, our geographical distance from every other powerful State.

But we have not hesitated to break down this bulwark. We have gone to meet and welcome the new republics. We have ourselves assisted to exchange weak colonial for powerful sovereign neighbors. As far as it depended on us, we have chosen to place the regions on our immense southwestern frontier beneath the government of vigorous republican institutions, instead of having them under the safe and enervating despotism of Spain. In the judgment of the committee, this has been a sound, a great, an auspicious policy. It was not rashly adopted; it was long deliberated, well weighed, and at length received its sanction in the unanimous voice of this House, and the acclamations of the people. From this policy it is now too late to recede. We can not now do much to obstruct the growth of the new States; we can do everything to conciliate and attach them, or to estrange and disgust them. The course first will promote the general cause of liberty, will perpetuate friendly relations between the two great portions of this continent, to the mutual advantage of both, and will render us more and more independent of Europe. The latter course will tend to revive in the New World the false and pernicious maxims of the Old; to teach neighboring republics to fix on each other the fatal name of natural enemies; to create piratical and border wars; to generate systems of exclusion; and, finally, to establish in this hemisphere those political principles and habits which have caused the downfall of so many foreign States, made so many others stationary and languishing, and checked the growth of all. We are now to consider whether we will take the first step in an unfriendly and repulsive policy, by refusing to accept the courteous invitation of three most respectable neighboring governments, tendered in a manner equally creditable to their delicacy and flattering to the United States.

Nothing but a certainty of pernicious consequences to result from our attendance at the congress, would, in the opinion of the committee, be sufficient to justify our refusal to accept such an invitation. As our attendance at the congress, instead of being prejudicial to the public interests, is, in the judgment of the committee, a measure of the most obvious political expedience ; as it is stipulated to bring into no hazard the neutrality of the United States ; as all fears of an entangling alliance have been shown to be unfounded ; in a word, as the congress will be regarded by the Executive of the United States as purely a consultative meeting, and as the objects of consultation are of primary importance to the country, the Committee of Foreign Affairs are of opinion that the mission to Panama ought to receive the sanction of the House of Representatives, and they accordingly recommend the adoption of the following resolution :

Resolved, That, in the opinion of the House, it is expedient to appropriate the funds necessary to enable the President of the United States to send ministers to the Congress of Panama.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Clay to Mr. Poinsett, minister to Mexico.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, *September 24, 1825.*

During the last spring the ministers of Mexico and Colombia near this Government made separate but nearly simultaneous communications to this Department, in relation to the contemplated Congress at Panama. Each of them stated that he was instructed by his Government to say that it would be very agreeable to it that the United States should be represented at that congress ; that it was not expected they would take any part in its deliberations or measures of concert in respect to the existing war against Spain, but that other great interests affecting the continent of America, and the friendly intercourse between the independent nations established on it, might be considered and regulated at the congress, and that, not knowing what might be the views of the United States, a

previous inquiry was directed to be made, whether they would, if invited by Mexico or Colombia, be represented at Panama, and if an affirmative answer were given, each of those ministers stated that the United States would be accordingly invited to be represented there.

The President directed me to say, and I accordingly replied, that the communication was received with great sensibility to the friendly consideration of the United States, by which it had been dictated; that, of course, they could not make themselves a party to the existing war with Spain, or to councils for deliberating on the means of its further prosecution; that he believed such a Congress as was proposed might be highly useful in settling several important controverted questions of public law and in arranging other matters of deep interest to the American continent and to the friendly intercourse between the American powers; that before such a Congress, however, assembled it appeared to him to be necessary to arrange between the different powers to be represented several preliminary points, such as the subjects to which the attention of the Congress should be directed, the nature and the form of the powers to be given to the ministers, and the mode of organizing the Congress. If these preliminary points could be adjusted in a manner satisfactory to the United States, the ministers from Mexico and Colombia were informed that the United States would be represented at the Congress. Upon inquiry if these preliminary points had yet engaged the attention of either the Government of Mexico or Colombia, they were unable to inform me that they had, whilst both appeared to admit the expediency of their being settled. Each of them undertook to communicate to his Government the answer which I delivered to their invitations, and nothing further has since transpired. It is deemed proper that you should be made acquainted with what has occurred here on this matter in order that if it should be touched upon by the Mexican Government you may, if necessary, be able to communicate what passed. We shall make no further movement in it until we hear from the Governments of Mexico or Colombia.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Poinsett to Mr. Clay.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
Mexico, August 26, 1826.

The plenipotentiaries from Panama have not yet reached this city. It is now confidently asserted that those from Mexico were instructed to propose the removal of the Congress to Yucatan, or some other point in these States. Upon their arrival I shall endeavor to learn the precise nature of the secret convention concluded at Panama. In all probability it relates to the invasion of Cuba and Porto Rico.

I send herewith a translation of the speech of the president of the Congress of Panama on the installation of that assembly.

INSTALLATION OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS.

PANAMA, June 22, 1826.

This day may be called the day of America. From this day the people enjoy freely their political liberty and each individual conforms to his social compacts. A strict and eternal bond unites the four Republics of Colombia, Guatemala, Mexico, and Peru. All engage mutually to assist each other against their foreign oppressors and against those who may attempt to infringe the rights they have recovered.

To preserve a perfect equality the presidency was decided by lot, as was the order of signatures. The names of the Most Excellent Señors Pedro Gual, minister of state and of exterior relations of Colombia; Antonio Larrazabal, plenipotentiary of the Holy Cathedral Church of Guatemala; Don Manuel Lorenzo de Vidaurre, president of the supreme court of justice of Peru and decorated with the medal of Bene-meritos of his country; Don José de Michelena, brigadier-general in the armies of Mexico; Pedro Briceno Mendez, brigadier-general in the armies of Colombia and of the liberators of Venezuela and Cundinamarca; Pedro Molina, plenipotentiary from Central America; Don Manuel Perez Tudela, attorney-general of

the supreme court of justice of Peru, and Don José Dominguez, regent of the tribunal of justice of Guanaxuato, will be repeated forever with respect as the most eminent defenders of our liberty and independence.

Blessed be the God of Justice, who, in recompense of our toils and slavery, has vouchsafed to us forever the means of being happy.

ADDRESS OF DON MANUEL LORENZO DE VIDUARRE, TO THE
PLENIPOTENTIARIES OF THE AMERICAN STATES ASSEMBLED AT PANAMA.

The inhabitants of the Americas which were formerly Spanish, will cover themselves with infamy, in the eyes of all known nations, if they fail to promulgate such wise, equitable, and just laws as will insure their present felicity, and that of their descendants, for many generations.

Restored to the state of nature, free and independent, in perfect possession of all their rights, and of that free will given to them by the Sublime Author of all beings, they are more perfect than in the early days of the creation. Then, man could not be prudent, because he had no experience; he could not avoid evil, because he knew it not; he was incapable of enjoyment, because he was ignorant of pain or pleasure. Now, in the exercise of his perfected faculties, he distinguishes that which is justice and that which is injustice; the useful and agreeable from the pernicious and troublesome; security from danger; the fruition of continued moderate pleasure, from delights momentary though intense. The overthrow of a thousand empires, the flux and reflux of riches throughout all parts of the known world, the destruction of some cities and the elevation of others, the rise and fall of States, all are lessons of which he may profit, all are rules offered to him to guide his present conduct.

Among the many physical, moral, and political revolutions which history relates and philosophers have examined, our own is unexampled. Dynasties succeeded

each other in China from the time of Fo-hi until the Tartars seized the throne; the Egyptians number three hundred and forty-one generations to the days of Lethon; the Persians succeeded the Medes, as these had succeeded the Assyrians; the Romans took the place of all; a cloud of locusts sallies forth from the North and takes possession of the South of Europe; Columbus discovers a new world; Cortez, Pizarro, and other criminal adventurers dethrone sovereigns, and seize upon a fourth part of the globe. Human nature has not advanced; she is every day more a slave to the shameful passions of a few and an accomplice in their crimes by a stupid passive obedience, which blinds her to a sense of her degradation and almost causes her to forget her noble origin; dynasties are changed, but not the vices of government. Even when the Greek, the Roman, the Carthaginian of antiquity appear devoted to liberty, they are unsteady, inconstant, suspicious, envious, discontented with their own territories; great warriors, but bad citizens. I only see in them vices under different aspects, and a chain of evils and misfortunes. Let them rejoice in Marathon and Salamis; still the Athenian is panic stricken at hearing that the walls of the Pireus are doomed to destruction and to be leveled with the earth; the sons of Thebes weep over their fallen country; the Emilian sheds tears in seeing Carthage in ashes, because it prognosticates that barbarians are to sack Rome; her precious monuments will be delivered over to the flames, and her famished sons will rush through her streets seeking for bread or death. The time had not yet come when men were to be happy. The sublime theory of rights and obligations had not yet been discovered; countries were defended, but not individuals.

I look upon the English as the first who labored for the rights of man. Their ancient charter, extorted by force from John Santerre, and their progress through several centuries, to the time of William III, show that we ought to consider them as the discoverers of the great political system. The Anglo-American must confess that the lights he received from his fathers directed him in his struggle, and conducted him to the haven where he re-

poses under the shade of the tree of just and moderate liberty.

Our situation, however, is still more fortunate. We have before us, in pictures perfectly executed, the errors and the knowledge, the virtues and the vices, of seventy-two centuries. The union of the Swiss, the constancy of the Dutch, the prudence of the North Americans, the atrocities of the French Revolution, the parties of the Belgic provinces, and even our own, are models which we are to keep in view, that we may follow the examples of some and detest those of others.

The great American Congress, which is to be a council in great conflicts, a faithful interpreter of treaties, a mediator in domestic disputes, and charged with the formation of our new international law, finds itself invested with all the powers necessary to accomplish the noble, grand, and singular object for which it is convoked. All the precious materials have been collected beforehand. The whole world is about to witness our labors, and to examine them with deliberation. From the first sovereign to the last inhabitant of the austral regions there is not one indifferent to our task. This perhaps may be the last experiment that will be tried to ascertain whether mankind is capable of being happy. Fellow-laborers, the field of glory has been laid open to us by Bolivar, San Martin, O'Higgins, Guadalupe, and many other heroes superior to Hercules and Theseus. Our names are to be written either with immortal praise or eternal opprobrium. Let us elevate ourselves above a thousand millions of inhabitants, and may a noble pride inspire us, assimilating us to the Deity himself, on that day when he gave the first laws to the universe.

Warmed by a divine fire, and fixing my eyes steadily on the Author of the Universe, the most enormous difficulties appear to me trivial. Few, but solid, are the bases on which our confederation is to be founded. Peace with all the world ; respect to the established governments of Europe, although they be diametrically opposed to those generally adopted in our America ; a free commerce with all nations and a great diminution of duties in favor of those which have recognized us ; religious toleration towards such as

observed different rites from those which we have established by our several constitutions. Ah! nearly thirty-three millions of victims sacrificed by fanaticism from the time of the Hebrews to the beginning of the present century. These teach us to be humane, pacific, and compassionate, even towards those who walk in very different paths. Let the stranger come; whatever may be his mode of worship he will be admitted, respected, protected, if his morality, which is true religion, is not contrary to that taught by our Christ. Let them be our masters in agriculture and the arts. Let the sad and despairing countenance of the African, oppressed with the chains of force and power, disappear from our fields. Let him see at his side a man of that color which he had believed a mark of superiority. He begins to be rational when he perceives that he is distinguished in nothing from other men. Immortal Pitt! eloquent Fox! interrupt for a moment your repose, lift your heads from the tomb and behold with admiration that the countries formerly enslaved are those which most venerate your philanthropic maxims.

With respect to ourselves, there are two terrible, hidden rocks. One, the desire of aggrandizement of some states at the cost and to the injury of others; the second, the risk that some ambitious man may aspire to tyrannize over his fellow men and enslave them. I fear both cases as much as I despise the threats of the feeble Spaniards. I can not extinguish the passions, nor would it be well to extinguish them. That man forever aspiring to something above him! That man never content with what he possesses! He has ever been unjust, and shall we convert him suddenly to a love of justice? I trust so. He has experienced the ravages caused by extravagant desires.

Sully and Henry IV formed the project of a tribunal in order to prevent in Europe the first of these dangers. In our days Gordon wrote a treatise upon the same subject. This Diet realizes the praiseworthy intentions of the kings and of philosophers. Let us avoid war by reducing everything to mediations. The effect of war is conquest. One state is augmented by reducing that of the vanquished. Montesquieu explained what it really

was; Debonaire what it ought to be. Napoleon, by every fresh victory, acquired new territories for France. An arrow cast into our fields or mountains will be an horrid sound, which will be heard throughout the continent and over all the islands. And about what shall we dispute? Our productions are the growth of every soil; our territories are immense; our ports secure and excellent. One republic need not envy the other. Will the shepherd of a thousand sheep go forth to rob the little flock of his neighbor? What injustice! The Diet will not consent to it.

As it frequently happens that wars spring from alliances, it appears that America will only enter into them with the common consent of all the contracting parties. I suspend my opinion, because that would be to prejudge the decisions.

The second danger is provided for by very simple rules: First, let the confederated governments guaranty each other's liberty and independence. Second, never let an individual be intrusted with more power than is necessary to accomplish the purpose for which it was granted. Third, the greater the power the shorter time it ought to be enjoyed, if this is compatible with its intent. Fourth, that he to whom power is confided be made to depend upon that part of the nation which is disarmed. Fifth, not to maintain standing armies except in time of actual war. Sixth, to avoid this dreadful evil, irreconcilable with the domestic tranquillity of society, by every means in our power, and which honor and prudence dictate.

It does not escape me that in a corner of the Escorial or of Aranjuez plans are forming for new expeditions. An event I deem almost impossible. The history of Spain furnishes us with proofs. Could Philip II, his son, or grandson subjugate Holland? Could Philip IV recover Portugal? Could Catalonia have been restored had it not been for the generosity of France? Has Gibraltar returned into the hands of the Spaniards? Has Jamaica been restored? The history of treaties may be called that of the renunciation of Spain. What was gained in Pavia and San Quintin was lost in that of Vervins, West-

phalia, the Pyrenees, Nineguen, Aix-la-Chapelle, and all that have been concluded up to the present day. The Floridas, which were acquired by the treaty of Paris, the United States compelled her to cede by force.

Let us call to mind some circumstances. Philip II consented that his troops should live at free quarters and drive the Dutch to desperation. Charles II had to take up loans at 15 per cent. and to sell the vice-royalties of Peru and Mexico to carry on his wars. This was when the sun never went down in the dominions of the kings of Spain, and when they were obeyed implicitly. Of what importance are they now? Without colonies, without internal union, and the Peninsula garrisoned by an hundred thousand French. I am well aware in what manner the expedition against us was formed which sailed in Cadiz in the year 1820. In that were employed the indemnities paid by the French, the private purse of the King, and their last resources. All have been exhausted. There are no vessels; the last rotten hulks have been sent to the Havana. There are no arms, nor any disposition on the part of the Spaniards to come and perish in these countries by the lance or the rigor of the climate.

It is not my wish that we persuade ourselves to disarm. Quite the contrary. Let our land and naval forces be increased; but do not let this be done that they may remain in inaction in garrison. Let us strike a blow against this obstinate nation which shall make her tremble. To wait until she attacks is to wait for the Messiah; it is to be eternally armed. Let us compel our enemy to abandon his rashness and caprice. All Europe disapproves his conduct. Even the princes of the house of Bourbon do not flatter him on this subject. No nation feels an interest that Spain should continue the war; the general wish is for peace. Without this, the uniform course of commerce is frequently interrupted, to the great prejudice of all industrious and commercial nations. How different was the position of England when she recognized the independence of the United States. May the prudent English lead the blind Spaniards!

So long as he resists the mediation of those powers that

protect us, let the products of his soil and manufactures of every sort be entirely prohibited. Let them be confiscated wherever they may be found; and let those who may be convicted of having broken a law, which we are compelled to adopt, lose the cargo.

Destroy completely the manufactures of Valencia and Barcelona. Without a market let the industry of Spain be paralyzed. Let Ferdinand VII be persuaded that if, by withholding his recognition, he compels us to incur prodigious expenses by maintaining armies, he likewise destroys the remnant of a miserable kingdom, torn to pieces, as it is, by discord, and prostrated under the yoke of a foreign nation.

If ever he was amenable to reason founded in strict justice; if he can persuade himself that he can not recover what he knew not how to preserve; if he be convinced that he has in the Americas neither friends nor places of asylum,—then the feeling American would express himself in a different manner. We never will buy our independence. The name of liberty would be shocking to us. We are constituted into states, with rights equal to those possessed by the European. We are men voluntarily united in society, and subject only to those compacts which, in the exercise of our free will, we have formed. If Ferdinand VII recognizes them, let him enter into a generous reconciliation which is offered him. Let us forget the immense evils he has occasioned us, and the period of peace be that of the sincerest union. We continue the war against our inclination and against our character; if not dishonorably, we will terminate it with the liveliest pleasure.

But, gentlemen, this recognition is not the circumstance which most interests us. Holland became very wealthy and achieved conquests before she was acknowledged. The Swiss formed alliances with the sovereigns of Europe before the house of Austria recognized them. The existence of a state does not depend upon being recognized; that serves only to open foreign relations. The existence of a nation depends upon its interior political organization. Let us possess that, so that it may be the interest of the

whole world to hold communication with us. Let us preserve our dignity ; let us not admit foreigners who do not come authorized in due diplomatic form ; let us not consent that other flags shall be displayed in our ports than those of the kingdoms and republics where ours are admitted.

Above all, let us form one family ; let the names which distinguished our respective countries be at an end, and let us adopt the general one of brothers ; let us carry on commerce without obstacles and without prohibitions ; let American goods pass every custom-house unexamined ; let us give to each other continued proofs of confidence, disinterestedness, and sincere friendship ; let us form one code of public law, which may become the admiration of the civilized world. By that, an injury done to one State is understood to be done to all. As in a well-organized society, what is committed against one citizen, interests the rest of the Republic. Let us solve the problem of which is the best of the governments. Each individual enjoying the greatest portion of good, and the nation the most perfect prosperity. It is beyond doubt that which reaches the climax of that happiness which human nature is capable of enjoying.

And when, having concluded our labors, we retire to our homes, surrounded by our sons and grandsons, let us take the youngest of them in our arms, and lifting him up as an offering to the Supreme Being, our cheeks bathed in rivers of tears, let us make him, in his innocent language, pronounce a thanksgiving for the immense benefits we have received from sovereign justice. Let the Greek boast of his deeds in having left Troy in ashes ; the representatives of the Republics may glory in having promulgated laws which provide for universal peace with all nations and the internal felicity of those States which have this day met together, and which will endure to the end of ages.

Panama, 22d June, 1826 : First of the great Diet America.

MANUEL DE VIDAURRE. (*Peru.*)

Extracts of a letter from Mr. Poinsett to Mr. Clay.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,

Mexico, September 6, 1826.

I saw the Mexican deputies to the Congress of Panama this morning for the first time since their return.

One of the articles of agreement between the new States is, that whenever the safety of America shall require a large force to be kept on foot the expense shall be defrayed by all parties.

A meeting of the plenipotentiaries of the allied Republics is to take place once every year in the month of September so long as the common war continues, and every two years in time of peace. The plenipotentiaries are to remain in the place agreed upon for three months, which term may be prolonged for two months more, at the end of which period the sessions may be renewed; but during the war these plenipotentiaries can not leave the territory of the Republic wherein the meetings are held, so that they may meet together immediately if any extraordinary circumstance should require it.

The congress will continue its negotiations in Tacubaya so soon as the ministers arrive who carried the treaties from Panama to their respective governments (eight months is the time fixed for exchanging these ratifications; six will probably elapse before these plenipotentiaries reach Mexico).

The following is the substance of an additional article of the treaty of union, league, and perpetual confederation, concluded and signed at Panama :

Whereas the contracting parties, desiring ardently to live at peace with all the nations of the universe, by avoiding all reasons for misunderstanding which might arise from the exercise of the legitimate rights in peace and war, have agreed, and hereby agree that, immediately on the ratification of the present treaty, they will proceed to fix by common agreement, all those points, rules, and principles, which are to govern their conduct in both cases, for which purpose they will renew their invitation to the neutral and friendly powers that if they deem it expedient they may take an active part in these negotiations, and may be present by means of their plenipotentiaries in order to adjust, conclude, and sign, such treaty or treaties as may be made for so important an object.

It would appear from this article that, although the sessions of the Congress of Panama have been removed to Tacubaya, the invitation is to be renewed to the neutral and friendly powers. At all events, our plenipotentiaries need not be here before the month of February next.

The Mexican plenipotentiaries told me that they found no difficulty to induce a majority of the deputies of the Congress of Panama to remove to Tacubaya.

The Isthmus is so sickly that they were all glad to remove from Panama.

I adverted, in the course of conversation, to the very extraordinary sentiments contained in Vidaurre's speech on the opening of the Congress. They assured me that Vidaurre never delivered that discourse, but published it without the knowledge of his colleagues; that on the following day they, the Mexican plenipotentiaries, remonstrated verbally, both against the publication of that discourse and against the sentiments it contained, and the Colombian plenipotentiaries delivered in a written protest to the same effect.

I suggested the propriety of publishing a notice of what took place on that occasion, as the whole tenor of Vidaurre's discourse is calculated to produce an unfavorable impression. I believe this will be done. Might it not be well to do so in our papers?

I shall probably learn the whole of the proceedings at Panama in a few days, and I will continue to send the information as I collect it.

[Translation.]

The Colombian Minister to Mr. Clay.

LEGATION OF COLOMBIA,
Washington, November 20, 1826.

SIR: I have received an order from the Government of Colombia to communicate to that of the United States that the great American assembly was installed on the 22d of June last, by the plenipotentiaries of Peru, Mexico, Central

America, and Colombia. The necessity for the concurrence of the legislature of Chile, which was not in session, to the nomination of plenipotentiaries, had retarded their arrival at Panama.

The assembly being installed, it was determined by lot in what order the confederated states should be named, and by common consent it was determined that the representatives of each should alternately hold the presidency for the direction of the discussions. These were conducted with that perfect harmony and concord which the great and important object in view should inspire; and the preparatory conferences and labors which preceded enabled the plenipotentiaries on the 15th of July last to sign :

(1) A treaty of union, league, and perpetual confederation between the four states represented, to which the other powers of America might have an opportunity to accede within one year.

(2) A convention for the renewal of the great assembly annually in time of common war, and biennially during peace.

(3) A convention which fixes the contingent which each confederate should contribute for the common defense.

(4) An agreement concerning the employment and direction of those contingents.

(5) Divers declarations that the treaties which Colombia had formerly concluded with the United Mexican States, Central America, and Peru, should be included in those treaties with certain reservations.

Although the labors of the Congress were already so far advanced, the hazards occasioned by the climate of Panama to the plenipotentiaries, admonished them to resolve upon a removal of the Congress to the town of Tacubaya, near the City of Mexico, where they expect the minister whom the Government of the United States has resolved to send.

I have the honor to renew to you the assurances of the high consideration and respect of

Your most obedient servant,

JOSÉ MARIA SALAZAR.

*Mr. Clay's instructions to United States Delegates to the
Congress at Panama.*

[Executive Journal, United States Senate, 1829 to 1837.]

*To the Senate and House of Representatives
of the United States :*

I herewith transmit a copy of the instructions prepared by the Secretary of State and furnished to the ministers of the United States appointed to attend at the assembly of the American plenipotentiaries first held at Panama and then transferred to Tacubaya. The occasion upon which they were given has passed away and there is no present probability of the renewal of these negotiations, but the purpose for which they were intended are still of the deepest interest to our country and to the world, and may hereafter call again for the active efforts and beneficent energies of the Government of the United States. The motives for withholding them from general publication having ceased, justice to the Government from which they emanated, and to the people for whose benefit it was instituted, require that they should be made known. With this view, and from the consideration that the subjects embraced by these instructions must, probably, engage hereafter the deliberations of our successors, I deem it proper to make this communication to both houses of Congress. One copy only of the instructions being prepared, I send it to the Senate, requesting that it may be transmitted to the House of Representatives.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

WASHINGTON, *March 3*, 1829.

INSTRUCTIONS, GENERAL.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, May 8, 1826.

GENTLEMEN : The relations in which the United States stand to the other American powers, and the duties, interests, and sympathies which belong to those relations, have determined the President to accept an invitation which

has been given by the Republics of Colombia, Mexico, and Central America to the United States to send representatives to the Congress at Panama. He could not, indeed, have declined an invitation proceeding from sources so highly respectable, and communicated in the most delicate and respectful manner, without subjecting the United States to the reproach of insensibility to the deepest concerns of the American Hemisphere, and perhaps to a want of sincerity in most important declarations, solemnly made by his predecessor, in the face of the Old and the New World. In yielding, therefore, to the friendly wishes of those three Republics, communicated in the notes of their respective ministers at Washington, of which copies are herewith, the United States act in perfect consistency with all their previous conduct and professions in respect to the new American States.

The assembling of a Congress at Panama composed of diplomatic representatives from independent American nations will form a new epoch in human affairs. The fact itself, whatever may be the issue of the conferences of such a congress, can not fail to challenge the attention of the present generation of the civilized world, and to command that of posterity. But the hope is confidently indulged that it will have other and stronger claims upon the regard of mankind than any which arise out of the mere circumstance of its novelty, and that it will entitle itself to the affection and lasting gratitude of all America, by the wisdom and liberality of its principles and by the new guaranties it may create for the great interests which will engage its deliberations. On an occasion so highly important and responsible the President has been desirous that the representation from the United States should be composed of distinguished citizens. Confiding in your zeal, ability, and patriotism, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, he has selected you for this interesting service. And it is his wish that you should proceed with all practicable dispatch to Panama. For the purpose of carrying out Mr. Sergeant, the United States ship *Lexington* has been prepared and is now ready to sail from the port of New York to Porto Bello. Mr. An-

derson, having been notified of his appointment has been directed to leave the affairs of the United States at Bogota in the charge of such person as he may for that purpose designate, and to join Mr. Sergeant at Porto Bello, from whence it is supposed that it will be most convenient to proceed by land across the Isthmus to Panama. Ministers from several of the powers have probably by this time reached that place and they may even have proceeded to a comparison of their respective credentials and to conferences on some of the objects of the congress, but it is probable they will have deferred until your arrival a consideration of those deliberations on which it was expected that we should take part.

Your power, accompanying this letter, is joint and several, authorizing you to confer and treat with ministers also duly authorized from all or any of the American powers, of peace, friendship, commerce, navigation, maritime law, neutral and belligerent rights, and other matters interesting to the continent of America. After the mutual exchange of powers, it will be necessary to determine the forms of deliberation and the modes of proceeding of the congress. It is distinctly understood by the President that it is to be regarded in all respects as diplomatic in contradistinction to a body clothed with powers of ordinary legislation; that is to say, no one of the States represented is to be considered bound by any treaty, convention, pact, or act to which it does not subscribe and expressly assent by its acting representative, and that, in the instance of treaties, conventions, and pacts, they are to be returned for final ratification to each contracting State according to the provisions of its particular constitution. All idea is, therefore, excluded of binding a minority to agreements and acts contrary to its will, by the mere circumstance of the concurrence of a majority of the States in those agreements and acts. Each State will, consequently, be governed and left free, according to its own sense of its particular interests. All notion is rejected of an amphyctyonic council, invested with power finally to decide controversies between the American States or to regulate in any respect their conduct. Such a council might have

been well enough adapted to a number of small contracted States, whose united territory would fall short of the extent of that of the smallest of the American powers. The complicated and various interests which appertain to the nations of this vast continent can not be safely confided to the superintendence of one legislative authority. We should almost as soon expect to see an amphictyonic council to regulate the affairs of the whole globe. But even if it were desirable to establish such a tribunal, it is beyond the competency of the Government of the United States voluntarily to assent to it, without a previous change of their actual constitution.

Although the speculation of such a council has been sometimes made and associated in the public papers with the contemplated congress, we can hardly anticipate that it will be seriously pressed by any of the powers. The congresses which have been so common in Europe, especially within these later times, have been altogether diplomatic, and consequently the states whose ministers composed them were only bound by their signatures. With this necessary and indispensable restriction upon the action of the congress, great advantages may nevertheless be derived from an assembly at the same time and place of ministers from all the American nations. Such an assembly will afford great facilities for free and friendly conferences for mutual and necessary explanations and for discussing and establishing some general principles applicable to peace and war, to commerce and navigation, with the sanction of all America. Treaties may be concluded in the course of a few months at such a congress, laying the foundation of lasting amity and good neighborhood, which it would require many years to consummate, if, indeed, they would be at all practicable, by separate and successive negotiations conducted between the several powers at different times and places. Keeping constantly in view the essential character and object of the congress, which have been described, it is very important in what manner its conferences and discussions may be regulated.

Experience has, perhaps, sufficiently established that, for precision, for safety to the negotiators themselves, and

for an early practical result, it is wisest to proceed by protocol, in which the mutual propositions of the parties, together with such concise observations as any of them desire to have preserved, are carefully recorded. But you are left free to agree to that mode of proceeding, with the indispensable limitation before stated, which, under all circumstances, shall appear to you most advisable. Your power conveys an authority to treat with all or any of the nations represented at the congress of any of the subjects comprised in your instructions. And on those, especially, of commerce and navigation, maritime law, and neutral and belligerent rights, it is the President's wish that if those interests can not be adjusted satisfactorily to all the attending powers, you should form, nevertheless, treaties with such as may be disposed to conclude them with you. But in the conduct of any such separate negotiations you will carefully avoid giving any occasion of offense to those powers who may decline treating; and, if you should have strong reason to believe that the fact itself of opening such separate negotiations would have the tendency of creating unfriendly feelings and relations with other American powers, you will decline entering on them altogether. You are also authorized to agree upon a transfer of the conferences from Panama to any other place on the American continent that may be considered more eligible for conducting them.

In now proceeding to direct your attention particularly to the instructions of the President, by which, after having settled the preliminary point to which I have just adverted, you will govern yourselves, the first observation to be made is, that, in acceding to the invitation which has been accepted, no intention has been entertained to change the present pacific and neutral policy of the United States. On the contrary, it has been distinctly understood by the three Republics who gave the invitation, and has been enforced on our part in all our communications with them in regard to it, that the United States would strictly adhere to that policy, and mean faithfully to perform all their neutral obligations. Whilst the existing war is limited to the present parties, it is as unnecessary as it would be unwise

in the United States to become a belligerent. A state of things can hardly be imagined in which they would voluntarily take part on the side of Spain; and on that of the republics it would be entirely useless, since they have been all along able, unaided, triumphantly to maintain their cause and to conquer the arms, if they have not overcome the obstinacy of Spain. By maintaining the neutral position which the United States have assumed, they have been enabled to hold strong language to Europe, and successfully to check any disposition which existed there to assist Spain in the reconquest of the colonies. If they had departed from their neutrality and precipitated themselves into the war, there was much reason to apprehend that their exertions might have been neutralized, if not overbalanced, by those of other powers who would have been drawn, by that rash example, into the war, in behalf of Spain. Keeping, therefore, constantly in view the settled pacific policy of the United States, and the duties which flow from their neutrality, the subjects will now be particularized, which, it is anticipated, will engage the consideration of the congress at Panama.

These subjects may be arranged under two general heads: (1) Such as relate to the future prosecution of the present war with Spain by the combined or separate operation of the American belligerents. (2) Those in which all the nations of America, whether neutral or belligerent, may have an interest.

In respect to the first, for the reasons already stated, we can take no part. Discussions of them must be confined to the parties to the war. You will refrain from engaging in them. You will not be expected or desired to do so. But, whilst it has been perfectly understood that the United States could not, at the congress, jeopard their neutrality, they may be urged to contract an alliance, offensive and defensive, on the contingency of an attempt by the powers of Europe, commonly called the Holy Alliance, either to aid Spain to reduce the new American Republics to their ancient colonial state or to compel them to adopt political systems more conformable to the policy and views of that alliance.

Upon the supposition of such an attempt being actually made, there can be no doubt what it would be the interest and bounden duty of the United States to do. Their late Chief Magistrate solemnly declared what, in that event, he considered they ought to do. The people of the United States acquiesced in the declaration, and their present Chief Magistrate entirely concurs in it. If, indeed, the powers of continental Europe could have allowed themselves to engage in the war for either of the purposes just indicated, the United States, in opposing them with their whole force, would have been hardly entitled to the merit of acting on the impulse of a generous sympathy with infant, oppressed, and struggling nations. The United States, in the contingencies which have been stated, would have been compelled to fight their own proper battles, not less so because the storm of war happened to range on another part of this continent at a distance from their borders; for it cannot be doubted that the presumptuous spirit which would have impelled Europe upon the other American Republics in aid of Spain, or on account of the forms of their political institutions, would not have been appeased if her arms in such an unrighteous contest should have been successful until they were extended here, and every vestige of human freedom had been obliterated within these States.

There was a time when such designs were seriously apprehended, and it is believed that the declaration of the late President to the Congress of the United States, which has been already referred to, had a powerful effect in disconcerting and arrested their progress. About the same period Great Britain manifested a determination to pursue the same policy in regard to the new Republics which the United States had previously marked out for themselves. After these two great maritime powers, Great Britain and the United States had let continental Europe know that they would not see with indifference any forcible interposition in behalf of Old Spain, it was evident that no such interposition would or with any prospect of success could be afforded. Accordingly since that period there have been no intimations of any designs on the part of

the European alliance against the new American Republics. If that alliance has seen with any dissatisfaction (as may be well imagined) the successful progress of those Republics, both in the war and in the establishment of their free political systems, they have confined themselves to silent and unavailing regrets.

The auspicious course of events has not only occasioned the abandonment of any hostile intentions which were entertained, if such were ever entertained, by the European alliance, but there is strong reason to hope that it has led to the creation of pacific, if not friendly, views toward our sister Republics. Upon the entry of the President of the United States on the duties of his present office his attention was anxiously directed to, and has been since unremittingly employed on, the object of establishing peace between Spain and those Republics. In considering the means for its accomplishment no very sanguine hope was indulged from an approach to Spain directly, and it was thought best to endeavor to operate on her through that alliance on whose countenance and support she mainly relied for the recovery of the colonies. Russia was known to be the soul of that alliance, and to the Emperor, of whose wisdom and friendship the United States had so many proofs, the appeal was at once made. A copy of the note from this Department to the American ministers at St. Petersburg on that subject accompanies these instructions. Copies of it were transmitted contemporaneously to the courts of London and Paris, whose co-operation in the work of peace was also invited. Our minister at Madrid was instructed to lose no fit occasion there for creating or strengthening a disposition toward peace. The hope was cherished that by a general and concerted movement of the United States and the great powers of Europe at the same time the councils of Spain might be prevailed upon to accede to a peace, which had become more necessary, if possible, to her than to the new Republics.

An answer has been lately received here from St. Petersburg through Mr. Middleton, a copy of which, together with copies of his accompanying notes, is placed in your

hands. From a perusal of these documents, the contents of which have been confirmed by the Russian minister in official interviews which I have had with him, you will perceive that the appeal to Russia has not been without effect, and that the late Emperor, sensible of the necessity of peace, prior to his death probably employed his good offices to bring it about. His successor has formally announced his intention to tread in the path of his illustrious predecessor, and it is therefore most likely that he will also direct the influence of that Government to the conclusion of a peace satisfactory to both parties. It is possible that these efforts may not be effectual and that the pride and obstinacy of Spain may be unconquerable. There is, however, much reason to hope that she may either consent to a peace upon the basis of the independence of the colonies, or, if she feels that too humiliating, that she will agree to a suspension of hostilities, as was formerly done in the case of the Low Countries, which would in the end inevitably lead to a formal acknowledgment of the actual independence of the new Republics. Whatever may be the future course of Spain, the favorable reception which the Emperor of Russia has given to the overture of the United States, to say nothing of the known inclination of France and other powers of the European continent to follow the example of the United States and Great Britain, fully authorizes the conclusion that the Holy Alliance will not engage in the war on the side of Spain, but will persevere in their actual neutrality. The danger, therefore, from that quarter having disappeared, there can be no necessity at this time for an offensive and defensive alliance between the American powers, which could only find a justification at any period in the existence or continuation of such a danger. Such an alliance, under present circumstances, would be worse than useless, since it might tend to excite feelings in the Emperor of Russia and his allies which should not be needlessly touched or provoked.

The Republic of Colombia has recently requested the friendly interposition of this Government to prevail upon Spain to agree to an armistice, upon the conditions mentioned in Mr. Salazar's note, of which a copy, together

with a copy of mine in reply, acceding to the request, is now furnished. And instructions have been accordingly given to the ministers of the United States at Madrid and St. Petersburg.

Other reasons concur to dissuade the United States from entering into such an alliance. From the first establishment of their present constitution, their illustrious statesmen have inculcated the avoidance of foreign alliances as a leading maxim of their foreign policy. It is true, that in its adoption, their attention was directed to Europe, which having a system of connections and of interests remote and different from ours, it was thought most advisable that we should not mix ourselves up with them. And it is also true, that long since the origin of the maxim, the new American powers have arisen, to which, if at all, it is less applicable.

Without, therefore, asserting that an exigency may not occur in which an alliance of the most intimate kind between the United States and the other American Republics would be highly proper and expedient, it may be safely said that the occasion which would warrant a departure from that established maxim ought to be one of great urgency, and that none such is believed now to exist. Among the objections to such alliances, those which at all times have great weight are, first, the difficulty of a just and equal arrangement of the contributions of force and of other means between the respective parties to the attainment of the common object; and, secondly, that of providing beforehand, and determining with perfect precision, when the *casus fœderis* arises, and thereby guarding against all controversies about it. There is less necessity for any such alliance at this conjuncture on the part of the United States, because no compact, by whatever solemnities it might be attended, or whatever name or character it might assume, could be more obligatory upon them than the irresistible motive of self-preservation, which would be instantly called into operation, and stimulate them to the utmost exertion in the supposed contingency of an European attack upon the liberties of America.

The considerations to which I have now adverted, together with such others as may present themselves to you, will, it is hoped, satisfy the representatives of the other American States that an alliance, offensive and defensive, between them and the United States for the object which has been stated is unnecessary if not mischievous. Should you, however, be unable to bring that conviction home to them, and should you have reason to believe that the positive rejection of such an alliance would be regarded in an unfriendly light and have a pernicious effect on your other negotiations you will invite them to reduce their proposals of the terms of such an alliance as they may conceive proper to a written precise form, and state that you will take them *ad referendum*. That will afford to the Government here the opportunity of reconsideration, with the advantage of all the information that may be evolved in the intervening period. The alliance, if ever admissible, having been a question of time, the delay incident to the reference home by further demonstrating its expediency will better prepare the Congress at Panama for the final rejection, which it is most probable this Government will give to the project.

In treating of those subjects in which all the nations of America, whether now at war or in peace, may be supposed to have a common interest, you will, on all suitable occasions, inculcate the propriety of terminating the existing war as soon as may be, and of cherishing the means best adapted to the preservation of peace among themselves, and with the rest of the world. The cultivation of peace is the true interest of all nations, but it is especially that of infant States. Repose is not more necessary to the growth and expansion of individuals in their youth, than it is to that of young nations, which have, in the midst of war, commenced the career of independence and self-government. Peace is now the greatest want of America. Desirable, however, as it unquestionably is, there is nothing in the present or in the future, of which we can catch a glimpse, that should induce the American Republics, in order to obtain it, to sacrifice a particle of their independent sovereignty. They ought, therefore, to reject all

propositions founded upon the principle of a concession of perpetual commercial privileges to any foreign power. The grant of such privileges is incompatible with their actual and absolute independence. It would partake of the spirit and, and bring back, in fact, if not in form, the state of ancient colonial connection. Nor would their honor and national pride allow them to entertain or deliberate on propositions founded upon the notion of purchasing, with a pecuniary consideration, the Spanish acknowledgment of their independence.

Next to the more pressing object of putting an end to the war between the new republics and Spain should be that of devising means to preserve peace in future among the American nations themselves, and with the rest of the world. No time could be more auspicious than the present for a successful inquiry by the American nations into the causes which have so often disturbed the repose of the world, and for an earnest endeavor, by wise precaution, in the establishment of just and enlightened principles for the government of their conduct, in peace and in war, to guard, as far as possible, against all misunderstandings. They have no old prejudices to combat, no long established practices to change, no entangled connections or theories to break through. Committed to no particular systems of commerce, nor to any selfish belligerent code of law, they are free to consult the experience of mankind, and to establish without bias principles for themselves, adapted to their condition, and likely to promote their peace, security, and happiness. Remote from Europe, it is not probable that they will often be involved in the wars with which that quarter of the globe may be destined hereafter to be afflicted. In these wars, the policy of all America will be the same, that of peace and neutrality, which the United States have heretofore constantly labored to preserve.

If the principles which that probable state of neutrality indicates as best for the interests of this hemisphere be, at the same time, just in themselves, and calculated to prevent wars, or to mitigate the rigor of those great scourges, they will present themselves to the general ac-

ceptance with an union of irresistible recommendations. Both those qualities are believed to be possessed by the maritime principles for which the United States have ever contended, and especially throughout the whole period of the late European wars. The President wishes you to bring forward those principles on an occasion so auspicious as that is anticipated to be of the Congress of Panama. Uncontrolled power, on whatever element it is exerted, is prone to great abuse. But it is still more liable to abuse on the sea than on the land, perhaps because it is there exercised beyond the presence of impartial spectators, and, therefore, with but little moral restraint resulting from the salutary influence of public opinion, which, if applied at all, has always to be subsequently, and consequently less efficaciously, applied. The moral cognizance, when it comes to be taken, finds, too, a more doubtful or contested state of fact, than if the theater had been where there were more numerous and less prejudiced witnesses.

At all times there has existed more inequality in the distribution among nations of maritime than of territorial power. In almost every age, some one has had the complete mastery on the ocean, and this superiority has been occasionally so great as to more than counterbalance the combined maritime force of all other nations, if such a combination were practicable. But when a single nation finds itself possessed of a power anywhere which no one, nor all other nations, can successfully check or countervail, the consequences are too sadly unfolded in the pages of history. Such a nation grows presumptuous, impatient of contradiction or opposition, and finds the solution of national problems easier, and more grateful to its pride, by the sword than by the slow and less brilliant process of patient investigation. If the superiority be on the ocean, the excesses in the abuses of that power become intolerable. Although, in the arrangement of things, security against oppression should be the greatest where it is most likely to be often practiced, it is, nevertheless, remarkable that the progress of enlightened civilization has been much more advanced on the land than on the ocean. And accordingly personal rights, and especially those of prop-

erty, have both a safety and protection on the former, which they do not enjoy on the latter element. Scarcely any circumstance would now tend more to exalt the character of America than that of uniting its endeavors to bring up the arrears of civilization, as applied to the ocean, to the same forward point which it has attained on the land, and thus, rendering men and property secure against all human injustice and violence, leave them exposed only to the action of those storms and disasters, sufficiently perilous, which are comprehended in the dispensations of Providence.

It is under the influence of these and similar considerations that you will bring forward, at the contemplated Congress, the proposition to abolish war against private property and non-combatants upon the ocean. Private property of an enemy is protected when on land from seizure and confiscation. Those who do not bear arms there are not disturbed in their vocations. Why should not the same humane exemptions be extended to the sea? If merchandise in a warehouse on shore remains unmolested amidst the ravages of modern war, can any good reason be assigned for allowing the same merchandise, when transferred to a ship which is peaceably navigating the ocean, to be an object of legitimate capture and condemnation? If artisans and husbandmen are permitted without hinderance to pursue their respective callings, why should not the not less useful mariners be allowed peaceably to distribute the productions of their industry, in exchanges for the common benefit of mankind? This has been an object which the United States have had much at heart ever since they assumed their place among the nations. More than forty years ago Dr. Franklin, one of their most enlightened and successful ministers, thus expressed himself :

It is time, it is high time, for the sake of humanity, that a stop were put to this enormity.

The United States of America, though better situated than any European nation to make profit by privateering, are, as far as in them lies, endeavoring to abolish the practice, by offering, in all their treaties with other powers, an article engaging solemnly, that, in case of future war,

no privateer shall be commissioned, on either side, and that unarmed merchant ships, on both sides, shall pursue their voyages unmolested. This will be a happy improvement of the law of nations. The humane and the just can not but wish general success to the proposition.

What the sagacious forecast of that illustrious man enabled him to anticipate at that early day of our national existence, has been fully confirmed in our subsequent progress. We are better situated than any other nation, and, in the event of war, we now have ample means to enable us to make profit by privateering, but, faithful to our principles, we now offer, in our maturer and stronger condition, the same stipulations which were offered by Franklin and other American negotiators, but which might then have been attributed to our infancy and weakness.

If, by the common consent of nations, private property on the ocean was no longer liable to capture as lawful prize of war, the principle that free ships should make free goods would lose its importance by being merged in the more liberal and extensive rule. But, judging from the slow progress of civilization in its operation on the practices of war, and the tenacity with which power ever clings to advantages which it conceives itself to possess, it would be too much to indulge any very sanguine hope of a speedy universal concurrence in a total exemption of all private property from capture.

Some nations may be prepared to admit the limited, who would withhold their assent from the more comprehensive principle. You will, therefore, also propose the adoption of the rule that free ships shall make free goods, and its converse, that inimical ships shall make inimical goods. The one seems necessarily to follow from the other, and in their practical application there is a simplicity and certainty in both which strongly recommend them to general adoption. Both operate in favor of neutrality, and thus present a new dissuasive to nations from rashly engaging in war. It will occur, of course, to you, to insert a provision restricting the operation of these principles to those nations which shall agree to observe them.

You will propose a definition of blockade. The experience of the United States and that of some of the new

American nations, short as has been the term of their existence, alike indicate the utility of a plain and intelligible description of the facts which constitute a legitimate blockade. The want of such a definition has been the principle cause of many difficulties which have arisen between them and the United States. The belligerent interest is to extend, the neutral to contract, as much as possible the range of a blockade. The belligerent interest is to insist upon the smallest possible, that of the neutral upon the largest practicable, amount of force to give validity to the blockade. In this conflict of opposite pretensions, as the belligerent has arms in his hands ready to support his, the neutral generally suffers. The best security against abuses on either side is a clear definition, which, by presenting circumstances notorious in their nature and character, admits of no controversy among those who have a proper sense of justice and entertain a mutual regard for their respective rights. You will find in the treaty with Colombia and that with the Central Republic, recently concluded and ratified here (copies of both of which are herewith), a definition of blockade, which may be proposed and safely followed. In the same treaties are also contained articles supplying a list of contraband, and several other articles having reference to a state of war, in which the contracting parties may be belligerent or neutral, as the case may be, all of which you are authorized to propose.

In connection with this interesting subject you are furnished, among the accompanying documents, with a letter from my predecessor, under date the 28th July, 1823, addressed to Mr. Rush, minister of the United States at London, with the draught of articles for a treaty which he was authorized to propose to Great Britain. They may facilitate your labors. The articles having been prepared with much consideration, may serve as models for any that may be agreed on at the congress upon corresponding topics. It is hardly necessary to add that this recent experiment with Great Britain, like all others which preceded it, proved abortive.

Among the most important objects which are likely to

engage the attention of the congress is that of endeavoring to fix some general principles of intercourse applicable to all the powers of America for the mutual regulation of their commerce and navigation. The United States from the origin of the present war have, on all proper occasions, uniformly proclaimed that they entertained no desire to procure for themselves from any of the new powers peculiar commercial advantages. They continue to adhere to this disinterested doctrine.

You will state in your conference that as they have not sought in treating with the American States separately, neither will they seek in joint negotiations with them for any privileges which are not equally extended to every one of them. Indeed, they are prepared themselves to extend to the powers of Europe the same liberal principles of commercial intercourse and navigation on which the United States are ready to treat. The President hopes that you will meet with corresponding dispositions in the other American States; and that you will have no difficulty in obtaining their ready concurrence to the equitable bases of perfect equality and reciprocity which you are hereby empowered at once to propose for the commerce and navigation between all the American nations. The whole of what is very material to their commerce and navigation may be comprised under two general principles, both of which are founded on those bases. The first is, that no American nation shall grant any favors, in commerce or navigation, to any foreign power whatever, either upon this or any other continent, which shall not extend to every other American nation. And, secondly, that whatever may be imported from any foreign country into any one American nation or exported from it in its own vessels may, in like manner, be imported into or exported from the same nation, the vessel, whether national or foreign, and the cargo paying in both instances exactly the same duties and charges and no more.

The first of those two principles is so strongly recommended to all nations by considerations of policy as well as of justice, that it will command, at least in the abstract, the assent of most as soon as it is announced. Nations

are equal, common members of a universal family. Why should there be any inequality between them in their commercial intercourse? Why should one grant favors to another which it withholds from a third? All such partial favors are liable to excite jealousies, and in the end are counterbalanced or punished by the injured powers. The principle now proposed does not preclude those particular arrangements which are founded upon real and just equivalents, independent of mere commercial reciprocity, by which certain advantages are granted to a particular power; but it is wiser even to avoid these as much as possible. If the principle be correct in its universal application it must be allowed to be particularly adapted to the condition and circumstances of the American powers. The United States have had no difficulty in treating, on that principle, with the Republics of Colombia and Central America, and it is accordingly inserted in the treaties which have been made with both those powers. Other of the American nations are believed to have a disposition to adopt it. The United Mexican States alone have opposed it, and in their negotiations with us have brought forward the inadmissible exception from its operation of those American States which have a Spanish origin, in whose behalf Mexico insists upon being allowed to grant commercial favors which she may refuse to the United States.

Of the view which we entertain of such an exception you will be able to possess yourselves by perusing a dispatch from this office to Mr. Poinsett, under date the 9th day of November, 1825, a copy of which is herewith. He has been instructed to break off the negotiations if contrary to expectation the Mexican Government should persist in the exception. What renders it more extraordinary is, that while they pretend that there has been something like such an understanding between the new Republics, no such exception was insisted upon by either Colombia or the Central Republic. It was not even mentioned during the late negotiation here which terminated in the treaty with the latter power. Whether it was adverted to or not in that which was conducted by Mr. Anderson with Colombia he will recollect. We can consent to no such ex-

ception. You will resist it in every form if it be brought forward, and you will subscribe to no treaty which shall admit it. We are not yet informed whether Mexico has abandoned the exception and concluded with Mr. Poinsett a commercial treaty, or has persevered in it and broken off the negotiations. The basis of the most favored nation leaves the party who treats on it free to prohibit what foreign produce and manufactures he pleases and to impose on such as may be admitted into his ports any duties which his policy or his interest may require. The principle only enjoins impartiality as to the foreign powers to whom it is applied, and consequently that his prohibitions and his duties, whatever they may be, shall equally extend to the produce and manufactures of all of them. If a nation has already contracted engagements with another power by which it has granted commercial favors inconvenient or injurious to itself, it may be contrary to its interest to extend these same favors to other nations. But the United States has made no such improvident concessions to any particular foreign power, nor have any of the other of the American States as far as we know. The time and the theater, therefore, are propitious for the adoption of a broad and liberal commercial principle, which, by dispensing equal favor to all, deprives every one of any just cause of complaint.

To the other leading principle which has been stated, that of allowing the importation into, or the exportation from, the ports of any American nation in the vessels of every other, of all produce and manufactures, the introduction or exportation of which is admitted by law, both the native and the foreign vessel and the cargo paying the same duties and charges, and no other, the President attaches the greatest importance. You will press it in your conferences with an earnestness and zeal proportionate to its high value, and to the liberality in which it is conceived. Its reciprocity is perfect, and when it comes to be adopted by all nations, we can scarcely see anything beyond it in the way of improvement to the freedom and interest of their mutual navigation. The devices of maritime nations have been various to augment their marine

at the expense of others powers. When there has been a passive acquiescence in the operation of those devices, without any resort to countervailing regulation, their success has sometimes been very great. But nations are now too enlightened to submit quietly to the selfish efforts of any one power to engross, by its own separate legislation, a disproportionate share of navigation in their mutual intercourse. Those efforts are now met by opposite efforts; restriction begets restriction until the discovery is at last made, after a long train of vexatious and irritating acts and maneuvers on both sides, that the course of selfish legislation ultimately does not effect the distribution of maritime power, whilst it is attended with the certain evil of putting nations into an ill humor with each other.

Experience at last teaches that, in every view, it is better to begin and to continue in the career of liberality than in that of a narrow and restricted policy, since the most that can be said against the former is that it only conducts to the same end without, however, the unpleasant incidents to which the other finally and inevitably leads. There is a simplicity in the principle of reciprocal liberty of navigation which confers on it a strong recommendation. It renders unnecessary all difficult and vexatious scrutiny into the origin of the contents of a mixed cargo. It dispenses with all penalties and forfeitures, denounced for what is often both an ignorant and innocent violation of custom-house law in the introduction, perhaps, of a single interdicted article of small value, which is made, by arbitrary regulation, to taint the whole cargo of immense value. It sets up a rule at once plain and intelligible. It refers the foreigner, for what he may lawfully do, to an observation of that which the native actually does. It opens every American port to every American vessel on the same equal terms, no matter in what distant sea her enterprise may have sought and earned the riches with which she is laden.

This principle of reciprocal freedom of navigation, like that of the most favored nation, leaves every State which adopts it at liberty to impose such tonnage duties as its necessities or policy may dictate. It only holds out that

whatever may be imposed shall extend alike to the national and the foreign vessel, and also that the cargo, whether of importation or exportation, shall be charged with the same duties, whoever may be the proprietor, or in whatever vessel it may be laden. Perhaps it may be proposed to agree to the imposition of precisely the same rate of duties, on vessel and cargo, in all the ports of the American nations. But that would be inadmissible. It would subject each State to inconvenient restrictions on its power of taxation, instead of leaving it free, as is best for each, to consult the circumstances of its own peculiar position, its habits, its constitution of government, and the most fitting sources of revenue for itself. As to the foreigner, he has no pretext to complaint when the same measure is applied to him and the native.

It may, perhaps, be objected that the marine of the other American nations is yet in its infancy; that ours has made great advances; and that they can not be prepared for this reciprocal liberty of navigation until they have made some further progress in establishing theirs. The difference in the condition of the marine of the respective countries, assumed in the supposed argument, certainly exists. But how is it to be remedied? By a system which shall aim at engrossment, and which will therefore provoke retaliation? Or, one which, dealing liberally by others, will lead them to measure out liberality in return?

These alternatives have been already discussed, and it has been shown that the first system is never successful, except from the forbearance of foreign powers to counter-vail it, which is not now to be expected in the present watchful state of the maritime world. If we are to wait for the commencement of the equal and liberal system until all nations shall have brought up their respective marines even and abreast, it may be considered as indefinitely, if not forever, postponed. If the new States would build up for themselves powerful marines they must seek for their elements not in a narrow and contracted legislation neutralized by the counteracting legislation of other nations, but in the abundance and excellence of their materials for ship building, in the skill of their artisans, and the

cheapness of their manufactures; in the number of their seamen, and their hardy and enterprising character, formed by exposure in every branch of a seafaring life by adventures on every ocean, and invigorated by a liberal, cheerful, and fearless competition with foreign powers. Both of the principles which I have been discussing are provided for, though somewhat more in detail in the second, third, fourth, and fifth articles of the beforementioned treaty with the Federation of the Center of America. They may serve as models for those which you are now authorized to propose, and you will consider yourselves empowered to agree to articles similar with all the others of that treaty, a copy of which accompanies this letter.

It is possible you may not find the ministers of the other American States prepared to agree to the second principle; that they may be unwilling to subscribe to it in the extent now proposed; they may not be ready to allow, at the same rate of duties, a reciprocal liberty of exportation and importation, without restriction as to the place of origin of the cargo, the ownership, or destination of the vessel. You will not abandon the effort to establish that principle, in its widest scope, until you have exhausted every means of argument and persuasion, and become perfectly satisfied that its adoption is wholly impracticable. If you find their opposition to it unyielding, you will then propose a modification to the principle, so as to make it, at least, comprehend the productions and manufactures of all the American nations, including the West India Islands. When so limited, it will still have the great practical benefit; all vessels of the several American powers will enjoy under it a reciprocal liberty of exportation and importation of whatever of American productions and manufactures, comprehending the produce of the sea, is allowed by the separate laws of each, at the same standard of duties for the vessel and her cargo. If the reasoning be correct, in support of the principle in its greatest latitude, it will, of course, sustain it in this more restricted operation; to which may be added, as a strong consideration in favor of its embracing, at least, the American States, that there is great similarity in the produce

of various parts of them, and consequently, a great difficulty in tracing articles having a common character and striking resemblance to the countries of their respective origin, and subjecting them to different rates of duty, as they happen to be imported in different vessels, or blended together in the same vessel.

If you find the principle still objected to with that modification, you will lastly propose it with the still greater restriction of only furnishing the rule which shall be observed between any two of the American nations who may agree to it, in regard to their mutual navigation, when employed in transporting their respective produce and manufactures. Under this form it is proposed by the United States, on the 3d March, 1815 (see fourth volume of the Laws, page 824), to all nations. On the 3d of July, of the same year, it was engrafted on the convention with Great Britain (see sixth volume of the Laws, page 603). Subsequently, it was applied to the Netherlands, the Imperial Hanseatic cities of Hamburg, Lubeck, Bremen, the Dukedom of Oldenburg, Norway, Sardinia, and Russia (see acts of first session, Eighteenth Congress, page 4). It was also embraced in our treaty with Sweden, of 1816 (see sixth volume of the Laws, page 642), and has recently been agreed to by Colombia. In the event of a concurrence in the principle, in this more limited import, the first, second, and third articles of the before-mentioned convention with Great Britain will furnish models which may be followed in the draught of those to which you are authorized to agree. These three articles embrace other subjects beside that principle, but they are such as to have either a direct connection with it, or are necessary to give full and complete effect to it. In describing the territories of the new American States with which we are to maintain hereafter a commercial intercourse, you will see the propriety of employing, in any treaty which you may conclude, such terms as may embrace whatever territories, insular or continental, may appertain to each upon the termination of the present war. During its future progress possession may be won or lost, which, as the case may be, should be comprehended or excluded by those terms.

In December, 1823, the then President of the United States, in his annual message, upon the opening of congress, announced, as the principle applicable to this continent, what ought hereafter to be insisted upon, that no European nation ought to be allowed to plant upon it new colonies. It was not proposed, by that principle, to disturb pre-existing European colonies already established in America; the principle looked forward, not backward. Several of the new American States have given intimation of their concurrence in the principle; and it is believed that it must command the assent of the impartial world.

Whilst America was, comparatively, a boundless waste, and an almost unpeopled desert, claimed and probably first settled by civilized men by the European powers who discovered it, if they could agree among themselves as to the limits of their respective territories, there was no American State to oppose, or whose rights could be affected by, the establishment of new colonies. But now the case is entirely altered; from the northeastern limits of the United States, in North America, to Cape Horn; in South America, on the Atlantic Ocean, with one or two inconsiderable exceptions; and from the same cape to the fifty-first degree of north latitude, in North America, on the Pacific Ocean, without any exception, the whole coasts and countries belong to sovereign resident American powers. There is, therefore, no chasm within the described limits in which a new European colony could be now introduced without violating territorial rights of some American State. An attempt to establish such a colony, and by its establishment to acquire sovereign rights for any European power, must be regarded as an inadmissible encroachment.

If any portion of the people of Europe, driven by oppression from their native country, or actuated by a desire of improving the condition of themselves or their posterity, wish to migrate to America, it will no doubt be the policy of all the new States, as it ever has been ours, to afford them an asylum, and, by naturalization, to extend to such of them as are worthy the same political privileges which are enjoyed by the native citizens. But this faculty of emigration can not be allowed to draw

after it the right of the European State, of which such emigrants shall have been natives, to acquire sovereign powers in America. The rule is good by which one, in judging of another's conduct or pretensions, is advised to reverse positions. What would Europe think of an American attempt to plant there an American colony? If its pride would be provoked and its powers exerted to repress and punish such a presumptuous act, it is high time that it should be recollected and felt that Americans, themselves descended from Europeans, have also their sensibilities and their rights.

To prevent any such new European colonies, and to warn Europe beforehand that they are not hereafter to be admitted, the President wishes you to propose a joint declaration of the several American States, each, however, acting for and binding only itself, that within the limits of their respective territories no new European colony will hereafter be allowed to be established. It is not intended to commit the parties who may concur in that declaration to the support of the particular boundaries which may be claimed by any one of them; nor is it proposed to commit them to a joint resistance against any future attempt to plant a new European colony. It is believed that the moral effect alone of a joint declaration, emanating from the authority of all the American nations, will effectually serve to prevent the effort to establish any such new colony; but if it should not, and the attempt should actually be made, it will then be time enough for the American powers to consider the propriety of negotiating between themselves, and, if necessary, of adopting in concert the measures which may be necessary to check and prevent it. The respect which is due to themselves, as well as to Europe, requires that they should rest in confidence that a declaration thus solemnly put forth will command universal deference. It will not be necessary to give to the declaration now proposed the form of a treaty. It may be signed by the several ministers of the congress, and promulgated to the world as evidence of the sense of all the American powers.

Among the subjects which must engage the consideration

of the congress, scarcely any has an interest so powerful and commanding as that which belongs to Cuba and Porto Rico, the former especially. Cuba, from its position, the present amount and character of its population, that which it is capable of sustaining, its vast though almost latent resources, is at present the great object of attraction both to Europe and America. No power, not even Spain itself, has in such a variety of forms so deep an interest in its future fortunes, whatever they may happen to be, as the United States. Our policy in regard to it is fully and frankly disclosed in the before-mentioned note to Mr. Middleton. It is there stated that for ourselves we desire no change in the possession or political condition of that island, and that we could not, with indifference, see it transferred from Spain to any other European power. We are unwilling to see its transfer or annexation to either of the new American States. If the present war should much longer continue there are three conditions, into some one of which that island may fall during its further progress, and all of them deserve the most particular and serious consideration. The first is its independence, resting at the close of the war upon its own unassisted resources to maintain that independence; secondly, its independence, with the guaranty of other powers, either of Europe or of America, or of both; and thirdly, its conquest and attachment to the dominions of the Republic of Colombia or Mexico. We will now examine each of those predicaments of the island in the order in which they have been stated.

(1) If Cuba had the ability within itself of maintaining an independent self-government against all assaults from without or within, we should prefer to see it in that state, because we desire the happiness of others as well as ourselves, and we believe that is, in the general, most likely to be secured by a local government springing directly from, and identified in feeling, interest, and sympathy with, the people to be governed. But a mere glance at the limited extent, moral condition, and discordant character of its population, must convince all of its incompetency, at present, to sustain self-government unaided by other powers. And if, at this premature period, an attempt at

independence should be so far attended with success as to break the connection with Spain, one portion of the inhabitants of the island, as well as their neighbors in the United States and in some other directions, would live in continual dread of those tragic scenes which were formerly exhibited in a neighboring island, the population of which would be tempted, by the very fact of that independence, to employ all the means which vicinity, similarity of origin, and sympathy could supply to foment and stimulate insurrection, in order to gain ultimate strength to their own cause.

(2) A guaranteed independence of Cuba, although it might relieve the island from the dangers which have been just noticed, would substitute others not less formidable, and which, it is believed, are almost insuperable. Who shall be the guarantying powers? Shall they be exclusively American or mixed, partly American and partly European? What shall be the amount of their respective contributions to the protecting force, military and naval, and to the other means necessary to uphold the local government? Who shall have the command of that force? Will not the guarantying powers not in command entertain continual apprehensions and jealousies of the commanding powers? The candid must own that these are perplexing questions; and that upon the whole, although all thought of that modification of independence should not, perhaps, be dismissed as absolutely inadmissible under any possible circumstances, it must be agreed to be one to which, if assent is ultimately yielded, it must be reluctantly, from a train of unforeseen and uncontrollable events.

(3) With respect to the conquest and annexation of the island to Colombia or Mexico, it should be remarked that, if that be attempted, the whole character of the present war will be entirely changed. Hitherto, on the part of the Republics, the contest has been for independence and self-government, and they have had, on their side, the good wishes and the friendly sympathies of a large portion of the world, and those especially of the people of the United States. But in the event of a military enterprise directed

against Cuba it will become a war of conquest. In such a war, whatever may be the result of that enterprise, the interests of other powers, now neutral, may be seriously affected, and they may be called upon to perform important duties which they may not be at liberty to neglect. The issue of such a war may have great influence upon the balance and stability of power in the West Indies. Nations of Europe may feel themselves required to interpose forcibly to arrest a course of events to which they can not be indifferent. If they should limit their interposition merely to the object of preventing any change in the existing state of things in respect to the islands, the United States, far from being under any pledge at present to oppose them might find themselves, contrary to their inclination, reluctantly drawn by a current of events to their side.

In considering such an enterprise as has been supposed, if it be undertaken, there ought to be an anxious and deliberate examination, first, into the means of Colombia and Mexico to accomplish the object; and, secondly, their power to preserve and defend the acquisition if made. We have not the data necessary to form a certain judgment on the first point. We ought to possess, to enable us to form such a judgment, a knowledge, first, of the force, military and naval, which the Republics can apply to the operation; secondly, that which Spain can exert in resistance; and, thirdly, what portion of the inhabitants of the island would take part on the one and on the other side of the belligerents. Although we have not this information in ample detail, we know that Spain is in actual possession, with a very considerable military force; that this force, recently much strengthened, occupies the Moro Castle, deemed almost impregnable, and other strongholds in the island; that, driven as she has been from the continent of America, all her means and all her efforts will now be concentrated on this most valuable of her remaining American possessions; that to this end she will apply her attention, which has been hitherto too much distracted by the multitude of her belligerent exertions in North and South America, exclusively to this most important point; that

to its succor she will gather up from her vast wreck the residue of her once powerful army in Europe and America; and that there is reason to believe that if she should not be openly assisted by any of the European powers she may receive from them covert but irresponsible aid.

With all these resources and favorable circumstances combined it must be admitted that the conquest of Cuba is very difficult, if not impracticable, without extensive and powerful means, both naval and military. But, secondly, do either Colombia or Mexico possess such means? We doubt it. They have both to create a marine. A single ship of the line, two frigates, and three or four vessels of a smaller grade, badly manned, compose the whole naval force of the United Mexican States. That of Colombia is not much greater nor better manned. But the means of transporting and defending during its voyages the military force necessary to achieve the conquest are absolutely indispensable. Nay, more, it would be in the last degree rash and imprudent to throw an army into Cuba unless the two Republics possessed and could retain a naval superiority, at least in the Gulf of Mexico, to provide for those contingencies which ought always to be anticipated in the vicissitudes of war. And, in the third place, it is well known that the inhabitants of Cuba are far from being united in favor of invasion, entertain great apprehensions as to their future safety in such an event, and that they especially dread an invasion from Colombia on account of the character of a portion of the troops of that Republic.

But, if all the difficulties were surmounted, and the conquest of the island was once effected, we should not be without continual fears of the instability of its future condition. The same want of naval power which would be felt in reducing it would be subsequently experienced in defending and preserving it. Neither Colombia nor Mexico is destined to be a first-rate naval power. They both (Mexico still more than Colombia) want an extent of sea-coast, bays, inlets, harbors—the nurseries of seamen—in short, all the essential elements of a powerful marine.

England, France, the Netherlands, Spain herself, when she shall, as at some no very distant day she must, recover from her present debility will, for a long time to come, if not forever, as naval powers outrank either Mexico or Colombia. A war with any one of those European nations would place Cuba in the hands of either of those two Republics at the most imminent hazard. It is impossible for the Government of the United States to close their eyes to the fact that, in the event of a military enterprise being prosecuted by the Republics against Cuba, the ships, the seamen, the cannon, and the other naval means necessary to conduct it will have been principally obtained in the United States. Although far from giving any countenance to the procurement of those supplies determined to maintain a faithful neutrality they have directed a strict enforcement of their laws; the fact, nevertheless, of their being collected within their ports subjects them to unfriendly and injurious suspicions. And they would see with much repugnance resources drawn from themselves applied to the accomplishment of an object to which their policy and their interests are opposed.

The President hopes that these considerations, enforced by such others as may present themselves to you, if they should not be deemed of sufficient weight to prevent altogether any invasion of Cuba, will at least dissuade from any rash or premature enterprise with inadequate or doubtful means. And it is required, by the frank and friendly relations which we most anxiously desire ever to cherish with the new Republics, that you should, without reserve, explicitly state that the United States have too much at stake in the fortunes of Cuba to allow them to see with indifference a war of invasion prosecuted in a desolating manner, or to see employed in the purposes of such a war one race of the inhabitants combating against another, upon principles and with motives that must inevitably lead, if not to the extermination of one party or the other, to the most shocking excesses. The humanity of the United States in respect to the weaker, and which in such a terrible struggle would probably be the suffering portion, and their duty to defend themselves against the con-

tagion of such near and dangerous examples, would constrain them, even at the hazard of losing the friendship, greatly as they value it, of Mexico and Colombia, to employ all the means necessary to their security.

If you should be unable to prevail on those Republics to renounce all the designs of invasion and conquest of Cuba and Porto Rico you will then exert your endeavors to induce them to suspend the execution of them until the result is known of the interposition which we are authorized to believe the late Emperor of Russia, and his allies, at the instance of the United States, have made to put an end to the war, and that which is herein stated to have been recently made at the instance of the Republic of Colombia. Such a suspension is due to Russia. It would be a deference to that great power which the reigning Emperor would not fail to appreciate and the value of which the new Republics might hereafter experience if, in this instance, the counsels which we have reason to believe have been given to Spain should not be followed. But there is much reason to hope that Spain will pause before she rejects them, and will see her true interest, as all the world sees it, on the side of peace; and the late events, the fall of the castles of St. Juan d'Ulloa and of Callao, especially, must have a powerful effect in urging her to terminate the war.

A cut or canal for purposes of navigation somewhere through the isthmus that connects the two Americas, to unite the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans, will form a proper subject of consideration at the congress. That vast object, if it should be ever accomplished, will be interesting, in a greater or less degree, to all parts of the world. But to this continent will probably accrue the largest amount of benefit from its execution; and to Colombia, Mexico, the Central Republic, Peru, and the United States, more than to any other of the American nations. What is to redound to the advantage of all America should be effected by common means and united exertions, and should not be left to the separate and unassisted efforts of any one power.

In the present limited state of our information as to the practicability and the probable expense of the object, it

would not be wise to do more than to make some preliminary arrangements. The best routes will be most likely found in the territory of Mexico or that of the Central Republic. The latter Republic made to this Government, on the 8th day of February of last year, in a note to which Mr. Canaz, its minister here, addressed to this Department (a copy of which is now furnished), a liberal offer, manifesting high and honorable confidence in the United States. The answer which the President instructed me to give (of which a copy is also now placed in your hands) could go no farther than to make suitable acknowledgments for the friendly overture and to assure the Central Republic that measures would be adopted to place the United States in the possession of the information necessary to enlighten their judgment. If the work should ever be executed so as to admit of the passage of sea vessels from ocean to ocean, the benefits of it ought not to be exclusively appropriated to any one nation, but should be extended to all parts of the globe upon the payment of a just compensation or reasonable tolls. What is most desirable at present is to possess the data necessary to form a correct judgment of the practicability and the probable expense of the undertaking on the routes which offer the greatest facilities.

Measures may have been already executed or be in progress to acquire the requisite knowledge. You will inquire particularly as to what has been done or may have been designed by Spain or by either of the new States, and obtain all other information that may be within your reach, to solve this interesting problem. You will state to the ministers of the other American powers that the Government of the United States takes a lively interest in the execution of the work, and will see, with peculiar satisfaction, that it lies within the compass of reasonable human efforts. Their proximity and local information render them more competent than the United States are at this time to estimate the difficulties to be overcome. You will receive and transmit to this Government any proposals that may be made or plans that may be suggested for its joint execution, with assurances that they

will be attentively examined, with an earnest desire to reconcile the interests and views of all the American nations.

It will probably be proposed as a fit subject of consideration for the powers represented at Panama, whether Hayti ought to be recognized by them as an independent State, and whether any decision taken in that respect should be joint or each power be left to pursue the dictates of its own policy.

The President is not prepared now to say that Hayti ought to be recognized as an independent sovereign power. Considering the nature and the manner of the establishment of the governing power in that island and the little respect which is there shown to other races than the African, the question of acknowledging its independence was far from being unattended with difficulty prior to the late arrangement which, it is understood, has been made between France and Hayti. According to that arrangement, if we possess correct information of its terms, the parent country acknowledges a nominal independence in the colony, and, as a part of the price of this acknowledgment, Hayti agrees to receive forever the produce of France at a rate of duty one-half below that which is exacted in the ports of Hayti from all other nations. This is a restriction upon its freedom of action to which no sovereign power, really independent, would ever subscribe. There is no equivalent, on the side of France, in the favorable terms on which the produce of Hayti is received in the ports of France. If the colonial relation may be correctly described to be the monopoly of the commerce of the colony, enjoyed by the parent State, it can not be affirmed that Hayti has not voluntarily, by that arrangement, consented to its revival. There was no necessity urging her to agree to it, however she may have been called upon, by just and equitable considerations, to indemnify the former individual proprietors for the loss of their property in St. Domingo. Prior to the conclusion of that arrangement Hayti enjoyed, no matter how established, a sort of independence in fact. By that arrangement she has voluntarily, and in a most essential particu-

lar, in respect to all foreign nations, changed her character, and has become, to say the least, not an independent State. Under the actual circumstances of Hayti, the President does not think that it would be proper, at this time, to recognize it as a new State. The acknowledgment, or declining to acknowledge, the independence of Hayti is not a measure of sufficient magnitude to require that, in either of the alternatives, it should be the result of a concert between all the American powers.

You will avail yourselves of all suitable occasions to press upon the ministers of the other American States the propriety of a free toleration of religion within their respective limits. The framers of our constitution of government have not only refrained from incorporating with the State any peculiar form of religious worship, but they have introduced an express prohibition upon the power of our Congress to make any law respecting an establishment of religion. With us none are denied the right which belongs to all—to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. In our villages and cities at the same hour, often in the same square, and by the same kind of summons, congregations of the pious and devout of every religious denomination are gathered together in their respective temples, and after performing according to their own solemn convictions their religious duties quietly return and mix together in the cheerful fulfillment of their domestic and social obligations.

Not unfrequently the heads of the same family, appertaining to different sects, resort to two different churches to offer up in their own chosen way their orisons, each bringing back to the common household stock the moral instruction which both have derived from their respective pastors. In the United States we experience no inconvenience from the absence of any religious establishment and the universal toleration which happily prevails. We believe that none would be felt by other nations who should allow equal religious freedom. It would be deemed rash to assert that civil liberty and an established church can not exist together in the same State; but it may be safely affirmed that history affords no example of their

union where the religion of the State has not only been established, but exclusive.

If any of the American powers think proper to introduce into their systems an established religion, although we should regret such a determination, we should have no right to make a formal complaint unless it should be exclusive. As the citizens of any of the American nations have a right when here, without hindrance, to worship the Deity according to the dictates of their own consciences, our citizens ought to be allowed the same privileges when, prompted by business or inclination, they visit any of the American States. You are accordingly authorized to propose a joint declaration, to be subscribed by the ministers of all or any of the powers represented, that within their several limits there shall be free toleration of religious worship. And you will also, in any treaty or treaties that you may conclude, endeavor to have inserted an article stipulating the liberty of religious worship in the territories of the respective parties. When this great interest is placed on the basis of such a solemn declaration and such binding treaty stipulations it will have all reasonable and practical security. And this new guaranty will serve to give strength to the favorable dispositions of enlightened men in the various American States against the influence of bigotry and superstition. The declaration on this subject in which you are authorized to unite, as well as that directed against European colonization within the territorial limits of any of the American nations hereinbefore mentioned, does no more than announce, in respect to the United States, the existing state of their institutions and laws. Neither contracts any new obligation on their part nor makes any alteration as to them in the present condition of things. The President being the organ through which this Government communicates with foreign powers, and being charged with the duty of taking care that the laws be faithfully executed, is competent to authorize both declarations.

Questions of boundary and other matters of controversy among the new American powers will probably present themselves, and of which an amicable adjustment

may be attempted at the congress. Your impartial and disinterested position in relation to any such disputes may occasion you to be called upon for your advice and umpirage. You will, whenever your assistance may be required to settle those controversies, manifest a willingness to give your best counsel and advice; and, if it should be desired, you will also serve as arbitrator. A dispute is understood to have existed, and to remain yet unsettled, between the United Mexican States and the Central Republic, in relation to the province of Chiapa. The President wishes you to give it a particular investigation, and, if justice shall be found on the side of the Republic of the Center, you will lend to its cause all the countenance and support which you can give, without actually committing the United States. This act of friendship on our part is due as well on account of the high degree of respect and confidence which that Republic has, on several occasions, displayed toward the United States as from its comparative weakness.

Finally, I have it in charge to direct your attention to the subject of the forms of government and to the cause of free institutions on this continent. The United States never have been, and are not now, animated by any spirit of propagandism. They prefer to all other forms of government, and are perfectly contented with, their own confederacy. Allowing no foreign interference either in the formation or in the conduct of their government, they are equally scrupulous in refraining from all interference in the original structure or subsequent interior movement of the governments of other independent nations. Indifferent they are not, because they can not be indifferent to the happiness of any nation. But the interest which they are accustomed to cherish in the wisdom or the folly which may mark the course of other powers in the adoption and execution of their political systems is rather a feeling of sympathy than a principle of action. In the present instance they would conform to their general habit of cautiously avoiding to touch on a subject so delicate; but that there is reason to believe that one European power, if not more, has been active both in Colombia and Mexico, if not

elsewhere, with a view to subvert, if possible, the existing forms of free government there established, to substitute the monarchical in place of them, and to plant on the newly-erected thrones European princes.

In both instances it is due to our sister Republics and otherwise proper to add that the design met with a merited and prompt repulse; but the spirit which dictated it never slumbers, and it may be renewed. The plausible motive held out, and which may be repeated, is that of a recognition of the independence of the new States, with assurance that the adoption of monarchical institutions will conciliate the great powers of Europe. The new Republics being sovereign and independent States, and exhibiting this capacity for self-government at home, being in fact acknowledged by the United States and Great Britain, and having entered into treaties and other national compacts with foreign powers, have a clear right to be recognized. From consideration of policy the act of recognition has been delayed by some of the European States, but it can not much longer be postponed, and they will shortly find themselves required to make the concession from a regard to their own interest, if they would not from a sense of justice. But their recognition is not worth buying, and nothing would be more dishonorable than that the Republic should purchase, by mean compliances, the formal acknowledgment of that independence which has been actually won by so much valor and by so many sacrifices. Having stood out against all apprehensions of an attempt of the combined powers of Europe to subdue them, it would be base and pusillanimous now, when they are in the undisturbed enjoyment of the greatest of human blessings, to yield to the secret practices or open menaces of any European power.

It is not anticipated that you will have any difficulty in dissuading them from entertaining or deliberating on such propositions. You will, however, take advantage of every fit opportunity to strengthen their political faith and to inculcate the solemn duty of every nation to reject all foreign dictation in its domestic concerns. You will also, at all proper times, manifest an readiness to satisfy inquirers as to

the theory and practical operations of our Federal and State constitutions of government, and to illustrate and explain the manifold blessings which the people of the United States have enjoyed and are continuing to enjoy under them.

The war which has recently broken out between the Republic of La Plata and the Emperor of Brazil is a cause of most sincere regret. To that war the United States will be strictly neutral. The parties to it should feel themselves urged no less by all the interests which belong to the recent establishment of their independence than by principles of humanity to bring it to a speedy close. One of the first measures which has been adopted for its prosecution by the Emperor of the Brazils is to declare the whole coast of his enemy, including entirely one and a part of the other shore of the La Plata, and extending as far as Cape Horn, in a state of blockade. That he has not the requisite naval force to render valid and to maintain, according to the principles of the public law, such a sweeping blockade is quite evident. Persistence in it must injuriously affect the interest of neutrals in the pursuit of their rightful commerce, if it should involve no other consequences to them.

You will avail yourselves of every proper opportunity to represent to the parties how desirable it is to put an end to the war, and with what satisfaction the United States would see the blessings of peace restored. And it will occur to you, whilst remonstrating against any belligerent practices which are not strictly warranted, to draw from the fact of the Brazilian blockade fresh support to the great maritime principles to which you have been instructed to endeavor to obtain the sanction of the American nations.

I have the honor to be, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

H. CLAY.

RICHARD C. ANDERSON and
JOHN SERGEANT, Esqrs.,

*Appointed Envoys Extraordinary
and Ministers Plenipotentiary of the
United States to the Congress at Panama.*

Supplementary Instructions.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, March 16, 1827.

GENTLEMEN : By the appointment of Mr. Poinsett, made by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, as one of the ministers of the United States to the Congress of the American nations expected to assemble at Tacubaya, you have become associated in that mission. Mr. Poinsett, it is therefore anticipated, will be disposed cordially to co-operate in the performance of those duties which have been enjoined by the instructions heretofore addressed to Mr. Anderson and Mr. Sergeant, or to either of them so far as they remain to be executed. And the President relies with great confidence on the zeal and ability of both of you, to promote in this important service the interest of our country.

The instructions addressed to Messrs. Anderson and Sergeant have been sufficiently explicit as to the nature of the assembly. According to our views it is to be considered as entirely diplomatic. No one of the represented nations is to be finally bound by any treaty, convention, or compact to which it does not freely consent according to all the forms of its own particular Government. With that indispensable qualification, the mode of conducting the conferences and deliberations of the ministers is left to your sound discretion, keeping in view the observations which have been made in your general instructions.

I am induced again to advert to this topic in consequence of a letter from the Colombian minister, under date the 20th of November last (a copy of which is herewith transmitted,) from the tenor of which it might probably be inferred as his opinion that a majority of voices in the assembly, on any given proposition, is to be decisive. We have not yet obtained copies of the treaties concluded at Panama which are mentioned in that note. To these we have a right, and we shall continue to expect them.

We have no later information than that contained in Mr. Sergeant's dispatch No. 1, under date the 19th of January last, and its accompaniments, as to the probable

time of the convention of the ministers of the several powers. The course which he adopted of announcing himself to such of them as had arrived at Mexico is approved. From the answers he received to his note it appears that eight months, from the 15th of July last, were specified as the period within which the treaties concluded at Panama were to be ratified, and when it was expected the congress would again meet. That term expired on the 15th instant. It is probable, therefore, that about this time the ministers of the various powers will assemble at Tacubaya. But if they should not meet before the 1st of June next, Mr. Sergeant may, after that day, return to the United States without further detention. In the event of his return Mr. Poinsett will consider the duties of the joint mission as devolving on him alone; and should the congress assemble subsequent to that period, and Mr. Sergeant should avail himself of the permission now given him to leave Mexico, Mr. Poinsett will attend the congress in behalf of the United States.

The intelligence which has reached us from many points as to the ambitious projects and views of Bolivar, has abated the strong hopes which were once entertained of the favorable results of the Congress of the American nations. If that intelligence be well founded (as there is much reason to apprehend), it is probable that he does not look upon the congress in the same interesting light that he formerly did. Still the objects which are contemplated by your instructions are so highly important that the President thinks their accomplishment ought not to be abandoned whilst any hope remains. Their value does not entirely depend upon the forms of the governments which may concur in their establishment, but exist at all times and under every form of government.

You will, in all your conversations and intercourse with the other ministers, endeavor to strengthen them in the faith of free institutions and to guard them against any ambitious schemes and plans, from whatever quarter they may proceed, tending to subvert liberal systems.

Mr. Rochester, having been appointed chargé d'Affaires to Guatemala, Mr. John Speed Smith, of Kentucky,

formerly a member of the House of Representatives, is appointed secretary to your mission. In the event of his acceptance (of which advice has not yet reached the Department), he is expected to proceed from Kentucky, by the way of New Orleans, to join you.

You are at liberty to detain the bearer of this letter a reasonable time to convey any dispatches you may wish to forward to this Government. If you should not wish him to remain at Mexico for that purpose, after stopping about two weeks to recover from the fatigue of the journey and voyage, he will return to the United States with such dispatches as you may confide to him.

I am, with great respect, your obedient servant,
H. CLAY.

MESSRS. JOHN SERGEANT and J. R. POINSETT,
*Appointed Envoys Extraordinary and
Ministers Plenipotentiary to Tacubaya, etc.*

HISTORICAL NOTES
ON THE
GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE AMERICAN
REPUBLICS,
COMMONLY KNOWN
AS THE "CONGRESS OF PANAMA,"
AND
THE OTHER ASSEMBLIES HELD, OR INTENDED TO BE
HELD, UNTIL 1864,
BY
JOSÉ IGNACIO RODRIGUEZ.

The two principal purposes which the genius of Bolivar wanted to accomplish through an International American Assembly at Panama, and which he himself called the "cardinal aims" of his aspirations, were:

The establishment of certain fixed principles for securing the preservation of peace between the nations of America, and the concurrence of all those nations to defend their common cause, each one contributing thereto upon the basis of its population.

The letter which he wrote when at the head of the Republic of Peru, dated Lima, December 7, 1824, inviting the governments of America to send representatives to Panama in order to hold the Conference, which he thought to be of such great importance, contains no indication that the United States were to be invited to take part in that meeting. Whether because Bolivar was fully aware of the interest which at that time prevailed in the United States of preserving and perpetuating, if possible, the African slavery,* a spirit which was fully at variance with

* A convention had been made in 1824 between Colombia and the United States for the suppression of the slave trade; but it was rejected by the Senate. (Folio edition of the Foreign Relations of the United States, vol. 5, pp. 729-735.)

his own, and with the ideas proclaimed in South America, where slavery had been abolished since 1813, or because of other reasons (a matter which needs not to be discussed at present), his invitation was extended only to Colombia, Mexico, Central America, the United Provinces of Buenos Ayres, Chili, and Brazil.

As it appears from the records, the invitation to the Government of the United States was made only by the Governments of Colombia and Mexico, which claimed to have conceived, at the same time as Bolivar, the idea of causing a Congress of this kind to convene, and thought themselves, therefore, entitled to shape its organization.

The learned author of the "Notes upon the Foreign Treaties of the United States," appended to the official edition of the "Treaties and Conventions concluded between the United States of America and other Powers since July 4, 1776," has inserted under the head of "Colombia," page 1273, the following paragraphs:

The Congress of Panama in 1826 was planned by Bolivar to secure the union of Spanish America against Spain. It had originally military as well as political purposes. In the military objects the United States could take no part; and indeed the necessity for such objects ceased when the full effects of Mr. Monroe's declarations were felt. *But the pacific objects of the Congress, the establishment of close and cordial relations of amity, the creation of commercial intercourse, of interchange of political thought, and of habits of good understanding between the new Republics and the United States and their respective citizens, might perhaps have been attained, had the administration of that day received the united support of the country.* Unhappily they were lost; the new States were removed from the sympathetic and protecting influence of our example, and *their commerce, which we might then have secured, passed into other hands, unfriendly to the United States.*

In looking back upon the Panama Congress from this length of time, it is easy to understand why the earnest and patriotic men who endeavored to crystallize an American system for this continent failed.

* * * One of the questions proposed for discussion in the Conference was "The consideration of the means to be adopted for the entire abolition of the African slave-trade," to which proposition the committee of the United States Senate of that day replied: "The United States have not certainly the right, and ought never to feel the inclination, to dictate to others who may differ with them upon the subject; nor do the committee see the expediency of insulting other States, with whom we

are maintaining relations of perfect amity, by ascending the moral chair and proclaiming from thence mere abstract principles, of the rectitude of which each nation enjoys the perfect right of deciding for itself." The same committee also alluded to the possibility that the condition of the islands of Cuba and Porto Rico, still the possessions of Spain, and still slave-holding, might be made the subject of discussion and of contemplated action by the Panama Congress. "If ever the United States (they said) permit themselves to be associated with these nations in any general Congress assembled for the discussion of common plans in any way affecting European interests, they will, by such act, not only deprive themselves of the ability they now possess of rendering useful assistance to the other American States, but also produce other effects prejudicial to their interests.*

It did not, by any means, enter into the plans of Bolivar to consolidate the whole of Spanish America into a single nation. On the contrary, it appears from his famous "prophetic letter" that he considered such union as an impracticable scheme, owing to the "diversities of climate and geographical situation of the different Spanish Republics, the immense distances which separate them from each other, their often conflicting interests, and other characteristic differences."

But he wanted some strong bond of union to be created among them, which should preserve peace in this continent, and afford protection to its inhabitants against foreign aggression:

How beautiful it would be [he said in the letter referred to] for the Isthmus of Panama to be for our nations what the Corinthian Isthmus was for the Greeks. Would to God that some day we might enjoy the happiness of having there an august Congress of representatives of the Republics, Kingdoms, and Empires of America to deal with the high interests of peace and of war with the nations of the other three parts of the world.

In another letter, which he wrote to General Santander a few months after the invitation had been extended to the Governments of the Spanish American nations, he spoke of the United States, and of the advantages of an alliance with them; but showed, however, no desire that they should join the Congress. The Liberator thought that the danger of a desperate struggle between monarchical prin-

*Sen. Ex. Doc. 112, second session Forty-first Congress, 7, 8.

ciples and the principle of popular government, or, as he said, "the cause of the thrones and the cause of liberty," was then impending, and he believed that "the only means, if any, to meet that issue successfully was to cause a great Congress of plenipotentiaries to meet at the isthmus, give to it a vigorous organization, under a well-defined and comprehensive plan, with entire independence of the States represented by it, provide it with an army of at least one hundred thousand men, and a federal navy, and thus making it capable of conducting diplomatic affairs in the nice European fashion, and of *securing an intimate and close alliance with England and North America.*"

Bolivar's "prophetic letter" above referred to is one of those documents which at once command admiration. As before stated, it was written in 1815, when the future Liberator was living the life of an exile, and struggling with all the hardships of extreme poverty at the city of Kingston, Jamaica, and no one could imagine that the scarcely initiated rebellion against the power of Spain could succeed in America.*

He recognized that at such an earlier date as that at which he was writing it was "most difficult to foresee the future destinies of the provinces of Spanish America, speak of the political principles which should prevail in them, or indulge in any speculation about the nature of the government which they would adopt for themselves." But in spite of such difficulties he made his predictions, certainly not intended for publicity, but exclusively addressed to the bosom friend with whom he corresponded, with such a strength and accuracy as to fully justify the insertion in this paper of some of his statements.

"The States of the Isthmus, from Panama to Guatemala," he said, "will form perhaps a Union. That magnificent portion of America, situate between the two oceans, will be in due time the emporium of the universe. Its canals will shorten the distance which separate the nations of the earth, and will render the commercial ties which

*Fragments of this letter have been reprinted by General O'Leary in Vol. I, of his Memoirs (Narration), page 291, and the following.

connect Europe, America and Asia, closer and stronger. The yieldings of the four parts of the world will be brought as a tribute to that happy section of the world. Perhaps the true capital of the earth might be established there, and be made exactly what Constantine desired that Byzance should be.†

In speaking of Chili, Bolivar said:

The Kingdom of Chili is called by nature, by its situation, by the habits and customs of its inhabitants, and by the example of its neighbors the proud republicans of Arauco, to enjoy the blessings of just laws and Republican institutions. If any Republic is to last long in America, I am inclined to think that that one will be Chili. The spirit of liberty has never been extinguished there, and the vices of Europe and Asia will never come, or will come very late, to corrupt the habits of that remote corner of the universe. Its territory is limited, and always will be free from the infectious contact of the rest of mankind; its laws and usages will not be easily changed; the uniformity of its political and religious ideas will be preserved; and in a word, Chili will be free.

Peru, on the contrary, has two elements which are thoroughly inimical to any kind of just and liberal system of government—gold and slaves. The former corrupts all things; the latter is itself already corrupted and rotten.*

In the year 1824, almost at the very moment in which the Spanish power in America was receiving its fatal blow at Ayacucho, when Bolivar was at the head of the Republic of Peru and at the height of his glory, the occasion seemed to him to be propitious for the consummation of his favorite idea, and thereupon he issued from Lima the following circular:

LIMA, *December 7, 1824.*

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND: After fifteen years of sacrifices devoted to the liberty of America to secure a system of guaranties that in peace and war shall be the shield of our new destiny, it is time the interests and relations uniting the American Republics, formerly Spanish colonies, should have a fundamental basis that shall perpetuate, if possible, those Governments.

To initiate that system, and concentrate the power of this great political body, implies the exercise of a sublime authority, capable of directing the policy of our Governments, whose influence should maintain uniformity of principles, and whose name alone should put an end to our quarrels.

**Ibid.*, page 305.

Such a respectable authority can exist only in an assembly of plenipotentiaries, appointed by each of our Republics, and called together under the auspices of the victory obtained by our arms over the Spanish power.

Profoundly imbued with these ideas, I invited, in 1822, as President of the Republic of Colombia, the Governments of Mexico, Peru, Chili, and Buenos Ayres to form a confederation, and hold on the Isthmus of Panama, or some other point agreeable to the majority, a congress of plenipotentiaries from each State "that should act as a council in great conflicts, to be appealed to in case of common danger, and be a faithful interpreter of public treaties, when difficulties should arise, and conciliate, in short, all our differences."

On the 6th of June of said year, the Government of Peru concluded a treaty of alliance and confederation with the Colombian plenipotentiary. By said treaty both parties bound themselves to interpose their good offices with the Governments of America lately Spanish, so that, all entering into the same agreement, the general congress of the confederates could be held. A similar treaty with Mexico was concluded on the 3d of October, 1823, by the Colombian envoy to that country; and there are strong reasons for hoping that other Governments will also adopt a policy dictated by their higher interests.

Longer to defer the general Congress of the Plenipotentiaries of the Republics that in fact are already allied awaiting the accession of the others, would be to deprive ourselves of the advantages which that assembly will produce from its very incipency.

These advantages are largely increased, if we but contemplate the spectacle that the political world, and particularly that of the European continent, presents to us.

A reunion of the plenipotentiaries of Mexico, Colombia, and Peru would be indefinitely delayed, if it should not be brought on by one of the same contracting parties, unless the time and place for the carrying out of this great object be determined by another and a special convention.

Considering the difficulties and delays presented by the distance separating us, together with other grave motives the general interest suggests, determines me to take this step with a view of bringing about an immediate meeting of our plenipotentiaries, while the rest of the Governments may conclude the preliminaries already gone through by us concerning the appointment and commissioning of their representatives.

With respect to the time of the opening of the Congress, I make bold to think that no obstacle can oppose its verification within six months from this date; and I shall also go so far as to flatter myself that the ardent desire animating all Americans to exalt the power of the world of Columbus will diminish the obstacles and delays that the ministerial preparations demand, and the distance separating the capitals of each state and the central point of the meeting. It seems that if the world

should have to choose its capital, the Isthmus of Panama would be selected for this grand destiny, located as it is in the center of the globe, having on one side Asia, and on the other Africa and Europe. The Isthmus of Panama has been tendered for this purpose in existing treaties by the Colombian Government. The Isthmus is equally distant from the extremities of the continent, and on this account ought to be the provisional seat for the first meeting of the confederates.

Yielding myself to these considerations, I am seriously inclined to send to Panama the delegates from this Republic immediately upon having the honor of receiving the desired reply to this circular. Nothing, certainly, can so realize the ardent desire of my heart as the agreement I hope for on the part of the confederated Governments to accomplish this august act of America.

Should your Excellency not adhere to this I foresee great delays and injuries, at a time, too, when the movement of the world hurries everything on, and may accelerate to our harm.

The first conferences between the plenipotentiaries once held, the seat of the Congress, as well as its powers, can be solemnly determined by the majority, and then everything will have been realized.

The day our plenipotentiaries make the exchanges of their powers will stamp in the diplomatic history of the world an immortal epoch.

When, after a hundred centuries, posterity shall search for the origin of our public law, and shall remember the compacts that solidified its destiny, they will finger with respect the protocols of the Isthmus. In them they will find the plan of the first alliances that shall sketch the mark of our relations with the universe. What, then, shall be the Isthmus of Corinth compared with that of Panama?

God preserve Your Excellency,
Your great and good friend,

SIMON BOLIVAR.

JOSÉ S. CARRIÓN,
Minister of Government and Foreign Relations.

The first answer to this letter came from Colombia, and it was as follows:

His Excellency General SIMON BOLIVAR, etc.

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND AND FAITHFUL ALLY: I have read with the greatest pleasure your very estimable note dated at the city of Lima on the 7th of December ultimo, setting forth your earnest desire to see the States of America, which were Spanish, meeting in an assembly within six months, if possible.

It is for me extremely satisfactory to assure you that I, being animated by the same sentiments, have taken at once all the necessary measures to hasten the accomplishment of an event of such great importance for our safety and future happiness. The necessities of the new American States, their position with regard to Europe, and the

stubbornness of the King of Spain in not recognizing them as sovereign powers, demand from us, and from our dear allies, now more than ever, the adoption of a system of political combinations, which shall nip in the bud any attempt however to involve us in new calamities. The dangerous principle of intervention that some cabinets of the Old World have adopted, and carried on so earnestly in our own days, demands on our part serious consideration, not only because of its tendency to encourage the almost extinguished hopes of our obstinate enemies, but also on account of the obnoxious consequences which the introduction in America of a rule, so subversive to the sovereign rights of the people, will necessarily produce. It seems to me, nevertheless, that however great our desire may be to lay, at least, the foundations of this work, the most wonderful ever undertaken and witnessed after the fall of the Roman Empire, our common interest requires the assembly of plenipotentiaries herein referred to to meet at the Isthmus of Panama, with the concurrence of all or at least the greatest part of the American governments, whether belligerents or neutral, as they all are interested in resisting the alleged right of intervention, of which some powers of the south of Europe have already been made the victims.

In order to secure this concurrence, instructions have been sent, under date of the 15th of July ultimo, to our chargé d'affaires at Buenos Ayres, directing him to make efforts to persuade that Government to send plenipotentiaries to the assembly at Panama, although the steps taken in that direction in 1822 proved unsuccessful. We have also waited with the greatest anxiety for the ratification of our treaty of alliance and perpetual federation with the State of Chili, of which no information whatever has been yet received. And it is probable that the sessions of the present legislature will be closed without completing a similar compact with the Provinces of Guatemala, which are represented at this Capital by a minister, and whose recognition we have withheld through considerations of respect to our faithful ally, the Republic of Mexico. I therefore entertain the hope that the assembly of the American nations will consist of representatives of the Republics of Colombia, Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, and even Chili and Buenos Ayres, if, as it is probable, the policy of the latter country becomes more in harmony with ours, after the installation of the Congress of the United Provinces of the River Plata.

In regard to the United States I have thought it advisable to invite them to join us in the august assembly of Panama, as I am firmly persuaded that none among the allies will fail to see with satisfaction those sincere and enlightened friends take part in our deliberations upon subjects referring to our common interest. The instructions which on this matter have been transmitted to our envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in Washington, will make you acquainted in full with the reasons which induced me to take this step.

The Government of Colombia, will with great pleasure, within four months to be counted from the present day, appoint two plenipoten-

tiaries, who shall represent it at the Isthmus of Panama; and will give them instructions to meet the plenipotentiaries of Peru, and enter with them immediately into such preliminary arrangements as may be required for the opening of the General Assembly, which perhaps may take place on the 1st of October of the present year. For the purpose of facilitating this result, I dare to venture the following suggestions: First, that the Governments of Colombia and Peru empower their plenipotentiaries to hold preparatory conferences at the Isthmus of Panama, and enter into direct correspondence with the secretaries of foreign relations, of Mexico, Guatemala, Chili and Buenos Ayres and urge them to send without any loss of time, plenipotentiaries of those Republics to the General Assembly. Second, that the plenipotentiaries of Colombia and Peru be given full liberty to select in the Isthmus of Panama such locality as they may deem to be the best, owing to its sanitary conditions, for the holding of the preparatory conferences. Third, that upon the meeting at the Isthmus of Panama of the plenipotentiaries of Colombia, Peru, Mexico and Guatemala, or at least of three of the said Republics, power be given to them to appoint, by agreement, the day of the opening of the General Assembly. Fourth, that the General Assembly of the Confederate States be given, in the same way, full liberty to select within the Isthmus of Panama the place most suitable, on account of its sanitary conditions, for the holding of its sessions. Fifth, that the plenipotentiaries of Colombia and Peru be instructed not to leave the Isthmus of Panama for any reason whatever, after the opening of the preparatory conferences, but remain there until the General Assembly of the Confederate States is open, and its sessions are terminated.

I hope that these suggestions will show you how vivid is the interest that the Republic of Colombia feels toward seeing the great designs of Divine Providence accomplished in our beautiful hemisphere. I ask God fervently to keep you in His holy guard.

Given, signed by my hand, and countersigned in the City of Bogotá, on the 6th of February of 1825, and the 15th of the Independence of Colombia.

F. DE P. SANTANDER.

PEDRO GUAL.

Secretary of Foreign Relations.

Then came the answer from Mexico in the following terms:

PALACE OF THE GOVERNMENT AT THE CITY OF MEXICO,
February 23, 1825.

His Excellency the Liberator Simon Bolivar, etc.:

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND: Your communication of December 7 ultimo, relative to your great project of causing an assembly of plenipotentiaries of the American Republics to convene for the purpose of

discussing principles affecting their interests and relations, has been for me a source of great satisfaction; much the more so, as I, resting on the same principles as you have set forth, and animated by the same wishes you express, had already in my mind to take the initiative by sending an envoy to you to discuss the same subject and suggest the same method as you propose. The fact that the ratification by the Government of Colombia of the treaty of October 3, 1823, has not been received, and that Mexico has not entered with the other nations of this continent, formerly Spanish colonies, into agreements of the same kind as that treaty, is not an obstacle against either extending or accepting the invitation to all the Governments to meet at the desired Congress, since the respective plenipotentiaries may be sent clothed with sufficient authority to negotiate treaties, and make them the first subject of the deliberations of the assembly.

You find yourself in the best possible circumstances to extend this invitation to the other Governments, because you are in the center of the Republics of South America, and can easily attend to the prompt sending of the plenipotentiaries to the place of meeting, a place which in my opinion must be by all means Panama. In regard to the time in which the Congress should open its sessions, I had thought of suggesting the 1st of November, taking into consideration the distances and the difficulties attending the travel of the plenipotentiaries; but if you think, as it seems, that the meeting can take place before, I have no objection to it; on the contrary, I will most earnestly indorse your views and cause the Mexican plenipotentiary to start as soon as you give me the proper notice.

As I am persuaded that the cause of independence and liberty does not belong exclusively to the Republics which were Spanish colonies, but that it is also the cause of the United States of the North, I have directed the Mexican Minister there to make a suggestion to that effect to the President of that country, so as to enable him to send his envoys, if so wishes, to that assembly.

I have the high honor to answer in this way to your above-mentioned note; and I avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate you directly for your triumphs at Peru, where you have given the last blow to the Spanish rule in America.

Your great and good friend,

GUADALUPE VICTORIA.

The Republic of Chili, although never represented at the Assembly, accepted the invitation in the following terms :

SANTIAGO DE CHILE, *July 4, 1825.*

His Excellency the CHIEF MAGISTRATE OF THE REPUBLIC OF PERU:

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND: The Director of the Republic of Chili has received with particular satisfaction the note of Your Excellency inviting this Government to send plenipotentiaries to the Isthmus of

Panama, to join there those sent by the other States of America in the General Assembly called upon to consider the important subjects which your note describes.

The Director can assure you, in answer, that his sublime project has been long ago in his mind, and occupied his attention. He is fully persuaded that America, after having secured her liberty at the cost of so many sacrifices, can not render that liberty permanent, or secure stability for her new institutions, unless through the instrumentality of such an Assembly. The fulfillment of this plan will largely contribute towards securing for our new nations the respect of Europe, and causing her to see the majesty and strength of our Republics. Isolation may make us appear weak and small; but union will render us a most respectable body, with power enough to check ambitious pretensions, and intimidate Spain.

So it is, that the wise suggestions made in your note, on this laudable subject, have caused the Director to be still more persuaded than he had been before of the urgent necessity that said Assembly meet at the earliest possible time.

But even if this Government were not animated by the feelings above explained, it would find itself bound by duty to comply with your wishes, because of the solemn treaty of friendship and alliance of December 23, 1822, between Chili and Peru.

It is unfortunate, however, that an obstacle presents itself, just at this moment, which the Government can not overcome, for the prompt accomplishment of this idea. That obstacle depends upon the fact that no legislative authority is as yet in existence to examine the bases suggested by the Colombian Government for the guidance of the plenipotentiaries in the said Assembly. But the Director flatters himself with the hope that the National Congress, which will soon meet, will devote its very first sessions to the discussion of this great subject. The Director assures you beforehand, that as soon as said Congress meet, which will be at the latest within two months, he will have special care in submitting this matter to its consideration, and will earnestly co-operate, by all means in his possession, to the speedy appointment of plenipotentiaries on the part of Chili, and the accomplishment of an idea so utterly important for Chili and the whole of America.

The Director of Chili avails himself of this opportunity to renew the expressions of his most distinguished considerations.

RAMON FREIRE.

JUAN DE DIOS VIAL DEL RIO,
Secretary of Foreign Relations.

Brazil and the United Provinces of the River Plata did not send plenipotentiaries to Panama; but their respective Governments substantially indorsed the Liberator's idea.

The Chevalier de Janeiro, Brazilian Ambassador in

London, wrote to Señor Hurtado, the Colombian Minister at the same Court, under date of October 30, 1825, as follows:

I comply with a pleasant duty in informing you that the Emperor, my master, before whom I laid your note of the 7th of June ultimo, has been pleased to accept the formal invitation that the Colombian Government extends to Brazil to join the other States of America in the Assembly to be held at Panama, to settle in common their mutual relations and their respective political and commercial systems.

He said, however, that the Brazilian plenipotentiaries could not be sent until after the negotiations relative to the recognition of the Empire were terminated, and that the action of said plenipotentiaries had to be in keeping with the *strict neutrality which the Emperor had decided to maintain between the belligerent States of America and Spain*.*

The Buenos Ayres Government recommended its Congress, on August 16, 1825, to pass a bill authorizing the National Executive "to enter into a defensive alliance with the American States which formerly were Spanish, for supporting their independence and defending them against Spain or any other foreign power."

The last clause of said bill reads as follows:

The National Executive shall in due time send one or more plenipotentiaries to the Assembly of plenipotentiaries called by the Governments of Colombia and Peru to convene for the purposes of this bill.†

The letters printed elsewhere in this volume, addressed to Mr. Clay, Secretary of the United States, on November 2 and November 3, 1825, respectively, the former by Don Jose Maria Salazar, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Colombia in Washington, and the latter by Don Pablo Obregon, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Mexico in the same Capital, and the answers given to them by Mr. Clay, as well as the Executive and other documents also printed in this Appendix, will give a full idea of what was done by the United States in respect to this scheme of unification of American ideas and interests.

* O'Leary's Mémoires, Vol. XXIV, page 287.

† *Ibid.*, page 267.

In Europe, where the purposes and intents of this Congress had been, if possible, magnified, both by the writings of liberal leaders and advocates of benevolence and popular freedom,* and by the natural uneasiness which it caused among the partisans of absolute monarchy, public attention was thoroughly aroused. Great Britain and the Netherlands showed their desire to participate in, or at least to witness the movements made by the Assembly, and accredited to that effect their respective agents.

The Colombian plenipotentiaries, Don Pedro Gual and Don Pedro Briceño Mendez, referred to this subject in a communication to their Government of July 10, 1826, in the following terms :

We have the honor to inclose a copy of the credentials which Mr. Dawkins placed in the hands of one of us on the day of the first meeting of the Assembly of Plenipotentiaries of the American Republics. You will see by that document what is the nature of the mission of that gentleman as Commissioner from His British Majesty. The Assembly has had no time so far to investigate what other purposes, if any, this mission is intended to accomplish. Nevertheless, judging by the conversations of Mr. Dawkins with some of the plenipotentiaries, it is apparent that the wishes of His British Majesty are in favor of the termination of the war in this hemisphere.

On the 8th instant, Chevalier Van Veer, a Colonel in the service of His Majesty the King of the Netherlands, arrived here. It is reported that he has been instructed by his Government to reside in this city (Panama) during the sessions of the Assembly. We do not know as yet the character of his mission, as no opportunity has presented itself for us to talk with him and find out the purposes of his coming here.*

Restrepo, in his "History of the revolution of Colombia," says in regard to this point:

Mr. E. Dawkins and Colonel Van Veer, the former in behalf of Great Britain and the latter in behalf of the King of the Netherlands, went also to Panama, to reside there during the sessions, although without taking any part in the deliberations. * * * The conduct of the

* "Congrès de Panama," par M. de Pradt, ancien archevêque de Malines. Paris. 1825. The author maintained that "history will never witness a more fitting expression of civilization than the American Congress. Europe has had two great Congresses, the one of Munster and the one of Vienna; what will they be in comparison with that Congress which America is now preparing herself to hold?"

* O'Leary's Mémoires, Vol. XXIV, page 335.

British Commissioner, Mr. Dawkins, during the sessions, was always noble and frank. He confined himself to advising the Plenipotentiaries of the new Republics to show respect to the institutions of all the other nations, to remove the suspicion, possibly to be entertained by the European powers, that Republican America was trying to establish a system of politics in opposition to theirs. He insisted with considerable strength and earnestness upon the advisability that America should give a proof of her love of peace by consenting to some sacrifices for its sake. He positively promised that Great Britain should interpose her mediation with Spain, with good hopes of success, if the negotiation was conducted upon the basis of granting Spain a pecuniary indemnification. He stated that France would not lend her co-operation if that basis was not accepted by the American Republics; that Great Britain unaided by France could not accomplish much; and that it was advisable not to lose any time and open negotiations as early as practicable, so as to avoid such future complications as might be feared from the already initiated intervention of Russia at the request of the United States. Mr. Dawkins insisted so much upon this point that every one saw plainly that the principal object of his mission was to carry it on. He always said, however, that in this he expressed his own views, and not those of his Government. In spite of these assurances, he could not conceal his disappointment when he saw the Assembly adjourning without having taken any step towards securing peace with Spain; but, nevertheless, when he left the Isthmus and parted from the plenipotentiaries, he did so with sentiments of great friendship, especially towards Colombia, for whose plenipotentiaries he had always showed particular respect.

Colonel Van Veer had no public character in Panama. His mission was private. He confined himself to express to the plenipotentiaries the ardent wishes of His Majesty the King of the Netherlands for the happiness of the allied Republics, and explained that his sovereign had not yet recognized their independence, only because of the regard he had to pay the great Powers of Europe. He added however that said recognition should soon be made.*

The purposes and intents of this Assembly, so far at least as Bolivar's idea was concerned, can not be better understood than by perusing the instructions framed by his order for the Plenipotentiaries of Peru. They clearly show what the aims of the Liberator were, and the failure by the Assembly to shape by them its action sufficiently explains not only the disappointment of the illustrious author of the idea, but the lack of practical results of the

* Union latino-americana. By J. M. Torres Caicedo. Paris, 1865. Pages 35 and 36.

great movement started by him, which, if carried into effect, would have hastened half a century the abolition of slavery, extirpated from Spanish-America the Spanish colonial system, avoided war and revolutions in the Latin-American Republics, and rendered them as powerful and as near a unit as the most enthusiastic advocates of Latin-American Union could ever have desired.

This is the text of those instructions, dated Lima, May 15, 1825.

Instructions that are to govern the conduct of the Ministers Plenipotentiary from Peru to the Great Congress on the Isthmus of Panama.

ARTICLE I.

Its excellency the council of government, being satisfied of your ability, patriotism, and other commendable qualities, has been pleased to appoint you Ministers Plenipotentiary to the great Federal Congress of the American States which will be held at the Isthmus of Panama, and rests assured that you, corresponding to this proof of confidence, will do every thing in your power to accomplish in full the high purposes which the Government has had in view when intrusting you with the important mission of representing the national interests in that great General Assembly.

ARTICLE II.

As soon as you have met the Plenipotentiaries who will be sent by Colombia to the Isthmus of Panama, you shall consider yourselves authorized to enter into direct correspondence with the secretaries of foreign relations of Mexico, Guatemala, Chili, and Buenos Ayres, and show them the urgent necessity that they send, without losing a moment, their respective Plenipotentiaries to the General Congress.

ARTICLE III.

The selection of a place at the Isthmus of Panama, or elsewhere, which, on account of its salubrity and geographical position, may be the best for holding the preliminary conferences, is left to your discretion. In this you will proceed in accord with the other Plenipotentiaries who will be there on the 1st of June next.

ARTICLE IV.

As soon as the Plenipotentiaries of Colombia, Mexico, and Guatemala, or at least those of Colombia and Mexico, shall arrive at the isthmus, you shall proceed, in accord with them, to appoint a day for the inauguration of the Congress.

ARTICLE V.

You shall for no reason, and under no circumstances, absent yourselves from the isthmus, or the place of residence, whatever it is, selected for the Congress, before the sessions thereof have been closed.

ARTICLE VI.

You shall make every effort to secure the great compact of union, league, and perpetual confederation against Spain, and against foreign rule, of whatever character, to be renewed in the most solemn manner.

ARTICLE VII.

You shall endeavor to obtain from the great Congress of the American States the issuing of a proclamation, setting forth the narrow views and designs of Spain, the immense harm which her Government has done to America, and the political course of action which America proposes to pursue in her relations with the powers of the world, namely, friendship to all, and strict neutrality.

ARTICLE VIII.

Whereas the Spanish Government will always be able, as long as the Islands of Puerto Rico and Cuba belong to Spain, to promote discord, encourage domestic troubles, and threaten the independence and peace of many countries of America, you shall make efforts to cause the Congress to decide about the fate of both islands. If the Congress, sensitive to the true interests of the countries represented by it, believes that it is advisable for them to free those islands, you shall enter into a treaty to that effect with the other States, setting forth in detail what forces of land and sea, and what sum of money, each State of America shall have to contribute for that important operation. Said treaty shall provide also whether said islands, or any of them separately, shall be annexed to some one of the Confederate States, or left at liberty to select by themselves, as they deem best, their own government.

ARTICLE IX.

Should it be decided that the Islands of Puerto Rico and Cuba are to be annexed to one of the States, you shall endeavor to secure also the further decision of the question whether the State to which they will be annexed shall or shall not be bound to pay the expenses incurred for their emancipation; and, if yea, what the manner and terms of payment shall be.

ARTICLE X.

If it be decided that the fate of the islands is to be left to them, you shall endeavor to secure some declaration on the question whether they shall or shall not be required to repay the expenses incurred; and, if yea, about the manner and terms of payment.

ARTICLE XI.

You shall endeavor to negotiate treaties of friendship, navigation, and commerce with the new American States as allies and confederates.

ARTICLE XII.

You shall also negotiate with the same States a consular convention, defining clearly and distinctly the prerogatives of their respective consuls.

ARTICLE XIII.

You shall see that the proclamation which, under article 7 of these instructions, must be issued and published by the Great Congress of the Isthmus, contains such an energetic and efficient declaration as that made by the President of the United States of America in his message to Congress of last year in regard to the necessity for the European power of abandoning all ideas of further colonization on this continent, and in opposition to the principle of intervention in our domestic affairs.

ARTICLE XIV.

You shall exert yourselves in securing by common consent the determination or settlement of disputed points in international law, especially those affecting the relations between belligerents and neutral nations.

ARTICLE XV.

You shall urge some declaration to be made as to the relations, both political and commercial, to be established between us and those portions of our hemisphere, as San Domingo and Hayti, who emancipated themselves from their mother country, but have not as yet succeeded in obtaining recognition by any power, whether European or American.

ARTICLE XVI.

Inasmuch as, in view of the exhausted condition to which all the American States have been reduced by the recent struggles, there is danger that one of them, if invaded and left to defend itself alone, would find itself involved in a prolonged and ruinous contest, which would end in its destruction, you shall endeavor to negotiate a treaty by which all of the new American States attending the Congress be united in a close alliance both offensive and defensive. That treaty shall fix the contingent of forces of land and sea, and other assistance, which each nation should contribute for the defense of the invaded State.

ARTICLE XVII.

Pursuant to the indications contained in the preceding article, you shall interest yourselves in securing on the part of the American States attending the Congress of the Isthmus, the adoption and vigorous enforcement of a well combined plan of hostilities against Spain, so as to compel her Government to make peace and recognize the independence of the American Continent. It would be conducive to this end not to permit commerce with Spain, even in an indirect manner, at any place in the States with which she is at war, and declare therefore the products of Spanish soil and industry and the vessels which carry them, under whatever flag, liable to confiscation; to forbid the Spaniards who left during the course of the revolution to return to America before the peace is made; to keep under embargo for the same period of time the property of those absentees; to aid by all means possible the fitting up and arming of privateers which should embarrass or destroy Spanish travel and commerce; to demand from Spain, as a "*conditio sine qua non*" for the establishment of peace, or the negotiation of treaties of commerce, a solemn recognition on her part of the independence of all the American States; and to cause the said States to pledge themselves not to accept respectively any recognition of their own individual independence, unless it is coupled with that of all the others.

ARTICLE XVIII.

You shall endeavor to secure that the boundaries of the American States be fixed by agreement among themselves upon the basis that each one shall retain the territory which it possessed when the revolution began; and you shall be particular in this point, and not allow the limits to be described vaguely and indefinitely, but see on the contrary that they are clearly and precisely described, taking advantage as far as practicable of natural and well known landmarks as large rivers or mountains, so as to make the division of the States conformable with what nature itself has marked, and avoid in the future all possibility of dispute.

ARTICLE XIX.

As America is in need of a long period of rest and peace for recovering from the harm she has suffered in the war with Spain, and as a tendency towards local independence and sovereignty is clearly noticeable through the whole of the continent, you shall endeavor to settle these questions which may arise out of this tendency, and obtain some decision about what portion of the new States can be considered representatives of the sovereignty and national will, and in what manner can this will be expressed to have legal effects.

ARTICLE XX.

After this point is decided, you shall endeavor to obtain a declaration to the effect that the American States far from encouraging and aiding seditious and ambitious disturbers of the public peace and order, will on the contrary co-operate with each other, by all means in their possession, in supporting and maintaining all legally constituted governments.

ARTICLE XXI.

You shall earnestly interest yourselves in securing from the General Assembly the enacting of such measures as may be deemed to be most efficient for the suppression of the slave-trade in America.

ARTICLE XXII.

You shall see that the treaties agreed upon at the great Federal Congress of the American States, after their being properly ratified by the respective Governments, be promulgated as the public law of America, and made obligatory on all the States which were parties thereto.

The "General Assembly of the American Republics" met at Panama on the 22d of June 1826, at 11 o'clock a. m., the following nations being represented:

Colombia, by two delegates, Don Pedro Gual and Don Pedro Briceño Mendez:

Central America, by two delegates, Don Antonio Larrazabal and Don Pedro Molina.

Peru, by two delegates, Don Manuel Lorenzo Vidaurre and Don Manuel Perez de Tudela.

Mexico, by Don José Mariano Michelena. (The other delegate, Don José Dominguez, was sick and could not attend the first meeting.)

Two Cubans of great distinction, both of them exiled from their country, on account of their political opinions, performed the duties of Secretaries. One of them was Don Fructuoso del Castillo, aide-de-camp of the Colombian plenipotentiary, General Briceño Mendez, and the other was Don José Agustin de Arango, Secretary of the Peruvian delegation.

The Assembly held ten meetings as follows: June 22, June 23, July 10, July 11 in the morning, July 11 in the evening, July 12, July 13, July 14 in the morning, July

14 in the evening, and July 15, 1826, and accomplished the following:

1. A "treaty of union, league, and perpetual confederation," a very extensive and interesting instrument, containing thirty-one articles (and an additional article), signed July 15, 1826.
2. An agreement (concierto) under article 11th of the above, containing ten articles, and providing that the Congress should meet periodically (once every two years in times of peace, and once a year as long as the troubles with Spain should continue) at Tacubaya, Mexico, and fixing the qualification of the members of that Congress, etc.
3. A convention (convencion de contingentes) fixing the contingent of troops of each Republic for a permanent army of 60,000 men, and their support, etc. (twenty-four articles).
4. An agreement (concierto) additional to the above as to the organization of that army, and their movements, etc. (twenty-two articles).

The text of the protocols of the above said conferences, never before published in English, so far as the author of these notes is informed, deserves to be read with attention. These protocols are historical documents of the utmost importance, and are worthy to be preserved.

They read as follows:

I.

Protocol of the first verbal conference held at the City of Panama on the 22d of June, 1826, between the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Republics of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United Mexican States.

The Plenipotentiaries of the above-named Republics, to wit: His Excellency Pedro Gual and His Excellency Brigadier-General Pedro Briceño Mendez for Colombia; His Excellency Doctor Antonio Larrazabal, and His Excellency Pedro Molina, for Central America; His Excellency Don Manuel Lorenzo Vidaurre, and His Excellency Don Manuel Perez de Tudela, for Peru; and His Excellency Brigadier-General Don José Mariano Michelena, for the United Mexican States, having met this day at 11 o'clock a. m., at the Hall of Sessions of the City Hall, in this city, proceeded at once to organize the Conference and fix the order of precedence. It was resolved that said precedence during the whole of the present Congress, and for nothing else than its meetings, would be decided by lot; and the lot, having been drawn, the result was as expressed in the heading.

It was stated that His Excellency Don José Dominguez, a plenipotentiary from the United Mexican States, could not attend this meeting on account of sickness.

In regard to the Presidency it was resolved that the chair should be occupied by turn by the Plenipotentiaries, in the same order as stated above with respect to the precedence.

The Plenipotentiaries then proceeded to exchange and examine their respective full powers, which they compared with the copies already prepared to that effect, and found them to be good and in due form.

The decision about the manner of voting was reserved for the next meeting, to be held to-morrow at 7 o'clock p. m.

PEDRO GUAL.	P. BRICEÑO MENDEZ.
ANTONIO LARRAZABAL.	PEDRO MOLINA.
M. L. VIDAURRE.	MANUEL PEREZ DE TUDELA.
J. M. MICHELENA.	JOSÉ DOMINGUEZ.

II.

Protocol of the second verbal conference held between the Plenipotentiaries of the Republics of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United Mexican States, at Panama, on June 23, 1826.

All the Plenipotentiaries were present.

The Conference was called to order at 7 o'clock p. m., and His Excellency General Michelena introduced to the Assembly His Excellency Don José Dominguez, whose full powers were exchanged, examined, and found good and in due form.

Señor Gual laid before the assembly a communication, addressed to him as president of the same, by Mr. Edward James Dawkins, accompanying his credentials as an Envoy of the British Government, wherein it was set forth, among other things, that Mr. Dawkins had deserved the confidence of His Majesty, and had been directed to reside at whatever place the Congress of Plenipotentiaries of the American Republics should meet, and place himself at once with the said plenipotentiaries in frank and friendly communication. The assembly, taking into consideration the generous and liberal policy of the government of His British Majesty towards the American States, resolved that a letter of attention be written to His Excellency Secretary Canning in answer to the above, and another to Mr. Dawkins, in acknowledgment of the receipt of his credentials.

Consideration on the subject of voting having been resumed, it was resolved that each delegate shall have only one vote in the treaties made or resolutions taken by the assembly, and that said vote shall be confined only to accept, reject, or leave pending any article of the projects presented to them; but in the latter case the articles left pending shall be written apart and considered as "additional," if the majority of the delegations accept them, so as to see whether the respective government does or does not grant to it its ratification.

The Plenipotentiaries of Peru submitted a draft of treaty containing several articles.

The Plenipotentiaries of Colombia entered a formal protest against certain communication published to-day in an extra edition of the *Gaceta*, of this city*; and the Plenipotentiary alluded to in this matter explained to the assembly that he had not intended to do wrong or injury to any one, and that he was ready to make amends as might be desired. The Plenipotentiaries of Colombia said that they did not demand any apology, but only desired a general resolution to be passed on the subject. It was thereupon resolved that in the future no other methods than the usual diplomatic ones be resorted to by the plenipotentiaries accredited to this Congress for their communications with each other.

The draft of the treaty presented by the Plenipotentiaries of Peru was then read, and it was resolved to take up and consider one after another its different articles, in informal conferences, and to prepare a counter-draft if necessary.

P. BRICEÑO MENDEZ.

ANTONIO LARRAZABAL.

MANUEL PEREZ DE TUDELA.

J. M. MICHELENA.

P. GUAL.

PEDRO MOLINA.

M. L. VIDAURRE.

JOSÉ DOMINGUEZ.

III.

Protocol of the third verbal conference held between the Plenipotentiaries of the Republics of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United Mexican States, at Panama, on the 10th of July, 1826.

All the Plenipotentiaries were present.

The conference met at 10.45 a. m.

The protocol of the conference of the 23d of June last was read, approved, and signed.

Discussion having arisen on the subject whether in addition to the protocols to be kept by each delegation, a general one was to be made for the archives of the assembly, it was resolved that the said general protocol should be made and left, together with all the documents and papers belonging to the office of the secretaries of the assembly, in charge of the plenipotentiaries of the country in whose territory the assembly meets.

The plenipotentiaries of Colombia, Central America, and the United Mexican States submitted a counter-draft of a treaty, which had been framed upon consideration in informal conferences of the draft submitted by the plenipotentiaries of Peru.

The preamble of the said counter-draft was read and approved.

Articles 1 and the following to the 10th, inclusive, were read and approved.

* This was a long address of the Peruvian Plenipotentiary, Señor Vidaurre, giving advice to his colleagues. It is printed page 329, vol. xxiv (Documents) of O'Leary's Memoirs.

Article 11 was taken up and left pending until the agreement to which it refers be considered and passed upon.

P. GUAL.	P. BRICEÑO MONEDIZ.
ANTONIO LARRAZABAL.	PEDRO MOLINA.
M. L. VIDAURRE.	MANUEL PEREZ DE TUDELA.
J. M. MICHELENA.	JOSÉ DOMINGUEZ.

IV.

Protocol of the fourth verbal conference held between the plenipotentiaries of the Republics of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United Mexican States at Panama, on the 11th of July, 1826.

All the plenipotentiaries were present.

The conference was called to order at half-past 10 o'clock a. m.

The protocol of the preceding day was read and approved.

The agreement referred to in article 11 of the treaty was taken up for discussion. Its ten first articles were read and approved, notwithstanding the opposition made to article 1 by the plenipotentiaries of Colombia and Central America, founded upon the advantages which, in their opinion, the Isthmus of Panama and Guatemala, respectively, afforded to make either of them the permanent place of residence of the assembly, owing to their central position in regard to the States north and south of this continent. The plenipotentiaries of Peru consented to article 3, reserving to consult their Government on the subject of rank.

Article 11 of the agreement and the following to article 20, inclusive, were read and approved.

Article 21 was read, but the plenipotentiaries of Central America moved to supplement its provisions by means of an additional article, whereby the limits of each nation, as fixed by amicable arrangements to be made according to circumstances, should be mutually guaranteed.

The proposed additional article is as follows:

ART. 22. The contracting parties mutually guaranty to each other the integrity of their respective territories, such as they may be finally determined by treaties of limits entered into between themselves; and the territory thus defined shall be placed under the protection of the confederacy.

Upon the proper consideration the proposed addition was approved, and it was resolved to insert it in the agreement as article 22.

Article 21 was then approved.

Articles 23, 24, and 25 were read and approved. The Plenipotentiaries of Central America stated that although they objected to a portion of their contents, they nevertheless gave them their approval, because a considerable lapse of time has necessarily to intervene between now and

the execution of its provisions, and they have therefore ample opportunity to consult their government upon the subject.

P. GUAL.	P. BRICEÑO MENDEZ.
ANTONIO LARRAZABAL.	PEDRO MOLINA.
MANUEL PEREZ DE TUDELA.	M. L. VIDAURRE.
J. M. MICHELENA.	JOSÉ DOMINGUEZ.

V.

Protocol of the fifth verbal conference held between the Plenipotentiaries of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United Mexican States at Panama, on the 11th of July, 1826.

All the Plenipotentiaries were present.

The Conference was called to order at half past 7 o'clock p. m.

The protocol of the preceding session was read and approved.

Article 26 and the following to article 30 of the treaty of league inclusive were taken up, read, discussed, and approved.

The additional article of the same treaty was read and approved.

The "convention on contingents," such as framed by the plenipotentiaries in informal conferences, was then taken up and read.

The preamble was adopted.

Article 1 was also approved, with the understanding that the duty of furnishing troops was to be pro rata of the population of each State, calculated as follows: Colombia, 3,000,000; Central America, 1,300,000; Peru, 1,000,000; and the United Mexican States 6,500,000. It was stated also that although the population of Colombia and Mexico is not exactly the same as calculated, both nations, however, agree to furnish the contingent assigned to them for the completion of the army of 60,000 men.

Article 2 was read, and was left pending until the agreement to which it refers be acted upon.

P. GUAL.	P. BRICEÑO MENDEZ.
ANTONIO LARRAZABAL.	PEDRO MOLINA.
M. L. VIDAURRE.	MANUEL PEREZ DE TUDELA.
J. M. MICHELENA.	JOSÉ DOMINGUEZ.

VI.

Protocol of the sixth verbal conference held between the Plenipotentiaries of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United Mexican States at Panama, on the 12th of July, 1826.

All the Plenipotentiaries were present.

The Conference was called to order at 12.15 p. m.

The protocol of the preceding session was read and approved.

The provisional agreement referred to in article 2 of the "convention on contingents," left pending in the preceding session, was read and discussed. The Plenipotentiaries of Central America explained the dif-

difficulties which their own government would find for fulfilling the obligations which said agreement imposes upon it; said difficulties being in substance on the one side the scarcity of funds, and on the other side the lack of means on the Atlantic coast for the transportation of troops, it being almost impossible to send them by land, at enormous distances, to the invaded places when they were needed.

The plenipotentiaries of the United Mexican States agreed to the provision, with the understanding that whenever their government should need the assistance of Central America only troops would be asked for, said troops to be sent by land, by the shortest route, to the place of destination.

The other plenipotentiaries stated that this method, as well as everything relative to the wisdom, advisability, and facility of mutually asking and lending assistance herein provided for should be left to the respective governments, which would make them the subject of special agreements. Nevertheless it was resolved that an article should be drafted, and it was drafted to that effect. Said article, and all others to article 14, were approved.

The discussion of the "convention on contingents" was resumed, and all its articles, from article 3 to article 10, were approved. It was resolved that everything agreed to in regard to the confederate navy should be set forth separately and added to this agreement.

Article 11 and the following to article 17 inclusive were read and approved, it being understood that nothing said in article 16 in regard to the total appropriation of the prizes shall be construed as depriving the States where the prizes are to be sold of the right of collecting such import dues and municipal taxes as may be established.

In regard to the first part of article 16, the plenipotentiaries of the United Mexican States and of Central America set forth that the agreement therein referred to can not be negotiated at present, because it involves the determination of certain points of public law, on which they can not pass any opinion until specially instructed on the subject by their own governments.

Articles 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, and 24 of the said convention were then read and approved.

P. GUAL.

ANTONIO LARRAZABAL.

M. L. VIDAURRE.

J. M. MICHELENA.

P. BRICEÑO MENDEZ.

PEDRO MOLINA.

MANUEL PEREZ DE TUDELA.

JOS. DOMINGUEZ.

VII.

Protocol of the seventh verbal conference held between the Plenipotentiaries of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United Mexican States at Panama, on the 13th of July, 1826.

All the plenipotentiaries were present.

The Conference was called to order at 11 o'clock a. m.

The protocol of the preceding session was read and approved.

The articles relating to the separate agreement referred to in article 10 of the project of convention for a confederate navy, were presented. Said article, and the following to article 22, which is the last, were approved.

The chairman stated that Colonel Van Veer had requested him to tell the assembly that His Majesty the King of The Netherlands had instructed him privately to come to Panama, and express in his name to the plenipotentiaries attending this Congress his earnest and sincere wishes for the happiness of the allied Republics; that he had been ordered by His Majesty to reside wherever the assembly should hold its sessions: that His Majesty had not as yet made a formal recognition of the independence of the new American States, formerly Spanish colonies, because such a recognition was not of great importance for the said States, and because His Majesty desired not to disturb in any way, for the time being, the relations of harmony in which His Majesty was with the other powers of Continental Europe; that His Majesty had nevertheless appointed two consuls-general, one for Colombia and another for Mexico, and that it was probable that some public character should be given also to Mr. Van Veer himself.

Señor Michelena said that Mr. Van Veer had made to him the same request; that he had received from the Minister of Holland at London a letter of recommendation of Mr. Van Veer; that when he was in London as Minister from Mexico the Government of Holland had expressed to him its sentiments of consideration and esteem towards the allied Republics; and that he himself had appointed temporarily a consul of Mexico at the Netherlands, and that the Minister of that country had granted the *exequatur*.

It was resolved that the same gentlemen who had been requested by Mr. Van Veer to make this verbal and confidential communication should assure him in answer, in the same way, of the high appreciation by the Assembly of the feelings of His Majesty the King of the Netherlands; that as Mr. Van Veer has not presented any kind of credentials the Assembly can not have with him any formal intercourse; but that the Plenipotentiaries who compose the Congress will have no objection to frankly communicate with him personally on any subject which might have a bearing, even indirectly, on the Netherlands, owing to the good qualities of Mr. Van Veer and the generous policy of His Majesty the King of Holland.

Señor Michelena stated that the occasion might again present itself for England to offer her mediation with Spain for the recognition of the independence of the American States which were formerly Spanish colonies. His Excellency related what had taken place on this subject between Mexico and England, owing to the proposition made by the latter to interpose her influence with Spain to secure peace, and said that the Mexican Government, acceding to this suggestion, had accepted the mediation. Señor Michelena said further that when he was in

London as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of Mexico, England continued negotiations in the same sense, although her plan was then that France should co-operate with the British Government; that Mr. Villèle, the French minister, who at first offered the mediation of his Government, changed his mind afterwards, and declared that nothing definite could be done until hearing from Mr. Samuel, who was then in America; that England had said then that whatever course France might take, she (England) would pursue the same line of policy, as she had done; that she had inquired from him (Señor Michelena) upon what basis the negotiation could be conducted, and that he had answered that the first and principal condition was the full recognition of the absolute independence of the Americas; that the new States would not ask for any indemnification; that Mexico would go as far as to ask nothing in payment of the debt of more than sixty millions of dollars which weighed upon the Republic and was caused by Spain; and that some agricultural and mining, and perhaps industrial, advantages might also be given Spain. His Excellency said finally that in the end the Spanish Government refused to consider the matter at all, on the ground that even to touch it was unpopular and dangerous in Spain.

Señor Tudela stated that Spain had sent to London secret agents for the purpose of negotiating for the recognition of the States of America upon the basis of a pecuniary indemnification, but that the Government of Peru had instructed its envoys at London not to accede to any treaty of peace upon such a basis, and confine themselves to grant Spain some commercial advantages in Peru, but always upon the previous arrangement of an armistice. His excellency said further that everything having a bearing upon this subject must be brought before the Assembly, where the negotiations can be more speedily conducted.

Señor Michelena, after having given in full his views on this subject, and shown its gravity and importance, stated that, as the occasion might present itself again for a mediation on the part of England, it was advisable for the Assembly to take the subject under consideration, so as to determine whether it was proper to re-open the interrupted negotiations, with the concurrence of all the allies, and without contracting, for the time being, any obligation as to granting any special advantages to Spain, but requiring an armistice to be arranged during the negotiations.

The Assembly resolved to consider this matter on the following day.

P. GUAL.
ANTONIO LARRAZABAL.
M. L. VIDAURRE.
J. M. MICHELENA.

P. BRICEÑO MENDEZ.
PEDRO MOLINA.
MANUEL PEREZ DE TUDELA.
JOSÉ DOMINGUEZ.

VIII.

Protocol of the eighth verbal conference held between the Plenipotentiaries of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United Mexican States at Panama, on the 14th of July, 1826.

All the Plenipotentiaries were present.

The Conference was called to order at half past 11 o'clock a. m.

The protocol of the preceding session was read and approved.

The discussion on the mediation of England to make peace with Spain, as suggested by Señor Michelena, was continued ; and after a long debate it was resolved to postpone consideration of the subject, until the next meeting, the Plenipotentiaries being requested, however, to bring each one in a definite and concrete form a statement of his ideas on the subject.

P. GUAL.

ANTONIO LARRAZABAL.

M. L. VIDAURRE.

J. M. MICHELENA.

P. BRICEÑO MENDEZ.

PEDRO MOLINA.

MANUEL PEREZ DE TUDELA.

JOSÉ DOMINGUEZ.

IX.

Protocol of the ninth verbal conference held between the Plenipotentiaries of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United Mexican States at Panama, on the 14th of July, 1826.

All the Plenipotentiaries were present.

The Conference was called to order at 9 o'clock p. m.

The protocol of the preceding session was read and approved.

The pending discussion on the mediation of England for peace with Spain was resumed ; and as several opinions were presented, and no agreement was reached as to the basis on which the negotiation was to be conducted, because the Plenipotentiaries had no instructions whatever from their governments in regard to this point, it was resolved that said instructions should be asked for, and that in the mean time each one of the allied Republics would be at liberty to make such efforts as might be proper for securing peace, as provided by article 10 of the treaty of league, as if said treaty had been ratified, and was therefore binding upon all.

PEDRO GUAL.

MANUEL PEREZ DE TUDELA.

ANTONIO LARRAZABAL.

J. M. MICHELENA.

P. BRICEÑO MENDEZ.

M. L. VIDAURRE.

PEDRO MOLINA.

JOSÉ DOMINGUEZ.

X.

Protocol of the tenth verbal conference held between the Plenipotentiaries of the Republics of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United Mexican States, at Panama, on the 15th of July, 1826.

All the Plenipotentiaries were present.

The conference was called to order at 12 o'clock m.

The protocol of the preceding session was read and approved.

The treaty of league, the convention on contingents, the agreement as to the place and period for the meeting of the assembly and the manner and order thereof, and the provisional agreement made on the Army and Navy, in pursuance of the convention aforesaid were read and carefully revised, and signed and sealed.

It was resolved that the provisional agreement just mentioned be kept secret, and transmitted to the Governments marked "confidential."

Taking into consideration that in the long and protracted private conferences held by the Plenipotentiaries for the purpose of framing the treaties, no time was left for making a proper record of all that then transpired, and that in order to hasten the ratification of said treaties the respective Governments must be furnished complete information relating thereto, it was further resolved that Señores Briceño, Molina, and Vidaurre be requested respectively to take personally the said treaties to their respective Governments, and furnish them verbally all the information desired.

It was further resolved that the President be requested to inform Mr. Dawkins that the assembly will meet hereafter at the City of Tacubaya, one league distant from the City of Mexico; that identical information be given to the Government of Colombia; that the Colombian Government be thanked for the hospitality and courtesy shown to the assembly; and that a communication of the same nature be addressed by one of the secretaries to the authorities of this city.

Then at 11 o'clock p. m., the Assembly adjourned to meet again in due time at Tacubaya, as resolved. Whereupon the plenipotentiaries stated to each other the satisfaction felt by them in having attended a conference in which such great fraternity, frankness, and most pure love for the public good had prevailed, and expressed their wishes that the same uniformity of feelings and the same cordiality for securing the common benefit should prevail also in the future meetings of the assembly.

PEDRO GUAL.

P. BRICEÑO MENDEZ.

ANTONIO LARRAZABAL.

J. M. MICHELENA.

MANUEL PEREZ DE TUDELA.

M. L. VIDAURRE.

PEDRO MOLINA.

JOSÉ DOMINGUEZ.

Treaty of perpetual union, league, and confederation between the Republics of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United Mexican States.

IN THE NAME OF ALMIGHTY GOD, AUTHOR AND LAW-GIVER OF THE
UNIVERSE:

The Republics of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United Mexican States, desiring the more firmly to bind their present intimate relations and to cement in the most solemn and stable manner those which should hereafter exist between them, which well becomes nations having a common origin, that have fought in unison to secure the benefits of liberty and independence, in the possession of which they now happily find themselves, and are firmly resolved to continue, confiding to this end upon the assistance of Divine Providence, which has so visibly protected the justice of their cause, have decided to duly appoint and commission ministers plenipotentiary, who, after meeting and coming together in this assembly, should agree upon the means of making so salutary an undertaking perfect and enduring.

To this end the said Governments have conferred full powers upon the following, to wit:

His excellency the Vice-President, acting Chief Executive of the Republic of Colombia, upon the most excellent Señores Pedro Gual and Pedro Briceño Mendez, brigadier-general of the armies of said Republic.

His excellency the President of the Republic of Central America, upon the most excellent Señores Antonio Larrazabal and Pedro Molina.

The excellent the council of Government of the Republic of Peru, upon the most excellent Señores Don Manuel Lorenzo de Vidaurre, president of the supreme court of justice of the said Republic, and Don Manuel Perez de Tudela, attorney-general of the said court.

His excellency the President of the United Mexican States, upon the most excellent Señores Don José Mariano Michelena, brigadier-general and Don José Dominguez, chief justice of the supreme court of justice of the State of Guanajuato.

Who, after having duly exchanged their respective full powers, and found them to be in good and sufficient form, have agreed upon the articles following:

ARTICLE 1. The Republics of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United Mexican States, do mutually ally and confederate themselves in peace and war, and contract to this end a perpetual compact of friendship, firm and inviolable, and a union intimate and binding with all and each of said parties.

ARTICLE 2. The object of this perpetual compact will be to maintain in common, defensively and offensively, should occasion arise, the sov-

ereignty and independence of all and each of the confederated powers of America against foreign subjection, and to secure to themselves from this time forward the enjoyment of unalterable peace, and to promote in this behalf better harmony and good understanding as well between the countries, citizens, and subjects, respectively, as with the other powers with which they should maintain or enter into friendly relations.

ARTICLE 3. The contracting parties obligate and bind themselves to mutually defend themselves against every attack which shall endanger their political existence, and to employ against the enemies of the independence of all or any of them all their influence, resources, and naval and land forces, in the proportion which, according to the separate convention of equal date, each is bound to contribute to the maintenance of the common cause.

ARTICLE 4. The contingents of troops, with all their trains and transports, provisions, and the funds which some of the confederated powers are to contribute to the defense of another or others, shall freely pass and repass over the territory of any of them which may lie between the power threatened or invaded and that coming to its aid, but the Government to which the troops and assistance belong will give due notice thereof to the power through whose territory they have to pass, in order that the latter may designate the line of march to be followed, which, however, must be by the shortest, most convenient, and populated route, and all the costs incurred for provisions, baggage, and forage shall be at the expense of the government to which the troops belong.

ARTICLE 5. War-ships of all kinds and fleets of whatever number and grade of vessels belonging to one or more of the contracting parties shall have free ingress and egress to and from the ports of all and each of them, and they shall be properly protected against attacks of common enemies, remaining in said ports the time their commanders or captains believe necessary; and the said commanders or captains with their officers and crews shall be responsible to the Government of their dependence with their persons and property for any violation of the laws and regulations of the port they may be in, the local authorities being empowered to prevent their leaving their vessels, whenever any cause for complaint shall arise.

ARTICLE 6. The contracting parties bind themselves moreover to give all the assistance in their power to their war and merchant vessels arriving at the ports of their possessions through stress of weather or any other unfortunate cause, and in consequence they may make repairs and take on provisions; and, in cases of common wars, arm themselves, increase their armament and crews until in condition to continue their voyages or cruises, all at the expense of the power or individuals to whom said vessels belong.

ARTICLE 7. In order to prevent the depredations which privateers may commit on domestic or foreign commerce, it is agreed that in every

case of common war the jurisdiction of the prize courts of all and each of the allied powers shall extend to privateers sailing under the colors of either of them, according to the laws and statutes of the nation to which the privateer or privateers belong, whenever there are strong indications of excesses having been committed against the commerce of friendly or neutral nations; it being well understood that this stipulation shall continue only until such time as the contracting parties decide by mutual agreement on the total abolition of the privateer.

ARTICLE 8. In case of a sudden invasion of the territories of the contracting parties, any one of them may take up arms against the invaders, whenever circumstances do not permit coming to an arrangement with the sovereignty of said territories; but the party thus acting must cause the laws and statutes of the invaded power to be complied with, and its Government obeyed, so far as the circumstances of war shall permit.

ARTICLE 9. It is hereby agreed that fugitives from one territory to another, and from a war or merchant vessel to the territory or vessel of another, if they be soldier or sailor deserters of whatever kind, shall be delivered over immediately and at all times by the courts or authorities within whose jurisdiction the deserter or deserters may be; but the delivery must be preceded by a demand by an officer in case of deserters from the army or navy, and that of the captain, master, supercargo, or person interested in the vessels in case of merchantmen, giving a description of the party or parties, the name, and that of the body or vessel from which he or they shall have deserted, and pending delivery they may be lodged in public prisons until the delivery in due form is verified.

ARTICLE 10. The contracting parties, the better to identify their interests, here expressly agree that no one of them shall make peace with common enemies of their independence without including therein specifically all the other allies; in the intelligence that in no case, and under no pretext whatever, shall any of the contracting parties accede in the name of the others to any propositions not having for basis the full and absolute recognition of their independence, nor to demand for contributions, subsidies, or exactions of whatever kind, by way of indemnity or otherwise, each of said parties reserving the right to accept or reject proposals for peace with its customary formalities.

ARTICLE 11. The contracting parties desiring more and more to strengthen and make closer their fraternal bonds and relations by means of frequent and friendly conferences, have agreed and do agree to meet every two years in time of peace, and every year during the present and future common wars, in a general assembly composed of two ministers plenipotentiary on the part of each party, who shall be only authorized by the necessary full powers. The time and place of meeting, and the form and order of the sessions are expressed and arranged in a separate agreement of equal date.

ARTICLE 12. The contracting parties specially obligate and bind themselves, in case the general assembly shall meet at any place within their territories, to extend to the plenipotentiaries composing it, all the assistance that hospitality and the sacred and inviolable character of their persons demand.

ARTICLE 13. The principal objects of the general assembly of ministers plenipotentiary of the confederated powers are:

First. To negotiate and conclude between the powers it represents all such treaties, conventions, and arrangements, as may place their reciprocal relations on a mutually agreeable and satisfactory footing.

Second. To contribute to the maintenance of a friendly and unalterable peace between the confederated powers, serving them as a council in times of great conflicts, as a point of contact in common dangers, as a faithful interpreter of the public treaties and conventions concluded by them in the said assembly, when any doubt arises as to their construction, and as a conciliator in their controversies and differences.

Third. To endeavor to secure conciliation, or mediation, in all questions which may arise between the allied powers, or between any of them and one or more powers foreign to the confederation, whenever threatened of a rupture, or engaged in war because of grievances, serious injuries, or other complaints.

Fourth. To adjust and conclude during the common wars of the contracting parties with one or many powers foreign to the confederation all those treaties of alliance, concert, subsidies, and contributions that shall hasten its termination.

ARTICLE 14. Neither of the contracting parties shall conclude treaties of alliance or league, perpetual or temporary, with any power foreign to this confederation without previously consulting the other allies composing it or that hereafter may compose it, and obtaining in this behalf their express assent or denial in the case mentioned in the following article.

ARTICLE 15. Whenever any of the contracting parties shall deem it advisable to form alliances, perpetual or temporary, for special purposes and for special causes, the Republic having to make these alliances shall first endeavor to negotiate with her sisters and allies; but in case these for any cause refuse their assistance or can not provide the necessary aid, the former shall be at liberty to seek it wherever it can be obtained.

ARTICLE 16. The contracting parties solemnly obligate and bind themselves to amicably compromise between themselves all differences now existing or which may arise in the future, and in case no settlement can be reached between the disagreeing powers the question shall be taken for settlement to the judgment of the assembly, whose decision shall not be obligatory, however, unless said powers shall have expressly agreed that it shall be.

ARTICLE 17. Whatever complaints for injuries, serious damage, or other grounds there be that one of the contracting parties can bring against another or others, neither of them shall declare war, nor order acts of reprisal against the Republic believed to be the offender without first submitting its case, supported by the necessary documents and proofs, with a detailed relation of the acts complained of to the conciliatory decision of the general assembly.

ARTICLE 18. In case any one of the confederated powers deem it advisable to declare war or commence hostilities against any power foreign to this confederation, it shall first solicit the good offices, interposition, and mediation of its allies, and these are bound to employ them in the most efficacious manner possible. If the interposition be unavailing the confederation shall declare whether or not it embraces the cause of the confederate; and even though it shall not embrace it, it shall not, under any pretext or reason ally itself with the enemy of the confederate.

ARTICLE 19. Whichever of the contracting parties that in violation of the stipulations of the three sections preceding shall commence hostilities against another, or that shall fail to comply with the decisions of the assembly, having previously submitted to them, shall be excluded from the confederation, and shall not again belong to the league except by the unanimous vote of the parties composing it favoring such re-instatement.

ARTICLE 20. In case any of the contracting powers asks the assembly for its opinion or advice upon any question or serious matter, the assembly shall give it with all the frankness, interest, and good faith demanded by fraternity.

ARTICLE 21. The contracting parties solemnly obligate and bind themselves to uphold and defend the integrity of their respective territories, earnestly opposing any attempt of colonial settlement in them without authority of and dependence upon the Governments under whose jurisdiction they are, and to employ to this end, in common, their forces and resources if necessary.

ARTICLE 22. The contracting parties mutually guaranty the integrity of their territories as soon as, by virtue of special conventions concluded between each other, their respective boundaries shall have been determined; and the preservation of these frontiers shall then be under the protection of the confederation.

ARTICLE 23. The citizens of all of the contracting parties shall enjoy the rights and privileges of citizens of the Republic, whatever it is, in which they reside, if after having declared their desire to assume this character before the competent authorities according to the law of each of the allied powers, they shall make oath of allegiance to the constitution of the nation they adopt, and as such citizens they shall be entitled to all the employments and distinctions to which the other citizens are entitled, excepting always those which the constitution reserves to natural-born citizens, and subject in his choice of the rest

to the time of residence and requisites demanded by the laws of each particular power.

ARTICLE 24. Should a citizen or citizens of one allied Republic prefer to remain in the territory of another, retaining always his character of a citizen of the country of his birth or adoption, said citizen or citizens shall enjoy equally all the rights and privileges of natural-born citizens in any territory of the contracting parties in which he shall reside in so far as the administration of justice and the corresponding protection to his person and property is concerned; and, consequently, under no pretext whatever shall the practice of his profession or occupation be denied him, nor the disposition during life or by last will and testament of his real and personal property, as he sees fit, subject in all cases to the same charges and laws as natural-born citizens of the territory where he resides.

ARTICLE 25. In order that the contracting parties shall receive all possible compensation for the services mutually rendered in this alliance, they have agreed that their commercial relations be regulated in the next assembly; in the mean while the relations at present existing between some of them by virtue of previous stipulations will continue.

ARTICLE 26. The powers of America, whose plenipotentiaries shall not have been present at the negotiation and signing of the present treaty, may, notwithstanding the provisions of Article 14, become a party to the present confederation within one year from the ratification of this treaty and of the convention on contingents concluded on this date, without demanding modifications or changes of any character, and in case of desiring or proposing any alteration it shall be submitted to the vote and decision of the Assembly, which shall not consent to the change unless the amendments proposed do not alter the substance of the basis and object of this treaty.

ARTICLE 27. The contracting parties obligate and bind themselves to co-operate for the complete abolition and extirpation of the African slave trade, maintaining their present prohibitions of such a trade in all their force and vigor; and to accomplish so salutary an undertaking they agree further to declare, as they declare among themselves, in the most solemn and positive manner, the slave traders sailing from the coasts of Africa under the flag of any of the said contracting parties guilty of the crime of piracy, under the conditions which will be specified hereafter by special convention.

ARTICLE 28. The Republics of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United Mexican States, upon so firmly and powerfully identifying their principles and interests in peace and war, formally declare that the present treaty of perpetual union, alliance, and co-operation does not in any wise interrupt nor shall it interrupt the exercise of the sovereignty of each of them as regards their foreign relations in so far as they do not conflict with the tenor and letter of said treaty.

ARTICLE 29. In case any of the parties should substantially change its present form of government it shall, by that act, be excluded from

the confederation and its Government shall not be recognized, nor shall it be re-instated in said confederation except by the unanimous vote of all the parties then constituting it.

ARTICLE 30. The present treaty shall be binding in all its parts and effects as long as the allied powers are engaged in the present or any other common war, without any change whatever in any of its articles and clauses, except by resolution of all of said parties in the General Assembly, being subject to be bound by whatever measure the majority consider necessary for its enforcement; but peace once assured the allied powers may revise this treaty in the said Assembly, and make therein the changes and modifications the circumstances may demand and they deem necessary.

ARTICLE 31. The present treaty of perpetual union, alliance, and confederation shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the town of Tacubaya, a league distant from the City of Mexico, within a period of eight months, reckoned from this date, or before, if possible.

In testimony whereof the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Republics of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United Mexican States have signed and sealed these presents with their respective seals, in this city of Panama, on the 15th day of the month of July in the year of our Lord 1826.

[L. S.]

PEDRO GUAL.

[L. S.]

PEDRO BRICEÑO MENDEZ.

[L. S.]

PEDRO MOLINA.

[L. S.]

ANTONIO LARRAZABAL.

[L. S.]

MANUEL DE VIDAURRE.

[L. S.]

MANUEL PEREZ DE TUDELA.

[L. S.]

JOSÉ MARIANO DE MICHELENA.

[L. S.]

JOSÉ DOMINGUEZ.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE. Whereas the contracting parties ardently desire to live at peace with all the nations of the universe, and avoid any cause for displeasure which might grow out of the exercise of their legitimate rights in peace and war, have further agreed, that as soon as the ratification of this treaty is obtained, they shall proceed to fix by common agreement all those points, rules, and principles that are to govern their conduct in both cases, to which end they shall again invite all friendly and neutral powers to take an active part in such negotiation, should they deem it advisable, and meet through their plenipotentiaries to adjust, conclude, and sign the treaty or treaties that may be made regarding so important an object.

The present additional article shall have the same force as though it had been inserted, word for word, in the treaty to-day signed. It shall be ratified and the ratifications shall be exchanged within the same period.

In testimony whereof the respective Ministers Plenipotentiary have

signed it and affixed their respective seals, in this city of Panama, on the 15th day of the month of July in the year of our Lord 1826.

[L. S.]	PEDRO GUAL.
[L. S.]	PEDRO BRICEÑO MENDEZ.
[L. S.]	ANTONIO LARRAZABAL.
[L. S.]	PEDRO MOLINA.
[L. S.]	MANUEL DE VIDAURRE.
[L. S.]	MANUEL PEREZ DE TUDELA.
[L. S.]	JOSÉ MARIANO MICHELENA.
[L. S.]	JOSÉ DOMINIGUEZ.

Agreement referred to in Article 11 of the treaty of perpetual confederation, signed on this date by the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Republics of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United States of Mexico.

The undersigned, Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Republics of America, met together in the General Assembly of Panama pursuant to the stipulations of Article 11 of the treaty of league signed on this date, have adjusted and concluded the agreement following:

First. This Assembly shall move to the town of Tacubaya, one league distant from the City of Mexico, where it shall continue to hold its sessions, and it shall periodically meet there, or at any other point of the Mexican territory, so long as reason and circumstances shall not demand its removal to another locality having the same advantages of healthfulness, security, and good location for communication with the nations of Europe and America.

Second. The Governments shall maintain their legations complete in the locality of the meeting of the assembly for the period of three months, extendible two more; but during a common war they shall keep those legations all the time in the territory of the Republic where the assembly is gathered.

Third. The assembly shall receive as signatory ministers only such persons as have the character of at least ministers plenipotentiary, and as such they shall be received and considered in accordance with established practices, addressing them with the same titles as their respective Governments do in their official communications.

Fourth. The ministers having met and the powers of the newly arrived having been exchanged, there shall be observed, as regards preference and the presidency, the same method as was chosen by the present assembly, renewing upon the opening of the conferences the operation of drawing lots which is recorded in the protocols.

Fifth. The ministers of the Republic where the sessions are held shall give notice to their Government, through its respective minister, of the successive arrival of the plenipotentiaries, including a list of

their suites, so that thus apprised they as well as their families may be accorded and ordered to be accorded the rights, prerogatives, and immunities which are customary and due to their representative and exalted character.

Sixth. In order to avoid every cause of delay in the negotiation of the treaties, no ceremony at all shall be observed during such proceedings, and the plenipotentiaries shall meet whenever and wherever they may think best, without regard to rank.

Seventh. The Government of the Republic where the assembly meets will provide, however, convenient and decent quarters where the conferences may be held, should the ministers so decide, and shall accord to said ministers all the assistance they need to procure lodgment.

Eighth. At the place of meeting of the assembly during its sessions, no troops shall be quartered (unless at the request of the same assembly), nor shall any authority, however high it be, except the civil and municipal of the territory, enter therein.

Ninth. The correspondence of the ministers only, and not that of their suites, shall be postage free in the post-offices of the Republic where the assembly meets.

Tenth. So soon as the other powers of America shall have joined in the general assembly by means of their plenipotentiaries, this agreement may be reconsidered, so as to make therein the changes deemed advisable.

In testimony whereof the undersigned have signed and sealed the present agreement in the City of Panama, on the fifteenth day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-six.

[L. S.]

PEDRO GUAL.

[L. S.]

PEDRO BRICEÑO MENDEZ.

[L. S.]

ANTONIO LARRAZABAL.

[L. S.]

PEDRO MOLINA.

[L. S.]

MANUEL DE VIDAURRE.

[L. S.]

MANUEL PEREZ DE TUDELA,

[L. S.]

JOSÉ MARIANO DE MICHELENA.

[L. S.]

JOSÉ DOMINGUEZ.

Convention on Contingents between the Republics of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United Mexican States.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, AUTHOR AND LAW-GIVER OF THE UNIVERSE:

The Republics of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United Mexican States, desiring, pursuant to article 3 of the treaty of perpetual union, league, and confederation, signed this day, to co-operate as effectively as they ought against their common enemy, the King of Spain, until the course of events shall incline his mind to justice and

peace, of whose benefits they are now deprived because of the stubbornness with which said Prince endeavors to aggravate the evils of war; and the said confederated powers being resolved to make all manner of sacrifices to put an end to so lamentable a state of things, employing in this behalf resources adapted to the present circumstances or those which may arise, have determined to adjust their respective contingents through their ministers plenipotentiary, met together in this assembly, appointed and named as follows:

His excellency the Vice-President, acting Executive of the Republic of Colombia, the most excellent Señores Pedro Gual and Pedro Briceño Mendez, brigadier-general of the armies of said Republic.

His excellency the President of the Republic of Central America, the most excellent Señores Antonio Larrazábal and Pedro Molina.

The excellent the council of Government of Peru, the most excellent Señores Don Manuel Lorenzo de Vidaurre, president of the supreme court of justice of the said Republic, and Don Manuel Perez de Tudela, attorney-general of the said court.

His excellency the President of the United Mexican States the most excellent Señores Don José Mariano Michelena, brigadier-general, and Don José Dominguez, chief-justice of the supreme court of justice of the State of Guanajuato.

Who, having mutually produced their full powers, and having found them in sufficient and due form, have agreed upon the articles following:

ARTICLE 1. The contracting parties obligate and bind themselves to raise and maintain on an effective and complete war footing an army of 60,000 men, infantry and cavalry, in this proportion: The Republic of Colombia, 15,250; that of Central America, 6,750; that of Peru, 5,250; and the United Mexican States 32,750. One-tenth of these quotas shall be cavalry.

ARTICLE 2. The said 60,000 men shall be organized into brigades and divisions, armed, equipped, and ready in every way to take the field and act defensively and offensively, in accordance with the separate agreement arrived at by the contracting parties, in order that the troops shall have all the mobility possible, said separate agreement shall be as binding as if it had been inserted word for word in the present convention.

ARTICLE 3. The object of the contracting parties in confederating themselves being to diminish the sacrifices which each would have to make by itself in behalf of the common cause, and to afford each other all protection and aid, it is hereby agreed, that, in case one of the parties is invaded, the others shall come to its assistance, not only with the troops spoken of above, but also with a subsidy of \$200,000 each, which shall be promptly placed at the disposition of the Government of the nation invaded, in the treasury of the ally having to provide it, either in coin or in bills of exchange, besides the other pecuniary assistance the contracting parties are ready to give each other recip-

rocal, and which shall be agreed upon later, should it be necessary in view of the circumstances.

ARTICLE 4. The contingents of troops shall be placed, should it be necessary to come to the defense of one of the contracting parties, under the direction and command of the Government they are going to assist; it being well understood that the allied forces are to preserve under their commanders the organization, order, and discipline of the country to which they belong.

ARTICLE 5. Any of the contracting parties going to the assistance of another shall be bound during the campaign to feed, pay, clothe, replace the reductions in their respective contingents, and pay the expense of transportation; but the assisted party shall treat them, with regard to quarters or lodgings and hospitals, as their own troops, and shall provide them with the munitions of war they may consume, and with the arms they need to replace those rendered useless during the operations.

ARTICLE 6. The provisions for the support of the allied troops shall be furnished by the respective Governments. If these can not furnish them, or consider it more convenient to obtain them from the country they are defending, the said Government is bound to furnish them at the same price and of the same quality as those of its own troops, making to this end the necessary arrangements and agreements for each campaign.

ARTICLE 7. All the expenses incurred in the operations undertaken pursuant to the preceding articles, in defense of some of the contracting parties, and subsidies of any kind that may be given them, shall be made good after adjustment by the power receiving the assistance, two years after the end of the present war, and the conclusion of a final treaty of peace with Spain.

ARTICLE 8. For the purpose of filling the vacancies in the contingents to be furnished by each of the parties, it has been agreed that volunteers may be recruited in the country where operations are being carried on; but such recruits, being natural-born citizens of said nation, shall be entirely free, at the time of the withdrawal of the allied troops, to follow or not the flags under which they have enlisted; in every case, however, the balance in favor of or against the command shall be paid.

ARTICLE 9. In case the contracting parties deem it advisable to take the offensive against the common enemy, beyond the territory of the allies, with the contingents of troops agreed upon in article 1, they shall agree among themselves as to the means to be employed, the object of the movement, the commander who shall direct the operations, and the temporary or permanent organization to be given to the country that shall be occupied, to the end that there shall be unison of action and success be assured.

ARTICLE 10. The contracting parties, moreover, obligate and bind themselves to organize and to maintain a competent naval force, whose extent, class, distribution, and destination have been agreed upon sepa-

ately; and for the carrying into effect of which they hereby appropriate the sum of \$7,720,000, apportioned as follows: The Republic of Colombia, \$2,205,714; that of Central America, \$955,811; and the United Mexican States, \$4,558,475.

ARTICLE 11. The contracting parties further obligate and bind themselves to keep their respective vessels on a war footing, completely armed, manned, and provisioned correspondingly, which provisions should be replenished every six months, without the vessels being ever taken from the service they shall be engaged in.

ARTICLE 12. The vessels of the allied navy shall carry the flag of the nation to which they belong, and their officers and crews shall be judged and governed by the respective laws and ordinances until such a time as the allies adopt by agreement an ordinance or general regulations to render the service uniform.

ARTICLE 13. A board composed of three members appointed, one by the Government of the Republic of Colombia, another by the Republic of Central America, another by that of the United Mexican States shall have the direction and command of the naval force which shall be stationed on the Atlantic Ocean, and shall have the authority of a high military officer, or greater, should the said Governments deem it advisable for the purpose of realizing the great objects agreed upon.

ARTICLE 14. The members of the board of Directors of the naval forces of the confederation shall be appointed by the respective Governments within twenty days after the ratification of the present convention, and shall meet at the earliest opportunity for the first time in Carthagena, where they shall establish their headquarters, or change it to any other locality under the jurisdiction of one of the powers appointing them, as they may deem it advisable for the greater success of the operations they may undertake, and the facility for communications with the Governments of their dependence.

ARTICLE 15. To the end that the said board of Directors shall have all the independence and liberty necessary to the fullest discharge of their duties, it has been agreed, and is hereby expressly agreed, that each of its members shall enjoy all the privileges and immunities of a diplomatic agent, wherever he may be located.

ARTICLE 16. The prizes captured by the naval force of the confederation shall be distributed intact among the officers, marines, and crew making the capture; the classification of prizes, the court where they are to be adjudicated, and the manner in which the distribution is to be made shall be regulated by a special agreement.

ARTICLE 17. The repairs needed by the federated navy by reason of injuries received at sea or in war shall be made without distinction on the account of the said confederation, with the fund that for the purpose shall be apportioned among the contracting parties in proportion to their respective contingents, and shall be placed at the disposal of the board of Directors. And in order that it may have at once a fund available for the first repairs that may be necessary, there shall be delivered to it

upon its organization the sum of \$300,000, being made up as follows: The Republic of Colombia, \$85,000; the Republic of Central America, \$37,146; and the United States of Mexico, \$177,140.

ARTICLE 18. In case any of the contracting powers should have in its service other armed vessels, or should arm any hereafter, not belonging to the confederated navy, and one or more of them should assist with one or more of the said navy in the capture of enemies, they shall share in all the benefits as though they belonged to it.

ARTICLE 19. If upon concluding peace with Spain, as contemplated by this convention, the contracting parties should agree to disband the allied navy, the same vessels which each one contributed to its organization, according to the agreement referred to in article 10, or those which shall have replaced them according to the provisions of article 17, shall be returned to their original owner.

ARTICLE 20. For the purpose of protecting the coasts of the contracting parties on the Pacific Ocean, it has been agreed that the Peruvian Republic shall maintain constantly thereon, on the same war-footing above set forth, a fleet composed and made up of two squadrons in the manner provided for separately, and said fleet shall be directed and maintained by its Government, with entire independence of the board of direction.

ARTICLE 21. By virtue of the provisions of the preceding article it is further agreed that the Republic of Peru shall not be included either in the burdens or the advantages stipulated for the powers assisting in the organization of the naval forces on the Atlantic Ocean, under articles 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19 of this convention; it being well understood that if fortunate events permit the powers which fitted up the Atlantic squadron to be re-imbursed of their expenses, then the Republic of Peru shall also be re-imbursed, subsequently to them, of the expenses she may have incurred on the Pacific Ocean; and in the same way, if the Republic of Peru succeeds in reimbursing herself of the expenses incurred on the Pacific coast, the balance shall be set aside for distribution among the allied powers on the Atlantic.

ARTICLE 22. The American powers adhering to the treaty of perpetual union, league, and confederation, of this date, in the terms prescribed in article 25 of the same, shall also furnish their contingents on land and sea, in the same proportion as the other allied powers, and they shall be added to those already designated.

ARTICLE 23. The duties and obligations to which the contracting parties have bound themselves by the present convention on contingents relating to the present war in which they are engaged against the King of Spain, shall be understood as applicable to any other war they shall agree to sustain in common, if upon declaring it the parties agree upon them.

ARTICLE 24. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the town of Tacubaya within a period of eight months, or before, if possible.

In testimony whereof the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Republics of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United States of Mexico have signed and sealed these presents with their respective seals in this city of Panama, on the fifteenth day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1826.

[L. S.]

PEDRO BRICEÑO MENDEZ.

[L. S.]

PEDRO GUAL.

[L. S.]

ANTONIO LARRAZABAL.

[L. S.]

PEDRO MOLINA.

[L. S.]

MANUEL DE VIDAURRE.

[L. S.]

MANUEL PEREZ DE TUDELA.

[L. S.]

JOSÉ MARIANO DE MICHELENA.

[L. S.]

JOSÉ DOMINGUEZ.

Agreement referred to in article 2 of the convention on contingents of this date, concluded between the Republics of Colombia, Central America, Peru, and the United Mexican States.

[Confidential.]

The undersigned, Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Republics of America, met in the General Assembly of Panama, pursuant to the provisions of the convention on contingents signed on this day, have adjusted and concluded the agreement following:

PART FIRST—*Relating to the Army.*

ARTICLE 1. The contingent assigned to each of the contracting powers shall be divided into three equal corps, of which the first shall be at all times on the coast ready to embark and go to the aid of the one which shall be invaded; the second shall be stationed at a distance from the coast not to exceed forty leagues, ready to replace the first whenever it shall move; and the third shall be held in reserve to replace the second in turn.

ARTICLE 2. As the object of the three corps spoken of is not only to go to the assistance of the ally invaded, but also to defend the territory of the power that must furnish them, each Government may locate the second and third corps where it deems most advisable, so long as in its judgment they shall be in a position to replace each other successively, or to combine with the first in case of urgent need.

ARTICLE 3. The contingents shall not be due except in case the invasion is serious; that is to say, exceeding five thousand men actually landed, attempting or taking possession of some strong point or fortification on the coast, or should have penetrated the country to the distance of thirty leagues.

ARTICLE 4. In case the invasion exceeds five thousand up to ten

thousand men, each ally shall contribute to the assistance of the invaded the sixth part of its contingent, or the half of the first corps. Should the invasion be greater than from ten to fifteen thousand men, the full first corps shall be contributed. And should it exceed this latter number up to twenty-five thousand or more, the contingent shall consist of the first two corps. The full complement of each contingent shall only be furnished when the successes attained by the enemy render probable the subjugation of the power invaded.

ARTICLE 5. In case two or more allies shall be invaded simultaneously, the assisting forces of the rest shall move to the defense of that where the enemy has carried the greatest forces, unless otherwise resolved in the Assembly.

ARTICLE 6. In case one of the allied powers should have inimical forces in sight threatening disembarkation, and whose number should portend a serious invasion, at the same time that it receives the notice requiring the contingent in favor of others of the allies, the former may withhold the dispatching of its troops, and shall not be bound to give its equivalent in coin; but it shall reply, stating the fact, and in the event of the removal of the threatened danger the obligation shall be renewed.

ARTICLE 7. The cavalry corresponding to each contingent shall move with saddles, bridles, and other equipments, the necessary horses being at the expense of the party assisted while in its service.

ARTICLE 8. The artillery force of each contingent is left to the prudence of the several Governments, and shall not be furnished except in case the invaded ally shall expressly request it. In such case the invaded ally shall provide the horses necessary for the train and transportation while in its service.

ARTICLE 9. The power invaded shall request the assistance each ally should give according to the proportion above established, and the ally called upon shall either put its contingent in march within sixty days, reckoned from that of receipt of notice, or offer, in reply, the equivalent spoken of in the next article.

ARTICLE 10. Whenever any of the contracting parties shall fail to respond promptly with the contingent corresponding to it within the time prescribed by the preceding article, it shall pay monthly to the power invaded the sum of thirty dollars for each man due, which payment shall be made at the end of every month.

ARTICLE 11. In case the ally called upon can not respond with troops, but with the equivalent sum, according to the preceding article, it shall so state immediately, in order that the ally invaded can draw upon it for the amounts accrued monthly; it being well understood that the obligation to pay the equivalent in coin shall begin seventy days from the receipt of the notice of requisition.

ARTICLE 12. Whenever a Government shall have to make a payment of any sum to another of the allies for the assistance which should be given according to this agreement and article 3 of the convention as

to contingents, it shall be done in cash or in bills of exchange on the banks of the United States of the North or of London.

ARTICLE 13. As it is impossible to comprehend in an agreement all the details of a plan of operations which depend upon that which each power shall adopt for its own defense, taking into account its points and resources, the allies shall agree among themselves separately upon all these details.

ARTICLE 14. As it can well happen that one of the allies being called upon by another to furnish its contingent in troops can not, for want of transports, place them in the invaded territory, notwithstanding their state of readiness therefor, it is agreed that the difficulties being insurmountable or extremely burdensome to the allied State, after it has made every effort and has heard the means suggested to it by the diplomatic agent of the State asking assistance, the party called upon shall not be obligated to pay the equivalent in money; and should any difference arise between the power requesting the assistance and that which should give it, the same course shall be followed as has been agreed upon touching the settlement of all differences.

PART SECOND—*Relating to the Confederated Navy.*

ARTICLE 15. The object of this part of the agreement being to gain naval superiority over the present common enemy, it has been agreed that the confederated navy shall consist of three battle-ships of from 70 to 80 guns; six frigates of from 44 to 64; 8 corvettes of 24 to 34; 6 brigantines of from 20 to 24, and one sloop-of-war of from 10 to 12 guns, the cost of these vessels being estimated, striking an average of the gun capacity, at \$700,000 for a war-ship; \$420,000 for a frigate; \$200,000, a corvette, and \$90,000 a brigantine.

ARTICLE 16. Therefore each of the Powers constituting the Atlantic Navy shall furnish the contingents assigned them in the treaty, with the following vessels: Colombia, one battle-ship of from 74 to 80 guns; two frigates of 64, and two of 44; Central America, one frigate of from 44 to 64, one corvette of from 24 to 34, and two brigantines of from 20 to 24; the United States of Mexico, two battle-ships, of from 70 to 80; two frigates of 64, and two others of 44; six corvettes of from 24 to 34, and three brigantines of from 20 to 24 guns.

ARTICLE 17. As the total of the cost of the vessels assigned to each power results in those of Colombia exceeding by \$164,286 the money quota due by it, it has been agreed that this excess be paid with the \$155,811 lacking in that of Central America, and the \$8,475 wanting in Mexico to fill theirs; and as these two amounts added still show a deficit of \$10,000 it has been agreed that Colombia deduct this amount from the first sum it shall have to pay to the repair-fund, according to Article 17 of the Treaty.

ARTICLE 18. The objects to which the operations of the Confederated Navy shall be directed are: First, defend and protect the coasts and

seas of the said Republics against all foreign invasion ; and, second, to seek and follow the Spanish navy to annihilation and destruction, wherever it may be found.

ARTICLE 19. It shall be one of the principal cares of the Board of Direction that the vessels shall be always in the best condition for service, to which end it shall inform the several Governments monthly of the status of the repair-fund, in order that funds which have been used shall be replaced, or those needed in excess be transmitted. These reimbursements and exchanges of funds shall be made always in the same proportion as the first \$300,000, of which Article 17 of the Convention as to contingents speaks, were appropriated.

ARTICLE 20. The Board shall organize the auditing department for the administration of the repair-fund, appointing the employés it shall seem absolutely necessary in the premises, and fixing the respective salaries, which shall be paid out of the said fund ; all under instructions issued by the respective Governments, to which it shall give timely account of its actions.

ARTICLE 21. The fleet the Peruvian Republic shall maintain in the Pacific Ocean, pursuant to Article 20 of the Convention, shall consist of the vessels which in the allotment in Article 16 of this agreement, are lacking to complete the total force designated in the 15th, that is to say: one frigate, one corvette, one brigantine and one sloop-of-war; and the two cruising stations they shall constantly maintain are, one from the southernmost boundary of said Republic to the port of Panama, and another from this port to the northernmost limit of the United States of Mexico on the Pacific.

ARTICLE 22. The present agreement may be revised and amended in whole or in part, whenever the allies deem it convenient.

In testimony whereof the undersigned have signed and sealed the present agreement in the City of Panama, on the fifteenth day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1826.

[L. S.]	PEDRO BRICEÑO MENDEZ.
[L. S.]	PEDRO GUAL.
[L. S.]	ANTONIO LARRAZABAL.
[L. S.]	PEDRO MOLINA.
[L. S.]	M. L. DE VIDAURRE.
[L. S.]	MANUEL PEREZ DE TUDELA.
[L. S.]	JOSÉ MARIANO DE NUCHELENA.
[L. S.]	JOSÉ DOMÍNGUEZ.

The treaties above inserted did not meet by far the expectations of Bolivar, nor did they correspond to the instructions which he had caused to be given to the Peruvian Plenipotentiaries. Nevertheless, he submitted them for approval to the Peruvian Congress, and did not make any public display of his intense disappointment.

The Peruvian Congress did not grant the ratification. The Congresses of Mexico and Guatemala also refused it. Only Colombia approved of them, and this only partially. The movement therefore failed, and the relations between the American States remained in the condition in which they were before.

Don Rafael Fernando Seijas, in his important work on the "International Spanish-American Law, Public and Private," refers to this Congress in the following terms:

"The subject has not only a historical interest. The necessity of union between these States is the aspiration of patriotism as strong now as when presented to the perspicacious mind of Bolivar. He saw beforehand all its importance, and the students of history feel compelled to acknowledge the great foresight of that statesman. He desired to avoid the evils which might arise out of the intercourse of these new States with the great Powers; he wanted to extinguish the germs of civil discord, to kill the spirit of revolt, to establish peaceful methods for the settlement of all disputes, and make them as far as possible powerful, capable of all progress and aggrandizement, and equal, not formally and on the paper, but actually and practically, to the great nations of the world.

"The plan failed; only four Republics were represented at Panama by their Plenipotentiaries, after not a few delays and embarrassments; others were absent either because of objection to the idea or owing to their being involved in internal discussions. The treaties and conventions there signed received the approval neither of the originator of the idea nor of the Legislatures of the parties represented at the capital of the Isthmus, with the exception of Colombia, and this failure of ratification and exchange rendered them a dead letter. Notwithstanding the Ministers' agreement to continue the sessions at Tacubaya, owing to the unhealthfulness of Panama, and to meet thereafter every two years, they held no further conferences. The political disturbances of the years succeeding that of 1826 prevented the Liberator from again engaging himself in the undertaking, and from that time it was lost to sight. Shortly thereafter the great Colombia, the ally and intimate friend of Peru, to whom the latter owed her freedom, found herself involved with this sister in the war which terminated with the battle of Tarqui. The destruction of the great Republic succeeded. The peace between Venezuela and the other two sections was exposed to grave dangers, and the latter in reality did break out in hostilities. While these events were taking place the chosen son of Caracas passed away, his last words to the Colombians showing the deep conviction he retained to the end of his days of the excellence of a close union of the American nation."*

* Seijas—El Derecho internacional hispano americano. Vol. I, page 7.

II.

THE CONGRESS OF LIMA OF 1847.

The failure of the Congress of Panama did not prevent the nations of America from again making an effort in favor of unification of their interests, and in promotion of their common safety and welfare.

Five years after the return of the Panama plenipotentiaries to their respective homes the Government of Mexico extended an invitation to the American Republics to meet in a new Congress, either at Tacubaya, Panama, or Lima. But this invitation, made under date of March 13, 1831, was not accepted, or if accepted, never carried into effect.

Five years later, on December 18, 1838, Mexico repeated her efforts in that direction, and urged Venezuela to join her in persuading the other nations of the New World to hold the Conference to which they had been invited in 1831, and carry its programme into execution. That programme was —

The union and close alliance of the new States for the purposes of defense against foreign invasion, the acceptance of friendly mediation of the neutral States for the settlement of all disagreements and disputes of whatever nature which might happen to arise between the sister Republics, and the framing and promulgation of a code of public law regulating their mutual relations.*

This request was repeated by Mexico August 6, 1839, and April 2, 1840;† and although it seems that the Government of New Granada answered to the Government of

* Torres Calcedo.—*Union Latino-americana*, p. 42.

† This persistency in the efforts of Mexico caused a distinguished writer (Don Ramon Sotomayor Valdes) to say that the idea of an International Congress, which had been Bolivar's favorite scheme, took firm possession of the minds of Mexican authorities (*habia ido á posarse en la cabeza del Gobierno mexicano*) who made strenuous efforts to assemble on Mexican soil the representatives of the Spanish-American Governments, and offered them a palace in the picturesque town of Tacubaya, at about 3 miles from the City of Mexico.—(*Historia de Chile durante los cuarenta años transcurridos desde 1831 hasta 1871*, por Don Ramon Sotomayor Valdes, vol. I, p. 387.)

Mexico (1840), accepting the invitation with enthusiasm, and suggesting Tacubaya as the best place for the holding of the Conference, nothing further was done and the project continued to be unexecuted.

But at last, in 1847, the Republics of Bolivia, Chili, Ecuador, New Granada, and Peru decided to carry out the idea and meet in a Conference at Lima for the purpose of "maintaining their independence, sovereignty, dignity, and territorial integrity, and of entering into such other compacts as might be conducive to promote their common welfare." They also bound themselves to allow all the other American Republics who should be willing to join them in the deliberations to do so at any time, or adhere to their agreements.

The first meeting of this "American Congress," which decided to extend an invitation to the United States, was held at Lima, on the 11th of December, 1847, Bolivia being represented by Señor Don José Ballivian; Chili, by Señor Don José Benavente; Ecuador, by Señor Don Pablo Merino; New Granada, by Señor Don Juan Francisco Martin; and Peru, by Señor Don Manuel Ferreiros.

Between the 11th of December, 1847, and the 1st of March, 1848, in which the Congress adjourned *sine die*, nineteen meetings were held.* As their protocols and the papers annexed to them are rather voluminous, and have been printed in the book of Señor Torres Caicedo,† which is comparatively easy to consult, the insertion thereof in these notes has been deemed unnecessary. On the other hand, the interest purely historical which those documents have, since no practical results were reached by the deliberations which they witnessed, is by no means so great as to justify an inconsiderate increase of this work.

The results of the labors of the Congress of Lima of 1847, says Señor Torres Caicedo, were a treaty of confederation, another of commerce and navigation, a consular convention, and a postal treaty. The consular convention was approved by the Government of New Granada. All the other treaties became dead letter.

* December 11, 16, 17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 28, 30, and 31, 1847; January 4, 8, 10, 17, 18, 21 and 24; February 8, and March 1, 1848.

† *Union Latino-Americana*, from page 111 to page 241.

Although, as it has been stated, the United States were invited to join the assembly, their presence there would not have been exactly within the scope of that Congress. It was intended exclusively to render the relations of the Spanish-American Republics with each other as close and as intimate as they could be; and nothing which was not of Spanish origin could come well within its jurisdiction.

Nothing can be more natural, interesting, and necessary for the Spanish-American Republics [says the preamble of the draft of a treaty of confederation, which the plenipotentiaries of New Granada, Chili, and Bolivia submitted on the second meeting] than to put an end to the state of isolation from each other in which heretofore they have found themselves, devise efficient means to secure their firm union for the purposes of defending their independence, sovereignty, dignity and interests, or arrange (always by peaceful and friendly methods) the differences and disagreements which may arise between them. They being bound to each other by the ties of a common origin, a common language, a common religion, common customs, and the common cause for which they have struggled, as well as by their geographical position, the similarity of their institutions, and their analogous necessities and reciprocal interests, can not but consider themselves as parts of one and the same nation, which must unite their forces and their resources for removing all the obstacles which prevent the destinies assigned to them by nature and civilization from being accomplished.

It can not be plainer, therefore, that the whole of this affair was purely Spanish-American, and that in it there was no proper room for the United States. On the other hand, the United States were then at war with Mexico.

A curious incident, witnessed by the protocol of the last session, relative to the plan of Spain of turning the islands of Cuba, Porto Rico, and San Domingo into one monarchy or empire, more or less under her control or influence, deserves attention. No better idea can be formed of it than by inserting the text of the protocol itself. It reads as follows :

Protocol of the Conference held on the 1st of March, 1848, Señor José Benavente, presiding.

The plenipotentiaries of Bolivia, Chili, Ecuador, New Granada, and Peru having met together, the protocol of the Conference of February 8th ultimo was read and approved, and the protocols and other documents which could not be signed at the previous session were signed.

The plenipotentiary from Ecuador said that he had instructions from his Government to bring to the knowledge of the plenipotentiaries a note from the Ecuadorian consul at Caracas, bringing the intelligence that by reason of the war the United States are waging against Mexico the Spanish Government, by agreement with a great potentate and with Marie-Christine, proposes to convert the islands of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Spanish portion of San Domingo into a monarchy, and at the same time to unite on the continent the States which formed Colombia to establish an empire; that to carry this scheme into effect General Juan José Flores has been sent on this mission, and it appears that the purpose is to throw these countries into a state of anarchy, so as to present to them as a peace-maker the monarch who is to rule them. The other plenipotentiaries stated that although it appears little probable that such a scheme to establish monarchies in America by the means indicated may be attempted to be carried out, nevertheless they re-iterate their statements in the Conference held on the 24th day of January, and they do not doubt that should any of the events there mentioned take place, their Governments would act in accordance with the stipulations of the treaty of confederation, so soon as through mutual communications they shall recognize the necessity of doing it.

There being no further business to engage the Plenipotentiaries, they have closed their Conferences by signing the present and last of the protocols thereof.

D. S. BENAVENTE.
JUAN DE FRANCISCO MARTIN.
PABLO MERINO.
MANUEL FERREIROS.
JOSÉ BALLIVIAN.

The passage referred to in the protocol of January 24 is as follows:

The plenipotentiary from Ecuador stated that, complying with his instructions, he called the attention of the Congress to a serious matter, which was the military expedition planned and organized in Spain by ex-General Juan José Flores, for the purpose of reconquering these countries and returning them to the mother country. That in proof of this fact the Ecuadorian Government had received advices from its confidential agent in London and from the minister for foreign affairs of Chili, asserting that ex-General Flores did not desist from his plan even after the embargo of the steam-ships and transports which were to carry the said expedition; that he had gone to Belgium for the purpose of making new enlistments; that the minister for foreign affairs of Chili had expressed himself in like manner in his last year's report to Congress; that ex-General Flores, after his arrival in North America, had stationed himself in Jamaica, from which point he was stirring up discord and fomenting revolutions in Ecuador by means of writings and confidential letters which he had addressed to the present com-

manding general at Guayaquil and to other parties, and even by transmitting funds to various persons to cause an uprising in the country; that two revolutions, one in Guayaquil and another in Quito, had been discovered and crushed out; that news had been received that Don Andres Santa Cruz was in league with Flores to stir up like disturbances in Bolivia and Peru, for he had lately written to a distinguished person in Chili, that on the least expected day he would be on these shores, because Bolivia had broken the conditions under which he had agreed to expatriate himself and go to Europe; that for all these reasons he proposed to the American Congress that a public or secret treaty be entered into, by which the Confederate Republics should bind themselves to refuse asylum within their respective territories to ex-General Flores, as the enemy and perturber of the peace of America.

The other plenipotentiaries stated that they had no instructions from their governments empowering them to enter into negotiations upon the subject suggested by that of Ecuador in the way he proposed; that the treaty of confederation already stipulated all that was necessary in the premises in general, and that it was as applicable to the case of General Flores attempting an invasion (section 4, article 2) as it was to his trying to create disturbances in Ecuador from others of the Confederate Republics (article 14); and that the governments, should necessity arise, would act in accordance with these stipulations even in case the treaty should not have been ratified, for they are in keeping with the principles which were expressed by the said governments from the moment notice was had of the plan of General Flores.

The two articles of the treaty of confederation above cited are as follows:

ART. II. Pursuant to the foregoing article, and for the purposes therein set forth, the *casus fœderis* shall be understood to arise:

* * * * *

SEC. 4. Whenever adventurers or unauthorized parties, either with their own means or under the protection of any foreign government, shall invade, or attempt to invade, the territory of any of the Confederate Republics with foreign troops to intervene in the political matters of the country, or to found colonies or other establishments to the prejudice of the independence, sovereignty, or dominion of the respective Republic.

ART. XIV. * * * Offenders charged with the crimes of treason, rebellion, or sedition against the government of one of the Confederate Republics, who shall seek asylum in another of them, shall not in any case be delivered up; but they may be expelled from the country wherein they have sought asylum, or be interned as far as fifty leagues from the frontiers or coasts, whenever there shall be proper grounds to fear their fomenting conspiracies or threatening their own country in any other way. The expulsion and interning shall only be done by the government of the Republic affording the asylum.

III.

THE "CONTINENTAL TREATY" OF 1856 AND OTHER MOVEMENTS PREVIOUS TO 1864.

The Republics of Peru, Chili, and Ecuador entered into and signed on the 15th of September, 1856, at the city of Santiago, a treaty of league and confederation, which has been called "the continental treaty," for the purpose of

cementing upon substantial foundations the union which exists between them, as members of the great American family, which are bound together by the ties of a common origin, similar institutions, and many other signs of fraternity, and rendering the relations between them and their citizens closer, by removing obstacles and restrictions, and promoting moral and material progress, as well as giving further guaranties of their independence and territorial integrity.

Peru was represented by Señor Don Cipriano C. Zegarra, Chili by Señor Don Antonio Varas, and Ecuador by Señor Don Francisco Xavier Aguirre; and as agreed upon by the treaty, the Government of Peru was assigned the duty to communicate with and ask the other Governments of America to adhere to its stipulations.

Señor Torres Caicedo has given the full text of this compact;* but as it never became a law, and many of its particular provisions were made the subject of criticisms and amendments by the Government of Peru itself, as well as by others, it seems unnecessary to insert it.

Señor Torres Caicedo says:

Above all, this treaty has the capital defect of showing a spirit hostile both to the United States (owing to the Walker's expeditions of those days) and to the monarchical forms of government, although the Empire of Brazil was wisely invited to the Union.†

The same sentiment of alarm which the Walker enterprises had produced caused Don A. J. de Irrisari, the representative of Guatemala in Washington, to hold conferences in the latter city, with the other ministers of the Spanish-American Republics in the United States, for devising the best manner to accomplish the plans of Bolivar. Nothing

* *Union Latino-Americana*, p. 241 and the following.

† *Ibid.*, p. 50.

has been published of what was done at those conferences, which ended in no practical effect whatsoever.

That feeling of alarm seems not to have been subdued or mitigated for some years afterward, as we find Costa Rica, as late as on the 14th of August, 1862, when discussing with Colombia a "continental league," to express herself as follows:

As to the participation to be given in this matter to the Government of the United States of North America, my Government believes that such participation would be indispensable if the question were to protect continental interests, taking the word "continental" in its broader sense, or to defend ourselves against danger on the part of Europe; but our weak and divided nationalities, our race looked at with contempt, our societies and institutions not yet settled, are threatened by other dangers against which we must look for protection. There are not always at the head of the Great Republic moderate, just, and upright men as those who form the administration of President Lincoln.

There are parties there whose doctrines can be fatal for our not yet well-established nationalities, and we must neither forget the lessons of the past nor lose sight of the fact that the cessation of the vandalic filibustering expedition of 1855 and the following to 1860 was due to the intervention, although tardily carried into effect, on the part of Europe.

Under this aspect of the question, if our Republics could have the guaranty that they have nothing to fear from the United States of North America, it is indubitable that no other nation could be more useful and favorable to us. Under the shelter of her powerful eagles, under the influence of her wise institutions, and under the spur of her astonishing progress our newly-born nationalities should receive the impulse which they now need, and would be permitted to march with firm step, without experiencing the troubles and difficulties with which they have had to struggle * * *

In view of the above considerations, the idea has occurred to my Government that a new compact might be draughted by which the United States of North America should bind themselves solemnly to respect, and cause others to respect, the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the sister Republics of this continent; not to annex to their territory, either by purchase or by any other means, any part of the territory of the said Republics; not to allow filibustering expeditions to be fitted up against the said nations, or to permit the rights of the latter to be in any way abridged or ignored.

Resting upon a treaty of this kind, our Republics would admit without diffidence, and without preoccupations in regard to the future, the idea of an intimate alliance with the North American people; they would feel as if they had entered into a new life, and be possessed of greater strength; they would get rid of the serious and just fears which

our race has felt; they would march together with a firm step towards such an unity of institutions and interests as to change the face of the American nations, and lay the strongest foundation for our great continental alliance.¹

IV.

THE CONGRESS OF LIMA OF 1864.

On the 11th of January, 1864, the Government of Peru issued a formal invitation to all the governments of the Spanish nations of America to join in a Conference, or Congress, to be held at Lima, or elsewhere if so decided by them, to devise some means of accomplishing a Latin-American Union and "organize into only one family" the different Republics which had been Spanish colonies.

The circular which to that effect was sent by the Peruvian Secretary of foreign relations, Señor Don Juan Antonio Ribeyro, stated the points to be discussed at the proposed Congress in the following way :

1. To declare that the American nations represented in this Congress form one single family, bound together by like principles and identical interests to maintain their independence, their autonomic rights, and their national existence. This declaration of the community of views, of material strength and moral force, in nowise prejudices or curtails the liberty of each State to make in its internal administration the changes and innovations conducive to the increase of its individual prosperity.

2. To negotiate an international treaty to facilitate epistolary correspondence, in order that this vehicle, so suited to mercantile operations and the progress of civilization, shall have all the securities, guaranties, and immunities necessary to the promotion of public and private interests in behalf of the American communities. It is necessary that the communication shall not be expensive, that the secrecy of letters shall be respected to the extent of fanaticism, and that the conscience of man, often confided to the faith of the governments, shall never, or for any motive, be revealed or ridiculed to the detriment and offense of the dignity of the nation, to the impairment of justice, and to the transgression of the laws, civil as well as moral.

3. To bind the governments, in consideration of the Union established, to furnish each other all the statistical data which shall afford

¹ Torres Caicedo—*Union Latino-Americana*, p. 273 and the following.

a perfect idea of their wealth, population, natural and artificial means at their command to defend each other in common, to develop themselves now individually, now collectively, and to form a homogeneous whole, which shall serve as a guaranty of general peace and of respect for fundamental institutions.

4. To dictate all the measures and accept all the principles which shall lead to the settlement of all boundary disputes, which are, in nearly all the American States, the cause of international quarrels, of animosities, and even of wars, as disastrous to the honor as to the prosperity of the nations. States which were at another time subject to the same dominion, it is not strange that, separated by emancipation, they should have frequent disputes and differences regarding territories and other rights of the same character, for the settlement of which measures are needed in keeping with the present civilization, with the reciprocal needs of the American States and with the general well-being of the continent.

5. To irrevocably abolish war, superseding it by arbitration, as the only means of compromising all misunderstandings and causes for disagreement between any of the South American Republics. Our credit, our well-being, and our common happiness demand the adoption of this measure, in which the hopes of America are centered.

6. To remove all the pretexts which serve as a foundation for treason to the American cause, prescribing the moral punishments to be visited upon those who, through covetous passions, shall enter into arrangements unfavorable to the independence of any of the States, to its institutions, and to the stability of the general peace. This declaration is all the more necessary, since upon it depends in great part the ulterior destinies of the continent.

Chili answered enthusiastically to this invitation, under date of February 18, 1864, and was followed by Bolivia on the 26th of February of the same year, and by Colombia on the 2d of June. It is to be noticed that the latter Republic, in promising to attend the Congress, expressed "the opinion that the United States ought not to be invited, because their policy is adverse to all kind of alliances, and because the natural preponderance which a first-class power, as they are, has to exercise in the deliberations might embarrass the action of the Congress."*

The consent of the nations having been obtained, the Congress met at Lima, on the 14th of November, 1864, which was selected for its being the anniversary of the birth of Bolivar.

At its inaugural session, which was attended with un-

* Torres Caicedo, *Union Latino-Americana*, page 82.

usual pomp and imposing ceremonies, the following plenipotentiaries were present:

For Bolivia, Señor Don Juan de la Cruz Benavente.
 For Chili, Señor Don Manuel Mont.
 For Ecuador, Señor Don Vicente Piedrahita.
 For Colombia, Señor Don Justo Arosemena.
 For Guatemala, Señor Don P. A. Herran.
 For Peru, Señor Don José G. Paz Soldan.
 For the Argentine Republic, Señor Don Faustino Sarmiento.

For Venezuela, Señor Don Antonio L. A. Guzman.
 In referring to this Congress, Señor Torres Caicedo says: "The labors of this Congress are not yet known (he wrote in 1865.) Its sessions have been secret; and strange to say, indiscretion has shined by its absence."*

The text of the circular of invitation, and the answers of Chili, Bolivia, and Colombia, can be seen in full in Appendix "E" to the book of Señor Torres Caicedo, from page 277 to 303.

The published account of the first session reads as follows:

MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CONGRESS.

NOVEMBER 14, 1864.

At 2 o'clock this afternoon, as heretofore announced, there met in the house prepared for the purpose and which is known by the name of Torre-Tagle, the most excellent the plenipotentiaries to the American Congress, the most excellent the council of ministers, the diplomatic and consular corps, the courts of justice, the civil, military, and treasury officers, and a large number of distinguished persons of the capital. After they had all taken the seats previously assigned them, the minister for foreign affairs of the Republic, Mr. Calderon, addressed the following words to the plenipotentiaries:

"Gentlemen: The Government of Peru, faithful interpreter of the sentiments of the Peruvian people and of all America, congratulates the august assembly I am addressing and which to-day begins its important public and general work. Much must be expected from the personal character of the members composing it, as well as from the very nature of their labor, which can not but consult the interests of the Continent, in which are centered just hopes of prosperity, of peace, and of happiness."

Mr. Paz Soldan, minister plenipotentiary of Peru in the American

* *Union Latino-Americana*, page 86.

Congress, as president of this august assembly, pronounced the following discourse:

"Gentlemen: The countries of America should give a vote of gratitude to their Governments, which, faithfully interpreting their desires and recognizing the necessity and importance of more closely binding their relations and making them more intimate, have resolved to establish them upon the solid basis of union and fraternity. Widening the sphere of relations between sister countries, with sincerity and good faith, the American Union will identify and assimilate their rights, their necessities, and interests with those of all the nations of the earth.

"The destiny of humanity leads it to form one large family. Reason, justice, and right are common benefits allotted by God to all men and distributed equally among them all. Union, like sociability, is joint and indivisible, and no one can be excluded from the participation to which he is entitled. The respect for justice and right, the enlightenment which every day increases owing to improved means of commerce and to the telegraph, and the frank and generous communication with all the people upon the face of the earth, are indispensable conditions to secure for every political society respect and lasting existence.

"But these priceless benefits can not be secured if internal order and peace are not established; without these progress moves with distrust and slowly. Peace also is deceiving if it be not founded on honor and liberty, on independence and justice, and on the strict community of duties and interests.

"These have, undoubtedly, been the motives which have impelled the Governments of America to appoint the Representatives here met together. All of them are deserving the gratitude of the New World; when their upright and enlightened intentions shall be well known and appreciated, they will receive, also, a solemn vote of adhesion and sympathy from the civilized peoples and Governments of the Old World.

"The American Congress whose sentiments I have to-day the high honor to express, thankfully acknowledges the congratulations showered upon it by the Peruvian people upon this solemn day, so justly desired and looked forward to by America. The congress will endeavor solicitously and to the best of its ability to devise the ways and means to realize the many hopes that are centered in it.

"As the representative of Peru, in its name and that of its government, it becomes my duty to tribute a just homage of gratitude to the most excellent governments so worthily represented in this assembly of free people.

"Peru, which had the honor to invite all America to form a union, without sentiments or interests other than those common to all countries, has, without causing offense to any one, had the still greater honor of having its voice heard, its capital accepted for the holding of the American Congress and the sincerity of its purposes recognized. For this reason, no doubt, in the hour of her bitter conflict, when her territory was violated and her independence threatened Divine Provi-

dence willed that she be not alone. Its finger has proved itself mighty, and upon meeting here so opportunely we have seen its high purposes, that America shall not be alone, dispersed and uncared-for, but rather united and firm to maintain its just rights, not to attack those of others.

“Worthy representatives of the governments of America, the Peruvian people extend to you their thanks! Accept them.”

The President then declared the sessions of the American Congress open, which concluded the exercises; the American plenipotentiaries, the council of ministers, the cabinet and the diplomatic corps, repairing immediately thereafter to one of the balconies of the house to receive the military honors given by the detachments from the army stationed at the capital. A tremendous crowd obstructed San Pedro and adjacent streets.

CORRESPONDENCE

RELATING TO

THE PROPOSED CONGRESS OF PANAMA

IN

1881.

INDEX.

	Page.
Minister Dichman (at Bogota, Colombia) to Secretary Evarts, December 5, 1880.....	217
Colombia: Secretary Santamaria to Minister Dichman, October 14, 1880.....	218
Circular note (translation) of Colombian Government, October 11, 1880.....	219
Convention between Colombia and Chili (Translation) September 3, 1880.....	220
Reply of Chili (translation).....	222
Reply of Dominican Republic (translation).....	223
Reply of Peru (translation).....	224
Reply of Costa Rica (translation).....	226
Reply of Mexico (translation).....	228
Reply of Nicaragua (translation).....	229
Reply of Argentine Republic (translation).....	230
Reply of Colombia (translation).....	237
Reply of Guatemala (translation).....	241
Reply of Salvador (translation).....	241
Reply of Ecuador (translation).....	241
Reply of Bolivia (translation).....	244
Reply of Uruguay (translation).	246
Reply of Honduras (A) (translation).....	248
Reply of Honduras (B) (translation).....	249

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE PROPOSED
CONGRESS OF PANAMA IN 1881.

Mr. Dichman to Mr. Evarts.

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES,
Bogota, December 5, 1880.

SIR : The Colombian minister at Washington has probably informed you before this of a circular note addressed by his government to the governments of the other Spanish-American Republics, based upon Article III of the projected treaty between Colombia and Chili, reported in my No. 205, of the 7th of September last, and having for its object a meeting of plenipotentiaries of all the Spanish-American states at Panama in September, 1881, for the purpose of executing with each other an international treaty or convention, similar to the one executed between Colombia and Chili, and thus not only established the principle of international arbitration for the determination of any differences which may arise between any of the co-signatory states, as a part of the public law of this continent, but also provide for the practical application of this principle by constituting the President of the United States the permanent arbitrator under the proposed treaty.

On the same subject I am in receipt of a note from the Colombian secretary of Foreign Relations, inclosing a copy of the circular note above mentioned, and requested me to solicit your good offices with governments of the several Spanish-American Republics to the end that they may be induced to accept the invitation of the Colombian Government.

Although this action of the administration of President Nunez in extending the invitation above mentioned may perhaps be premature, in view of the fact that the treaty between Colombia and Chili, upon which it is based, has

not yet been approved and ratified, I nevertheless beg leave to recommend the solicitation expressed in the accompanying note of the Colombian secretary of foreign relations to your favorable consideration, for I am sure that the laudable object of providing for the more harmonious relations between the republican nations of this continent and the increased moral influence of the Government of the United States is a matter in which you are deeply interested.

The inclosed correspondence does not disclose the fact that a plenipotentiary from the United States is invited to join in the execution of the proposed treaty or convention. This is probably owing to the reason that the position assigned to the Government of the United States by the proposed treaty is to maintain and exercise a friendly and judicial impartiality in the differences which may arise between the powers of Spanish America.

I would, however, respectfully recommend that if this proposed meeting of plenipotentiaries should take place the Government of the United States be represented upon the occasion, in order to convey to that body the interest felt in the United States in its proceedings, and to manifest the willingness of the President of the United States to accept the trust which by the proposed treaty it is intended to confer upon him, if such should be his pleasure.

I am, &c.,

ERNEST DICHMAN.

[Inclosure 1 in No. 232.—Translation.]

Señor Santamaria to Mr. Dichman.

UNITED STATES OF COLOMBIA, NATIONAL EXECUTIVE POWER,
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Cartagena, October 14, 1880.

MR. MINISTER: I have the honor to inclose to your honor the circular which, under date of the 11th instant, I have sent to the republican Governments of Spanish America, inviting them to be represented before my Government at Panama in the month of September, of the coming year, with the object that all of them may give adhesion to the convention celebrated between Colombia and Chili upon the subject of the preservation of international peace, which I also inclose to your honor.

As the reunion of all the representatives of the Republics of this part

of the world may, and doubtless will, give an occasion for establishing the principles of international law which should rule in the future in their relations among each other and with the nations of Europe, and as your honor has demonstrated to me the convenience (apparent from every point of view) of the reunion of a congress for the indicated object, for the cause of democracy and the civilization of these peoples, I beg your honor to have the goodness to interest yourself with the Government of the United States, to the end that it may use its good relations with all the others of America, excepting that of Brazil, to induce them to send their representatives to Panama at the designated time.

The co-operation of the Government of your honor will doubtless be of the greatest efficacy in furthering an object so important for all America.

With sentiments of most distinguished consideration, I subscribe myself your honor's attentive and obedient servant.

EUSTACIO SANTAMARIA.

[Inclosure 2 in No. 232.—Translation.]

Circular Note of Colombia Government.

UNITED STATES OF COLOMBIA,
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Cartagena, October 11, 1880.

Mr. MINISTER: Your excellency will find herewith an authenticated copy of the convention celebrated in Bogota on the 3d of last September, between the Governments of Colombia and Chili, by virtue of which the two republics bind themselves forever to settle whatever differences or controversies may arise between them through the civilized and humane method of arbitration, and to obtain by treaty from other sister peoples the celebration of similar mutual conventions, with the object of forever banishing international wars from the American Continent.

My Government, the initiator of this measure, considers it of such importance that it has not lost a single moment in making it known to all other Governments of America, in order that they may, as soon as possible, indorse this idea and adopt as an integral and essential part of American international law the principle incorporated in the said convention.

Peace is an essential necessity for Spanish America, and there is visible anxiety to secure this inestimable boon, and to maintain it throughout our continent. In fact, great efforts are being made everywhere to disseminate public instruction amongst the masses, foment commerce and industry, and at the same time vigorously suppress all elements of discord. Order will thus be established upon solid bases, and as the knowledge and practice of republican institutions are extended internal wars will seldom occur.

But international dissensions may arise, especially on questions of boundaries and by straining a point of honor.

Nations like ours, comprising immense territories, should not ruin or dishonor themselves by bloody and disastrous wars for portions of uninhabited, and in many cases uninhabitable, regions, which, as far as the civilization and humanity of America is concerned might as well belong to one nation as another.

Wars of this kind should be averted, and this would be the case, doubtless, if all the nations of the continent adhere to the saving principle embraced in the compact celebrated between Colombia and Chili.

The President of the Republic, desiring to assist all sister governments in the adoption of so humane a measure, has resolved to return to Panama in the early part of September of the coming year, and he has ordered me to request your excellency to appoint a representative of your Republic to proceed to said city with sufficient powers to sign the aforesaid convention, not only with my Government, but with those of the other American Republics that may send representatives.

The city of Panama being in easy communication with the capitals of all the American Republics, and as it were the center of this continent, is the most appropriate point for the representatives of them all to assemble, and it is for this reason that, by order of the executive power, I extend to the Government of your excellency this invitation, which I hope will not be disregarded, since its object is of such importance to America.

With the well established hope to receive in Bogota a speedy and satisfactory reply from your excellency, I avail myself of this opportunity to present to your excellency the sentiments of the highest and most distinguished consideration with which I subscribe myself,

Your excellency's very attentive and obedient servant,

EUSTACIO SANTAMARIA

His Excellency the MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS OF CHILI.

CONVENTION FOR THE PRESERVATION OF PEACE BETWEEN COLOMBIA
AND CHILI.

[Translation.]

The United States of Colombia and the Republic of Chili, desiring to provide a solid basis for the cordial friendly relations that have always existed between the two nations, and at the proper time to strengthen the sentiments of international fraternity which should serve as the foundation of the peace and prosperity of the Americas, have resolved to conclude, in this behalf, a convention, and to this end have appointed plenipotentiaries, as follows, to wit :

His excellency the President of the United States of Colombia, Don Eustacio Santamaria, secretary of state in the department of foreign relations.

His excellency the President of the Republic of Chili, Don Francisco Valdes Vergara, chargé d'affaires of said Republic in the United States of Colombia; who, after having exchanged their full powers and having found them to be in good and due form, have agreed upon the articles following:

ARTICLE I.

The United States of Colombia and the Republic of Chili bind themselves in perpetuity to submit to arbitration, whenever they can not be settled through diplomatic channels, all controversies and difficulties, of whatever nature, that may arise between the two nations, notwithstanding the zeal which their respective governments may display to prevent them.

ARTICLE II.

The selection of the arbitrator, in case the necessity for his appointment shall arise, shall be made by a special agreement, in which shall be also clearly set forth the question in dispute and the procedure to be observed in such arbitration. In case no agreement can be reached upon such an arrangement, or if that formality be expressly waived, the arbitrator fully authorized to exercise the functions thereof shall be the President of the United States of America.

ARTICLE III.

The United States of Colombia and the Republic of Chili will endeavor, at the earliest opportunity, to conclude with the other American nations conventions like unto the present, to the end that the settlement by arbitration of each and every international controversy shall become a principle of American public law.

ARTICLE IV.

This convention shall be ratified by the high contracting parties according to their respective formalities, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in Bogota or in Santiago within one year from date, if possible.

In testimony whereof these presents are signed in Bogota on the third day of September, in the year one thousand eight hundred and eighty.

[L. S.]

EUSTACIO SANTAMARIA.

[L. S.]

FRANCISCO VALDES VERGARA.

United States of Colombia national executive power. Bogotá, September 3, 1880.

Let the present convention be approved. The president of the Union.
[L. S.] RAFAEL NUÑEZ.

The secretary of foreign relations.
EUSTACIO SANTAMARIA.

The Reply of Chili.

REPUBLIC OF CHILI,
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Santiago, November 5, 1880.

Mr. MINISTER: I have the honor to inform your excellency that my Government has approved the convention signed *ad referendum* on the 3d of September last, by the chargé d'affaires of this Republic, near your excellency's Government, and designed to submit to the decision of an arbitrator the controversies and difficulties which may arise between Chili and the United States of Colombia. In consequence said convention will be submitted by my Government to the deliberation of the National Congress at the next regular session.

I beg your excellency to be pleased to bring this fact to the knowledge of his excellency the President of the Colombian Republic, that he may be informed, in this manner, of the approval the convention has met, since it is not possible to transmit to Mr. Valdes Vergara the full powers he has solicited for the purpose of exchange with those exhibited by your excellency on that occasion, as it is presumed he has begun his trip to Washington, pursuant to instructions previously issued.

When the convention shall have been approved by the National Congress I shall have the honor to advise your excellency to the end of proceeding with the exchange of the ratifications.

It is a pleasure in this connection to offer to your excellency the tribute of the high considerations with which I have the honor to be your excellency's attentive and sincere servant.

MELQUIADES VALDERRAMA.

His Excellency the MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS
OF THE UNITED STATES OF COLOMBIA.

Reply of the Dominican Republic.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE FOR FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Santo Domingo, November 30, 1880.

Mr. MINISTER: This department of state has received your excellency's circular, dated the 11th of October last past, together with an authenticated copy of the convention concluded in Bogota on the 3d of September last, between the Government of Colombia and that of Chili, by virtue of which the principle of arbitration is laid down as the basis of American public law in international controversies, and inviting the Government of the Dominican Republic to send, by September of next year, a representative to the city of Panama with powers sufficient to sign the said convention in company with the other Governments of the American Republics there represented.

The executive, before whom I have laid said circular and who considers peace Spanish-America's greatest need, applauds the generous initiative of the Colombian Government, and hastens to adhere at once to a measure of saving potency for the people inhabiting the southern part of this continent; applause and adhesion all the more spontaneous since the idea developed with so much tact by your excellency, aside from being opportune, coming on the trail of a disastrous war between two sister countries, and in view of others threatened, no less bloody and unjustifiable, is, to the mind of this Government, the only practical means of making effective the immortal idea of the liberator Bolivar, for from the first meeting of a congress of plenipotentiaries other like reunions will spring and, as a consequence, the Latin-American Amphictyony or Confederation.

The Dominican Republic is guided by motives of a still more important nature in adhering to the policy of the South American Continent, in which Colombia has so nobly taken the lead, for, situated in the center of the western hemisphere, like the faithful pivot of the two dishes forming the scales of the new world, the aspirations for its future cause it to desire, now more than ever, in view of the interoceanic canal at Panama, that the hopes

of an embryonic continent be realized, founding in the Antilles a social organism corresponding to the natural one of the archipelago and converting it into the focus of universal civilization.

And who knows but that the congress to which your excellency is pleased to invite the Government of the Dominican Republic will discover, in furtherance of that Antillian ideal, with the aid of the ever just and elevated attitude of Colombia in international affairs, the peaceful solution adapted to the natural growth of the life and interest of the nations up to the present engaged in realizing or preventing the natural development of the human destinies in America.

Animated as it is by this well-founded hope, the Government of the Dominican Republic will exert itself to respond opportunely to the invitation which your excellency has been pleased to transmit in the name of the Government of Colombia, and meanwhile the undersigned grasps the opportunity to present to your excellency the expression of his most distinguished consideration.

The secretary of state, of justice, public works, and public instruction, in charge *ad interim* of the department of foreign relations.

ELISEO GRULLONE.

His Excellency the MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS OF
THE REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA, BOGOTA.

The Reply of Peru.

DEPARTMENT OF RELATIONS AND WORSHIP,

Lima, December 4, 1880.

Together with the authenticated copy of the convention concluded on the 3d of September last at that capital, between your excellency's Government and that of Chili, in which is stipulated the settlement of all the differences between the two nations by means of arbitration, I had the honor to receive your excellency's note, under date of February 11, of the current year, the object of which is to invite Peru to adhere to the said convention.

In proof of the fact that the salutary idea it sets forth has for many years been that entertained by this Republic, it is proper to recall that in the year 1865, there being at that time in session in Lima an American Congress, on the initiative and invitation of our Government, there was adjusted by all the plenipotentiaries there met together the draft of a treaty, which should exist, authenticated, in the archives of that department, and which I take pleasure in transmitting to you herewith, printed and duly authenticated, that nothing may be wanting.

From it your excellency will see that in the memorable year of 1865 the same grand idea which now claims the attention of the Government of the Colombian Union had already taken official form and, in consequence, my Government can not but espouse it, much less when in the conference of Arica, held on the 22d, 25th, and 27th of October last, to put an end to the present war on the Pacific, the great Republic of the north mediating spontaneously and at its own request, Peru exerted herself for the adoption, everything else having failed, of the peaceful as well as impartial and just measures advised.

Therefore, my Government concurring with that of your excellency, which it congratulates for the resurrection of that fraternal compact, and which it does not doubt will be accepted by the other Republics invited to adhere to it, there only remains for me to frankly state, as I have the honor to do here, the dangers perhaps inevitable, which the fulfillment of the convention will find in one of its original signers, which has just shown such little satisfactory proof of a sincere purpose to be faithful to obligations of this character, which, it may be said, bound it morally, and at any rate should be taken for granted among brethren who in their unfortunate differences seek only justice.

Under these circumstances, and my Government not wishing to risk anything in a matter of such grave import, it awaits the termination of the present war to give a practical form to the acceptance which, in principle, it can not but lend to an idea which it has always most cordially entertained. As to the rest, and referring to the

general reflections of your excellency upon wars originating in questions of boundaries and national pride, my Government believes that one and the other, whatever their importance, should be decided by the rules of justice and of dignity, the supreme standard of countries who know their rights and know also the obvious importance of always respecting those of others.

I take pleasure in this connection in renewing to your excellency the assurances of the high consideration and distinguished regard with which I am your excellency's attentive and obedient servant,

PEDRO JOSE CALDERON.

His Excellency the SECRETARY OF STATE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES OF COLOMBIA.

The Reply of Costa Rica.

NATIONAL PALACE, SAN JOSE, *December 6, 1880.*

MR. MINISTER: I have received the important communication dated by you at Cartagena on October 11 of the current year, and I find attached an authenticated copy of the treaty concluded in Bogota on September 11 last between the Governments of Columbia and Chili, by virtue of which the two Republics bind themselves for all time to settle any difficulties or controversies which may arise between them through the humane and civilized method of arbitration, and to secure from the other sister countries the negotiation of mutual treaties similar to that, with the object of forever banishing international wars from the American continent.

Disgrace would fall upon any country priding itself upon its culture whose government should hesitate in adhering to a compact which has been demanded for a long time, aside from the sentiment of universal fraternity, never before this century so appreciated and widespread, by our like origin and institutions, which protect the Latin-American nations from many of the elements of discord natural to contentious Europe, and which call

upon them through the ties of blood to form one great family, free and happy, such as was dreamed of by the immortal Bolivar, as is longed for by every American in whose bosom beats a generous heart.

The considerations set forth by your excellency to prove the advantages of the compact can not be stronger nor more applicable. The saving principle of arbitration not only secures us against all chances of armed controversies which deluge us with blood, devastate our lands, and paralyze our progress, but it must even contribute much to the reform of our political existence by accustoming us to submit to argument instead of force the success of our aspirations, and to admit the authority of an arbitrator who in internal questions is naturally the instrument for settling our frequent disputes. I look upon this, most excellent sir, as replete in results directly and indirectly tending to the happiness of America and to the imperishable glory of democracy.

Your excellency informs me that the President of the Republic, wishing to facilitate to all the sister nations the adoption of so humanitarian a measure, has resolved to return to Panama about the beginning of September of the coming year, and that he has requested you to ask me to appoint a representative from this Republic to said city, with sufficient powers to sign the aforesaid convention, not only with that government but with the other American Republics who may send representatives there, and I take pleasure in promising your excellency, in the name of the most excellent President, General D. Tomas Guardia, that the representative of Costa Rica will be present at the coming congress of Panama.

I close with wishes that no nation of Latin-America shall fail to have a representative at that meeting of peace, which can so greatly influence their future destinies, and conveying to your excellency the expression of the highest esteem and consideration with which I subscribe myself your most obedient servant,

JOSE ANTONIO CASTRO.

His Excellency the MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS OF
THE UNITED STATES OF COLOMBIA.

The Reply of Mexico.

MEXICO, *December* 18, 1880.

MR. MINISTER: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of the attentive note your excellency was pleased to address me, bearing date the 11th of October last, transmitting me an authenticated copy of the convention concluded in Bogota on the 3d of September between the Government of Colombia and that of Chili, to settle by means of a friendly and peaceful arbitration whatever difficulties or controversies might arise between the two Republics, and to secure the conclusion between the other American nations of like conventions, to the end of banishing international wars for all time from this continent.

Your excellency has been pleased to state at the same time that to carry out such a noble purpose the President of Colombia will go to Panama in September of next year, and that he has issued instructions to your excellency to request of the Government of Mexico the sending of a representative to said city, with powers sufficient to sign the said convention with the other plenipotentiaries whom the rest of the American Republics may send there with like object.

The President, whom I informed of said note, has viewed with the liveliest satisfaction the initiative taken by the Colombian Government, and its generous efforts tending to an end so laudable and humanitarian as is that of removing all danger of war among the several countries comprising the American Continent, and has instructed this department to accord to so important a subject a careful study, in order to decide, at the proper time, upon the sending to Panama of the Mexican representative.

In the meanwhile I should convey to your excellency the most expressive thanks for having addressed to my Government so courteous an invitation, which is one proof more of the fraternal relations uniting the two countries, and which Mexico hopes will be every day more binding and cordial.

Upon thus expressing myself, under instructions from

the President, I gladly improve this opportunity, Mr. Minister, to convey to your excellency the assurances of my highest and most distinguished consideration.

IGNACIO MARÉSCAL.

His Excellency the MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS OF
THE UNITED STATES OF COLOMBIA, BOGOTA.

The Reply of Nicaragua.

MANAGUA, *December 22, 1880.*

SIR: My Government's serious consideration has been given to your excellency's attentive note, dated at Cartagena on the 11th of October last, designed to propose that this Republic send a representative to Panama in the month of September next, that he may concur with the representatives of the other Spanish-American countries in the conclusion of treaties which, following that recently concluded between the Governments of Colombia and Chili, a copy of which your excellency was pleased to transmit me, shall provide in perpetuity and as a principle of American public law that every question arising between the nations of the continent shall be settled by the humane and civilized medium of arbitration.

The suppression of war is one of the most noble aspirations of the present day, in which humanity marches with rapid strides towards perfection, thanks to the peaceful labors of the nations. The relations between them established are daily multiplied, creating new and mutual interests, which can only prosper under the protecting shelter of universal concord.

To realize that grand aspiration, at least among the nations of the American family, does the honorable initiative of the Government of Colombia tend, and which that of Nicaragua embraces with enthusiasm.

The employment of the medium proposed to settle any difficulties that may arise between these countries will insure not only their dignity and their rights, which will no longer be exposed to the dangers of war, but will also

preserve their mutual sympathies, and prevent disturbances which would paralyze their development for a long time.

It is, therefore, very pleasant to me to communicate to your excellency that the Government of this Republic will be represented at Panama at the time designated.

Meanwhile I have the honor to renew to your excellency the expressions of the great regard and distinguished consideration with which I subscribe myself your very attentive and obedient servant,

AD. CARDENAS.

His Excellency the MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS OF
THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF COL-
OMBIA, BOGOTA.

The Reply of the Argentine Republic.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Buenos Ayres, December 30, 1880.

Mr. MINISTER: The undersigned, secretary of state in the department of foreign relations, has had the honor to receive and bring to the notice of the President of the Republic the note which, under date of the 11th of October last, the honorable minister of foreign relations of Colombia was pleased to address him, and he performs the pleasant duty of replying thereto.

The Argentine Government has learned with satisfaction of the treaty concluded between the United States of Colombia and the Republic of Chili, and duly esteems the invitation it has been favored with to adhere to the principle of arbitration embodied in that convention. Provisions tending to preserve the peace and strengthen the bonds of the nations of this continent will always have the sympathy of this Republic, which consigned American fraternity among the rules of its international policy from the very dawn of its independence.

Arbitration is certainly a noble aspiration of the present day, and the Argentine Government can point with pride to its endorsement, from an early date, of that measure

which wisely reconciles the requirements of justice with the generous sentiments of mankind. It had occasion to stipulate for it with the most excellent Government of Chili in 1856 to settle boundary controversies then existing and those that might thereafter arise. It declared in 1874 in official documents given over to the domain of publicity "to be resolved, with or without treaties, to settle all international controversies by arbitration," and, faithful to those declarations, it adopted it in 1876 to settle its controversies with Paraguay, after a long war, begun for reasons of honor and of security, and in which its arms and those of its allies completely repelled the advances of that nation.

Easy would it have been for this Republic, in the end, to retake the territories which were unlawfully retained through the agency of its internal disturbances and the indulgent policy adopted after the emancipation. But neither the facilities existing for the recovery nor the consciousness the Argentine Government had of its right were able to weaken the moderation which prevailed ever in its relations with friendly States; and the undersigned can recall with legitimate pride that his Government presented the high example of submitting to the award of an impartial power the right to territories to which it considered itself indisputably entitled and which it could have recovered at the expense of most costly victims.

"Peace is certainly a most important necessity for Spanish-America" and it to-day depends upon the foresight of its Governments. Fortunately the times have passed when the principal object of political societies on this continent was the defense of their independence against foreign aggressions and schemings.

Europe no longer entertains thoughts of conquest or of chimerical recoveries. These were abandoned in view of the unconquerable attitude of the countries; and if the continental congress suggested by Colombia should meet, it will probably not be for the purpose of following the almost exclusively defensive programme mapped out by Bolivar.

The alarms and mistrust which suggested to the liber-

ator that patriotic idea have disappeared in the natural development of more nations. The wants of civilization, the great interests of commerce, which make themselves felt everywhere; the facilities for communication and transportation, which stand out among the advancements of the century, and the liberality with which America delivers its richness to men born in every latitude of the globe, are the beneficent influences which swallow up the antagonisms of both worlds.

But the efforts of these countries to maintain order and the sincere administration of republican institutions would be really fruitless if the armed conflicts to which the honorable minister of foreign relations alludes could easily come about and if they are allowed to assume the desolating shape which humanity condemns.

Noble is, therefore, the desire to prevent those dangers and the discredit accompanying them. The undersigned is instructed to inform his excellency the honorable minister that in so laudable an undertaking Colombia may count upon the concurrence of the Argentine nation, linked from her very beginning to the vicissitudes and the destinies of South America. However, the invitation the undersigned has had the honor to receive suggests some observations of general interest, and he will submit them with the frankness which should prevail in the relations of countries bound together by happy intimacies.

The Argentine Government accords to arbitration all the importance attributed to it by the Colombian, but believes that the purpose of the note to which it replies will not be realized because that principle alone is embodied in the plan.

The writer can sorrowfully point, in support of his statement, to the present war upon the Pacific Coast, in whose flames so many elements of order and common prosperity are consumed.

Bolivia and Chili solemnly agreed upon arbitration, and notwithstanding this agreement, suggested by prudence and fraternity, differences not originally affecting the honor or the dignity of those nations were left to the decision of the sword.

Neither the calamities of a protracted struggle, whose termination is already the desire of mankind, nor the good offices American and European nations proffered, nor the interposition of an impartial and justly respected power have succeeded in inclining the two belligerents to the arbitration they agreed upon; and the war which continues annihilating those countries demonstrates that the principle embodied in the recent convention of Colombia is not a sufficient guaranty for the preservation of peace.

It is necessary, in view of this, that it be accompanied by other no less important principles; and if the Congress of plenipotentiaries which the Government of Colombia initiates is to meet, it should be empowered to approve all the declarations and agreements conducive to the cementing of continental harmony.

The former Spanish colonies once established as free and sovereign nations, they proclaimed as the basis of their public law the independence of each, and the integrity of the territory by them occupied, or that territory upon which some established themselves by peaceful agreement between the people and the governments.

These principles were the firm foundation of American solidarity. They sprung from an identity of interests and aspirations. They were strengthened by the struggles of a period of patriotism and sacrifices, and came, in 1824, to control in the diplomatic relations of the independent Republics.

These should be written upon the first page of the proposed conference, for they have the indorsement of the countries, and should be considered as legacies of the emancipation.

It is necessary to expressly declare unlawful all attempts at conquest or forcible annexation, which would raise permanent obstacles to future stability.

Annexations attained by the force of arms were in Europe the cause of great rivalries and resentments, and they would be in America a mad attack upon the fraternity of countries bound together by nature and history.

"Forcible annexations," said Lord Russell in 1859 to the English ambassador in Paris, "cannot be mitigated by

the reasons generally advanced, for, if force and not right were the rule determining the territorial possession, the integrity and independence of lesser States would be in permanent danger."

It is important also to protect the American nationalities from seditious separations which have never been known in this Republic, but which did not fail to be attempted in other places, instigated by turbulent ambitions.

Some governments have embodied in their constitutions clauses providing for such cases; and it is recognized among the doctrines intended to preserve the general order that forcible separations are prohibited, for every act of that nature requires the consent of the nation in which it is verified.

The division of Colombia into three independent Republics was sanctioned by that country.

The Provinces of Potosi, Chuquisaca, Cochabamba, and La Paz, belonging to this Republic, became in 1825 a part of the new Republic of Bolivia by act of the Argentine Congress; and the rich segregations which went to constitute Uruguay and the Republic of Paraguay were legalized by the will of the nation. The Argentine believes that that principle should be upheld by express agreements. It was maintained by the United States of the North in their memorable struggle against the seditious theories of nullification, and for Colombia it has the pleasant precedent of having been proclaimed by the Liberator, who declared: "to be anarchical the separation of any State or province without the consent of the political society to which it belongs."

The Government of the undersigned believes that it would be advisable to have it well established in the international agreements that there are not in Spanish-America territories which may be considered *res nullius*, and that all territory comprising it, however deserted or removed it be, belongs to the former Spanish Provinces, invested, after 1810, with the rank of free and sovereign States.

Having reached this point, the undersigned feels called upon to touch lightly upon some of the points in the note

he replies to regarding uninhabited lands. He believes that if sundry pretentions founded on that fact were permitted the tranquillity Colombia aims at would vanish.

The American Republics being owners of the extensive territories comprised within the colonial limits, having not long ago inaugurated the policy of colonization and labor, which rapidly increases population and makes deserts fruitful, can not admit that the circumstance of there being at present uninhabited localities, more or less extensive, weakens the power of their rights.

If the want of population could be alleged as a warrant for the unlawful retaining of another's property; if the possibility of occupying points, at present uninhabited, could be relied upon as a legitimize means of acquiring them, discord would reign in the relations of countries which Providence has destined to develop through the bonds of confidence and cordiality.

The honorable president accepts no wavering in this regard, and believes that the efforts and the wishes of every Government should combine to establish historical fact and justice as the only source of title to territory in this part of the world.

Easy it is, in the judgment of the Argentine Government, to prevent, by means of prudent stipulations, that claims for damages and all questions which may be settled by pecuniary indemnities should become wrangling contentions, rendering arbitration futile, and believes that agreements tending to insure that in no case shall hostilities break out among the South American nations without notice, transmitted sufficiently in advance to reconcile the necessity of war with the freedom of action during peace, would meet with general approval.

The first of these suggestions accords with the liberal spirit of these nations, and the second will allow the governments to stimulate the advancement of the states over which they preside without having to divert those means necessary to the peaceful development of their resources to precautionary elements of security and defense.

It is not impossible that, notwithstanding the concurrence of the governments in the principle of arbitration

and their approval of the ideas suggested in this note, disturbances may arise which, as has happened on the Pacific, will break asunder the good understanding existing between two or more nations; and it is in keeping with the conciliatory programme which Colombia favors to mitigate the consequences of that calamity.

If America meets together to render armed struggles less feasible, it is natural it should study the way to insure, if, despite the common effort, they occur, their not being accompanied by the desolation which marked the somber marches of the armies of the olden time.

The writer could go on at length with suggestions relating to the patriotic purposes of the invitation to which he replies, but he deems it proper to limit himself to those which can more directly contribute to the strengthening of the general tranquillity, leaving it to the governments to initiate other measures which are surely worthy of consideration by an international congress.

The undersigned does not harbor the pretension of having presented new ideas to the consideration of the Colombian Government, and declares without reserve that some of those suggested in this note already have the indorsement of the people and that others have the prestige of the approval of the men who became pre-eminent in the great campaigns of the revolution.

His excellency Mr. Santamaria will deduce from the foregoing that the Argentine Government does not consider the stipulation for arbitration alone an efficacious measure for putting an end to international controversies. That in its opinion we could only attain that end by embodying in American public law the principles already referred to and other analogous ones, which, by removing troublesome differences, will be now and hereafter the true guaranties of peace.

The honorable President of the Republic has instructed the undersigned to submit to the most excellent Government of Colombia the foregoing observations and to inform it that, grateful for the invitation with which he has been favored and in the hope that the observations will be accepted, he will adopt the necessary measures that this

Republic may be represented at a conference having a wider scope than that proposed. His excellency considers that this one, being limited to the subscribing of the convention recently concluded in Bogota, responds but feebly to the elevated purposes of Colombia and will leave unsatisfied aspirations and wants which are worthy of consideration.

The honorable President has further instructed the undersigned not to bring this communication to a close without renewing the assurances that the Argentine Government, faithful to the antecedents of the nation, will contribute all the means within its power to prevent those unfortunate wars which break asunder the bonds of a glorious solidarity.

The undersigned improves the opportunity to renew to his excellency the honorable minister of foreign relations the assurances of his highest and most distinguished consideration.

BERNADO DE IRIGOYEN.

Response of the Colombian Secretary of Foreign Relations.

UNITED STATES OF COLOMBIA,
DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Bogota, April 19, 1881.

MR. MINISTER: The River Plata press has published and ours has just reproduced one of your excellency's notes, dated December 30 of last year, which is a reply to the circular in which my government, informing those of republican America of a convention for peace and arbitration arrived at between Colombia and Chili, invited them to adhere to this act of elevated as well as advantageous international policy and requested them, moreover, to send, before a certain date, to the city of Panama, their representatives for the purpose of there giving a solemn and definite form to their adhesion.

The original text of your excellency's said note has not yet been received in the department under my charge, but my government does not hesitate to consider the printed

version authentic, and because of the exhaustiveness and ability with which your excellency has treated the subject of this correspondence, as well as in view of the proximity of the date set for the realization of our purposes, the President of Colombia has issued special instructions to me, a succinct relation of which in this note will bring about, I am sure, the agreement now almost reached between the two governments on the lines laid down by your excellency.

My Government's said circular did not set forth, as its character of a simple invitation to agree upon the general principles embodied in that of arbitration precluded it, the detailed exposition of each and all of said principles. Moreover upon proposing therein that the Spanish-American nations, whose advanced political institutions compel them to observe the most equitable international rules, adopt arbitration as a means of settling their controversies, it was understood that the basis necessary to this end must be the express adoption of the doctrines of justice and the principles of common security which your excellency sets forth in the elaborative part of your note, doctrines and principles which in Colombia constitute not merely a theory more or less popular or changeable but the unvarying history of its policy, and the standard of action of all of its administrations.

The history of the great Republic of Colombia, as well as the contemporaneous history of the single section which now bears that glorious name, is too well known to your excellency and your illustrious Government to make it necessary for me to enter upon the enumeration of the abundant precedents it affords of the general adoption and putting into practice of those sound doctrines.

In the long and complicated record of its negotiations as to boundaries, Colombia has never for a moment deviated from the fundamental principle of the *ute possidetis* of law, or be it from the colonial administrative tradition in force at the historical time when the war of independence ended, the present Spanish-American nations were organized.

Our foreign policy, but an extension of our domestic policy, has been and is so peaceful, fraternal and friendly

towards all countries, and more especially towards those who share with us history, institutions, and tendencies, that, happily, there have not been many opportunities to prove, even in the flush of success, our adhesion, firm and based on conviction, to all those triumphs of progress which give to modern international law its most noble and fruitful character, that is, that of a code of morals which assures mutual respect and harmony among all nations.

When, notwithstanding this, as a consequence of the natural imperfection of things human, war broke out, and the arms of Colombia were victorious, she did not go a whit beyond what is in keeping with countries governed by public opinion, and in which so safe a guide is enlightened enough and sufficiently untrammelled to deny support to enterprises exclusively engendered by ambition and force.

Professing such doctrines and keeping in line with such precedents, Colombia has always ignored the pretended existence of territories without owner, or which can be considered *res nullius*; and on a stated occasion, when the filibusterism epidemic laid waste the Central American coast, she solemnly protested against the policy of a great nation, in so far as it tended to give weight and authority to the acts of the victorious usurpation. "Be its importance what it may," it said at that time, "and its power, consisting more than all in the patriotism of its sons, it can not and ought not to admit, by its authority or its silence, such principles, in its judgment, at variance with the inherent sovereignty of the nations and a constant menace to the peace and the independence of those which have established themselves on these continents."

Finally, our conventional law, and particularly that establishing and defining our relations with Spanish countries, comprises all those measures of Christian foresight tending to prevent war, and which, even on the eve thereof and its most doleful extremes, favors and stimulates the peaceful mediation of neutral and friendly States.

This succinct relation of the character of our policy and of the principles upon which it is based, will carry, I doubt not, to the mind of that illustrious Government the con-

viction that the considerations with which your excellency explains at length the purposes of a common agreement between the Republic States of South America, have not been expressly omitted by ours. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the Argentine Republic will not fail of representation at Panama, a convention to which the majority, if not all of the other Spanish States, have already offered to send a representative. It will not be out of place to say to your excellency that Colombia's initiatory, so kindly characterized and embraced by your Government, is intimately related to the great destinies reserved for that portion of the Colombian territory, with the character which our policy has imprinted upon it. Across that isthmus there is to be cut, in fact, a neutral canal which will place the two hemispheres in communication. There the diversified races and various civilizations of the world are called to mingle and consolidate, and it is natural that the Spanish-American countries, participators, too, in the future advantages of so great an enterprise, should be those called upon to inaugurate with their mutual understanding and the noble obligation to settle their controversies rationally, the era of active and fruitful peace which those works of labor and of universal capital promise the countries of the world.

The Argentine Republic occupies, it is true, a geographical position which removes her somewhat from the enjoyments of those benefits, but the people and Government are too enlightened to ignore the fruitful solidarity of all progress, even though the theater of its action be removed.

My Government counts upon this note being satisfactory to that of that Republic, and entertaining so pleasant a hope, I have the honor to express to your excellency the sentiments of high consideration with which I subscribe myself,

Your obedient servant,

RICARDO BECERRA.

His Excellency Mr. BERANDO DE IRIGOYEN,
Minister of Foreign Relations of the Argentine Republic,
Buenos Ayres.

The Reply of Guatemala.

DEPARTMENT OF
FOREIGN RELATIONS OF GUATEMALA,
Guatemala, January 3, 1881.

MR. MINISTER: I had the honor to receive your favor, dated October 11 of last year, and an accompanying copy of the treaty signed in Bogota on the 3d of last September.

Your excellency is pleased, through your note, to extend an invitation to the Government of Guatemala to send a representative, in September of the current year, to the city of Panama with the object of extending the treaty between Colombia and Chili, which has for its object the abolishment of national wars in America and the settlement, by arbitration, of all questions arising between the various countries.

The idea is as philanthropic as it is grand and beneficent. Its fulfillment will be one of the greatest triumphs of modern civilization.

Should the project fail, it will still be an honor for Colombia to have made so noble an effort towards its accomplishment.

The Government of Guatemala congratulates itself as the recipient of so flattering an invitation, and has the honor to assure your excellency, through me, that it will send to Panama, on the steamer of the last of August, the representative requested.

This opportunity affords me the honor to assure you that I am your excellency's most obedient servant,

LORENZO MONTÚFAR.

His excellency the MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS OF
COLOMBIA.

The Reply of Salvador.

DEPARTMENT OF
FOREIGN RELATIONS OF SALVADOR,
San Salvador, January 5, 1881.

MR. MINISTER: I have had the honor to receive your excellency's courteous dispatch, dated October 11 of last year, accompanying a copy of the treaty entered into

between Colombia and Chili on September 3 of the same year.

Your excellency's government, inspired by the principles of the soundest policy, and essentially humanitarian, is pleased to invite my government, together with those of the other Latin Republics, to send representatives to Panama in September of the present year in order that they may adhere to the said treaty and establish as a principle of the international law of Latin-America the obligation in perpetuity to settle by arbitration all controversies which may arise between any of the contracting countries which it has not been possible to settle through diplomatic channels.

My government at once enthusiastically accepts so philanthropic an idea, the realization of which will prove the most glorious achievement of modern civilization, and at the proper time it will send its plenipotentiary to Panama.

I avail myself of this opportunity, Mr. Minister, to convey to your excellency, together with the admiration and sympathy which the noble Colombian nation has always inspired in me, the sincere assurances of regard and respect with which I have the honor to be your excellency's most attentive and faithful servant,

S. GALLEG0.

His excellency the MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS
OF THE UNITED STATES OF COLOMBIA, BOGOTA.

The Reply of Ecuador.

DEPARTMENT OF
FOREIGN RELATIONS OF ECUADOR,

Quito, January 5, 1881.

MR. MINISTER: Your excellency's important note, dated October 11 last, and the authenticated copy of the convention concluded in Bogota on the 3d of September last between the plenipotentiaries of Colombia and Chili, were received and by me laid before his excellency the President of the Republic, who has instructed me to ex-

press to your excellency his most sincere acknowledgment for the invitation extended to my government, thus giving it another proof of the fraternal regard in which it is held by the cabinet at Bogota, and which that at Quito returns, hoping that the relations between the two countries may be every day more intimate.

The saving principle of arbitration for the settlement of international controversies, especially touching questions of boundaries and national pride, will make of the territory of the continental nations accepting and practicing it the land of promise for mankind, where America may offer to all nations the conjunction of the most sublime triumphs of civilization.

Even laying aside the preceding remarks, my government could not decline your excellency's generous invitation without violating a duty, for in Ecuador the important principle of international arbitration in the negotiation of public treaties has been raised to a constitutional canon. The article to which I allude in our constitution says, literally:

"In every negotiation for the conclusion of international treaties of friendship and commerce it shall be proposed that differences between the contracting parties should be settled by arbitration by a friendly power or powers, without resorting to arms."

If, then, this Republic has been the first in South America to give, to a certain point, a practical form to the most humane and transcendent principle of modern civilization, its Government will also be one of the most solicitous to be represented at the congress of plenipotentiaries to meet in Panama next September.

I gladly take this opportunity to renew to your excellency the distinguished consideration with which I subscribe myself your very attentive and obedient servant,

CORNELIO C. VERNAZA.

The Most Excellent MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS
OF THE REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA, BOGOTA

The Reply of Bolivia.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS OF BOLIVIA,
La Paz, January 10, 1881.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive, together with your courteous communication of the 11th of October of last year, an authenticated copy of the convention concluded in Bogota between the United States of Colombia and the Republic of Chili, by virtue of which both nations bind themselves in perpetuity to decide all their controversies through the humane means of arbitration, and to agree upon analogous conventions with the other States to the end that the settlement of every conflict by those means shall become a principle of American public law. And with such lofty purposes, which tend to wipe out from the continent the calamities of war, your excellency is pleased to invite the Government of Bolivia to take part in the international council initiated by the most excellent Government of Colombia.

It does your excellency's Government great honor to have been the prime mover in a scheme which, if carried out to its fullest extent, will exercise a beneficent influence on the destinies of all America, and pave the way to the aggrandizement of the nations of the remotest posterity. As a matter of fact, what progressive movement war could impress on our continent is beyond comprehension. If in wise and cultured Europe it has been continuous, owing to causes destined to disappear completely, it is meaningless in nationalities which, united and free, sprang from the Spanish colonies. Here in America do not exist those great and irremediable antagonisms of race, of creeds, of superiority, of obstinate traditions, which, failing to accomplish peaceful development, break out in armed conflicts. On the contrary, a thousand circumstances unite to maintain that republican America is destined to be the true home of justice, of law, and of peace. The nationalities comprising it, of common origin and destiny, emancipated from the decadent mother country, vigorously impelled by identical necessities, and thanks to heroic sacrifices, have obeyed the progressive movement

which has brought out the advanced doctrines of the good understanding of the nations of the New Continent.

With vast territories that in the course of centuries will offer space and accommodations to the most increasing population, and with prodigious sources of wealth, powerful stimulant which encourages work, the new Republics providentially charged to herald the advent in all its splendor of democracy and its strict application to international existence, need to firmly unite by all possible bonds to show themselves great, powerful, and strong before the civilized world.

* * * * *

In Europe itself, where the wiping out at one stroke of antagonistic precedents accumulated in the course of time is not attainable, the substitution of arbitration for war has already passed from the meditations of the wise into the public conscience, and it may be looked upon as definitely embodied in the science of international law.

* * * * *

My Government, convinced that all international agreements preparing the way for the abolishment of war, or tending to civilize it in behalf of peace, are the great aspirations of cultured nations, hastens gladly to send to Panama at the time designated by your excellency, the Bolivian representative, armed with the fullest powers to sign, together with the Government of Colombia and the representatives of the American Republics who extend so frank adhesion to the principle of arbitration, the great compact of continental good understanding initiated by your excellency's Government.

* * * * *

In connection with so worthy a motive, I have the honor to express to your excellency the sentiments of particular distinction and respect with which I subscribe myself,

Your obedient and faithful servant,

C. CARRILLO.

The Most Excellent MINISTER OF FOREIGN RELATIONS
OF THE UNITED STATES OF COLOMBIA, BOGOTA.

The Reply of Uruguay.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS,

Montevideo, January 28, 1881.

The undersigned, Minister Secretary of State in the Department of Foreign Relations, has the honor to reply to the note he received recently, addressed by the Most Excellent Minister of Foreign Relations of Colombia, under date of October 11 last.

With that note your excellency transmits the treaty concluded between the United States of Colombia and the Republic of Chili, by which the two Republics bind themselves in perpetuity to settle whatever difficulties or controversies may arise between them through the humane and civilized medium of arbitration, and to secure from the other sister nations the negotiation of similar conventions, for the purpose of forever banishing international wars from the American Continent.

Your excellency manifests that your Government, being the initiator of this measure, considers it of such importance that it has wished not to lose one moment in making it known to all the others in America, so that they may at once adhere to it, and the principle the said convention embodies be adopted as an essential and integral principle of American public law.

His excellency the President of the Republic, having informed himself of so important a document, has instructed the undersigned to convey, through your excellency, his cordial congratulations to the illustrious Government of Colombia for the noble and patriotic invitation, together with his sincere adhesion to the initiative with which he is honored, which he will endeavor to carry into effect by the means and in the form prescribed in the constitution of the Republic with reference to international compacts.

His excellency, the President, considers the convention of the 3d of September, 1880, as the happy complement of the wise and humane resolution of the plenipotentiaries of the Congress of Paris in 1856 to the effect that: "States between which any serious misunderstanding should arise

should, before resorting to arms, appeal, as far as circumstances shall permit, to the good offices of a friendly power."

That resolution met with the approval of the Eastern Government (Uruguay), as well as the majority of the governments of Europe and America; but a sorrowful experience has shown that it was forgotten, or ineffectual to prevent disastrous wars.

Obligatory arbitration will undoubtedly have greater efficacy, but there will be surely no objection to accompanying it with other provisions to guaranty its enforcement.

Controversies and difficulties of every kind being submitted to arbitration, disputes as to boundaries or territorial integrity should be understood as being included, and so your excellency's note would indicate when it asserts that the saving principle which the transcendent compact concluded between Colombia and Chili embodies will undoubtedly secure the prevention of war growing out of international disputes, especially upon questions of boundaries.

The beneficent views of that agreement will be more surely realized by laying down principles and rules which shall render those controversies impossible.

The Eastern (Uruguayan) Government hopes that that of Colombia will accord with these ideas in view of the official declaration of its most excellent envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary in France.

His excellency, in a note of the 9th of December to the Uruguayan legation in Paris, accompanying a copy of the said treaty, requests that he recommend to his Government to subscribe the arbitration treaty through the representative it sends to the Panama congress in the month of September, and adds: "It is also possible that in said congress there be adopted some other principles as essential to American public law, which can not be like the European in every particular, be it because of diversity of circumstances or difference in administration."

Having explained the sense in which the President gives his adhesion, the undersigned reiterates in the name of his

excellency the most sincere congratulations to the most excellent Government of Colombia for the lofty sentiments which inspire it in favor of the peace and harmony of the American nations, and which contribute so much to strengthen the friendly relations which happily exist between the United States of Colombia and the Eastern Republic of Uruguay.

The undersigned honors himself in greeting his excellency, Mr. Eustacio Santamaria, with the most distinguished consideration.

JOAQUIN REQUEÑA Y GARCIA.

His excellency, Mr. EUSTACIO SANTAMARIA,
Minister of Foreign Relations
of the United States of Colombia.

The Reply of Honduras.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
 REPUBLIC OF HONDURAS,
Tegucigalpa, February 20, 1881.

MR. CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES. I have had the honor to receive your very courteous dispatch, dated at San José de Costa Rica, on the 2d of December last, and by which you were pleased to inform me that your Government had directed you to transmit the circular letters which it had addressed to the Central American Governments, urging them to conclude an arbitration convention which may settle peacefully the disagreements or questions which may arise between the contracting parties. And you have accordingly transmitted, together with your said dispatch, the circular intended for the Government of this Republic.

It gives me pleasure to inform you that my Government adopts, with the profoundest satisfaction, the humane and fraternizing proposal of the Government of the United States of Colombia; and that accordingly it has had the honor to reply, promising to send a representative to Panama to sign the important arbitration convention sug-

gested from motives whose elevation can not be sufficiently appreciated.

The reply which my Government makes to the circular in question accompanies this despatch, and I beg that you will be pleased to forward it to its distinguished destination. I deem it proper to state that, being in doubt as to your being still at the capital of that Republic, my Department has transmitted directly to his excellency the secretary of foreign affairs of Colombia a duplicate of the reply to the circular of your Government.

I avail myself of this opportunity to offer you the assurances of my most respectful and distinguished consideration.

Your devoted and faithful servant,

RAMON ROSA.

His Excellency the CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES
OF COLOMBIA IN COSTA RICA—BOGOTA.

The Reply of Honduras.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,
REPUBLIC OF HONDURAS,
Tegucigalpa, February 20, 1881.

MR. MINISTER. I have had equal honor and pleasure in receiving, together with your interesting dispatch of October 11 last, an authenticated copy of the convention entered into at Bogota, on the 3d of September of the year last past, by the Governments of Colombia and Chili, and by which the two Republics bind themselves in perpetuity to remove whatever difficulties or controversies may arise between them by the humane and civilized method of arbitration, and to recommend to the other sister nations the celebration of mutual conventions similar to the one in question, with the object of eliminating forever from the American continent all international wars.

Your excellency, after setting forth appropriately and with notable elevation and lucidity of ideas, the reasons which moved your Government to celebrate that most important convention already mentioned, was pleased to add that his excellency the President of the Republic of the

United States of Colombia, desiring to facilitate for all the sister nations the adoption of so beneficent a measure, has determined to return to Panama early in September of the current year, having first directed you to request my Government to send a representative of this Republic to said city, empowered to subscribe said convention, not only with your excellency's Government, but with the Governments of the other American Republics which shall send their representatives thither.

Let me be permitted to state to your excellency that, in the opinion of my Government, honor redounds to Colombia, honor redounds to all Latin-America, from the adoption of the great and (in many respects) transcendent idea which the Colombian Government has put forward on the occasion of the celebration of said convention with Chili, by proposing that its provisions—provisions which are certainly of incalculable importance to the peace and the civilization of the countries of Spanish-America—be adopted by the Governments of the States which upon this continent are historically destined to bring into actual existence “law” in the sense in which that stands for right (“*derecho*”), to the advantage of humanity and the honor of our age.

Such ideas, which nourish the faith of enlightened spirits in a future of peace, of progress, and of fraternity for the nations of the New World, are doubtless those which have suggested to your excellency's Government the happy thought of putting an end, through the authoritative intervention of the law, to the international conflicts and wars which from an early date have impoverished, discredited, and even dishonored the nations of America (nations) which began their career with a profound sense of right (“*derecho*”); which have achieved social and political reforms most worthy of being prized; and which by their genius and their command of the elements of wealth and prosperity are destined to win at no distant day, by their union, their order, and their progress, the most benevolent and respectful consideration of the civilized world.

It has fallen to the lot of your excellency's Government to promote, in a spirit of elevated humanity, the definitive

establishment of the peace of Spanish-America; to subserve one of its most important interests, and to prepare the advent of that Latin-American Union anticipated by the genius of Bolivar the Liberator, and which is to-day the aim of the enlightened policy of your excellency's Government; for, in truth, to assure the peace of the Latin-American countries, to connect and strengthen their interests, to cause their fraternity to be realized from day to day, is to go straight toward a Latin-American Union, is to give a full and transcendent reality to what was once the most beautiful dream of the greatest man of republican America.

Under the influence of what your excellency has said, and of the considerations above expressed, which naturally inspire a genuine enthusiasm, I can not refrain from saying to your excellency, with sincere satisfaction, that my Government is disposed to send to the city of Panama, in the beginning of September next, a representative fully empowered to join your excellency's Government and the Plenipotentiaries of the American Republics in concluding the arbitration convention which is to put an end to the period of fratricidal wars on our continent, and open the happy era of peace and fraternity among the nations of Spanish-America.

Let your excellency's Government accept the heartiest congratulations of my Government on the great thought which it has enunciated in the interest of civilization and the future of America, and let your excellency receive the assurances of my highest and most distinguished consideration, with which I subscribe myself your attentive and obedient servant.

RAMON ROSA.

His Excellency DON EUSTACIO SANTAMARIA,
*Secretary of State in the Department of Foreign Affairs of
the Government of the United States of Colombia, Bogota.*

NOTE.—The Congress of 1881, to which the foregoing papers refer, was not held, as it appears, owing to the war which broke out in South America just about the time which had been fixed for its meeting.

CORRESPONDENCE

RELATING TO THE

PROPOSED CONGRESS AT WASHINGTON

IN

1882.

INDEX.

	Page.
Secretary Blaine's circular letter, November 29, 1881	255
Venezuela: President Guzman Blanco to Minister Carter, January 5, 1882.....	258
Venezuela: Secretary Seijas to Minister Carter, January 7, 1882.....	259
Guatemala: Secretary Cruz to Minister Logan, January 12, 1882.....	261
Brazil: Secretary De Sa to Minister Osborn, February 8, 1882.	263
Salvador: Secretary Gallegos to Minister Logan, February 13, 1882.....	264
Nicaragua: Secretary Medina to Minister Logan, February 14, 1882.....	265
Honduras: Secretary Rosa to Minister Logan, February 20, 1882.....	265
Bolivia: Secretary Zilocti to Minister Adams, February 24, 1882.....	266
Costa Rica: Secretary Castro to Minister Logan, February 25, 1882.....	267
Mexico: Secretary Mariscal to Minister Morgan, March 23, 1882.....	269
Secretary Frelinghuysen's circular letter, August 9, 1882	272
Guatemala: Minister Montúfar to Secretary Frelinghuysen, June 5, 1882.....	273
Ecuador: Minister Arias to Secretary Frelinghuysen, September 16, 1882.....	274
Salvador: Secretary Gallegos to Minister Hall, October 3, 1882.	275
Uruguay: Minister Hordeñana to Chargé d'Affaires Williams, October 12, 1882.....	276
Paraguay: Secretary Decoud to Chargé d'Affaires Williams, October 17, 1882	277

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO THE PROPOSED
CONGRESS AT WASHINGTON IN 1882.

[Circular Letter.]

Mr. Blaine to Mr. Osborn.

No. 156.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, November 29, 1881.

SIR: The attitude of the United States with respect to the question of general peace on the American continent is well known through its persistent efforts for years past to avert the evils of warfare, or, these efforts failing, to bring positive conflicts to an end through pacific counsels or the advocacy of impartial arbitration.

This attitude has been consistently maintained, and always with such fairness as to leave no room for imputing to our Government any motive except the humane and disinterested one of saving kindred States of the American continent from the burdens of war. The position of the United States as the leading power of the New World might well give to its Government a claim to authoritative utterance for the purpose of quieting discord among its neighbors, with all of whom the most friendly relations exist. Nevertheless, the good offices of this Government are not and have not at any time been tendered with a show of dictation or compulsion, but only as exhibiting the solicitous good-will of a common friend.

For some years past a growing disposition has been manifested by certain States of Central and South America to refer disputes affecting grave questions of international relationship and boundaries to arbitration rather than to the sword. It has been on several such occasions a source of profound satisfaction to the Government of the United States to see that this country is in a large measure looked to by all the American powers as their friend and media-

tor. The just and impartial counsel of the President in such cases has never been withheld, and his efforts have been rewarded by the prevention of sanguinary strife or angry contentions between peoples whom we regard as brethren.

The existence of this growing tendency convinces the President that the time is ripe for a proposal that shall enlist the good-will and active co-operation of all the States of the Western Hemisphere, both north and south, in the interest of humanity and for the common weal of nations. He conceives that none of the governments of America can be less alive than our own to the dangers and horrors of a state of war, and especially of war between kinsmen. He is sure that none of the chiefs of governments on the continent can be less sensitive than he is to the sacred duty of making every endeavor to do away with the chances of fratricidal strife. And he looks with hopeful confidence to such active assistance from them as will serve to show the broadness of our common humanity and the strength of the ties which bind us all together as a great and harmonious system of American commonwealths.

Impressed by these views, the President extends to all the independent countries of North and South America an earnest invitation to participate in a general congress, to be held in the city of Washington on the 24th day of November, 1882, for the purpose of considering and discussing the methods of preventing war between the nations of America. He desires that the attention of the congress shall be strictly confined to this one great object; that its sole aim shall be to seek a way of permanently averting the horrors of cruel and bloody combat between countries, oftenest of one blood and speech, or the even worse calamity of internal commotion and civil strife; that it shall regard the burdensome and far-reaching consequences of such struggles, the legacies of exhausted finances, of oppressive debt, of onerous taxation, of ruined cities, of paralyzed industries, of devastated fields, of ruthless conscription, of the slaughter of men, of the grief of the widow and the orphan, of embittered resentments, that long sur-

vive those who provoked them and heavily afflict the innocent generations that come after.

The President is especially desirous to have it understood that in putting forth this invitation the United States does not assume the position of counseling, or attempting, through the voice of the congress, to counsel any determinate solution of existing questions which may now divide any of the countries of America. Such questions can not properly come before the congress. Its mission is higher. It is to provide for the interests of all in the future, not to settle the individual differences of the present. For this reason especially the President has indicated a day for the assembling of the congress so far in the future as to leave good ground for hope that by the time named the present situation on the South Pacific coast will be happily terminated, and that those engaged in the contest may take peaceable part in the discussion and solution of the general question affecting in an equal degree the well-being of all.

It seems also desirable to disclaim in advance any purpose on the part of the United States to prejudge the issues to be presented to the congress. It is far from the intent of this Government to appear before the congress as in any sense the protector of its neighbors or the predestined and necessary arbitrator of their disputes. The United States will enter into the deliberations of the congress on the same footing as the other powers represented, and with the loyal determination to approach any proposed solution, not merely in its own interest or with a view to asserting its own power, but as a single member among many co-ordinate and co-equal States. So far as the influence of this Government may be potential it will be exerted in the direction of conciliating whatever conflicting interests of blood, or government, or historical tradition may necessarily come together in response to a call embracing such vast and diverse elements.

You will present these views to the minister of foreign relations of the * * * enlarging, if need be, in such terms as will readily occur to you, upon the great mission which it is within the power of the proposed congress to accomplish in the interest of humanity, and upon the firm

purpose of the United States to maintain a position of the most absolute and impartial friendship towards all. You will thereupon, in the name of the President of the United States, tender to his His Excellency the President of * * * a formal invitation to send two commissioners to the congress, provided with such powers and instructions on behalf of their Government as will enable them to consider the questions brought before that body within the limit of submission contemplated by this invitation. The United States, as well as the other powers, will in like manner be represented by two commissioners, so that equality and impartiality will be amply secured in the proceedings of the congress.

In delivering this invitation through the minister of foreign affairs you will read this dispatch to him and leave with him a copy, intimating that an answer is desired by this Government as promptly as the just consideration of so important a proposition will permit.

I am, etc.,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

THE REPLY OF VENEZUELA.

President Guzman Blanco to Minister Carter.

CARACAS, *January 5, 1882.*

ESTEEMED SIR: The minister of foreign relations has acquainted me with the contents of your note in relation to the American Congress in Washington at the end of the present year. This idea is so transcendental, elevated, far-seeing, and practical that, although an official reply will be sent by this Government, I hasten personally to express, through you, my felicitations to the President and statesmen who direct the policy of North America. The future of South America may be looked upon as assured under the safeguard of the great Republic, which is at once our teacher and our model.

Receive, Mr. Minister, with the gratitude, the assurances of the esteem of

Your most obedient servant,

GUZMAN BLANCO,

Hon. G. W. CARTER.

*Secretary Seijas to Minister Carter.*CARACAS, *January 7, 1882.*

SIR: I have the honor to inform your excellency that I have received and submitted for the consideration of the President of the Republic the official communication from your legation of the 29th ultimo, in which you convey the information that the President of the United States of America has under consideration the formation and assembling of a Peace Congress, to be composed of all the independent States of North and South America, to convene in Washington on the 22d of November, 1882, with the object of discussing and adopting practicable means, distinct from a recourse to arms, for the adjustment of controversies which may arise upon questions of boundaries or other causes among the independent political communities of the Western hemisphere, or between different divisions or sections thereof, to the end that the misfortunes and grievous burdens of war may be averted.

Your excellency refers for an explanation of the nature and objects of the proposed Congress to the letter of the most excellent Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, a copy of which you inclose and which you had previously read to me.

The moment that the illustrious American heard the contents of these communications read he regarded the idea expressed in them as grand and worthy of being accepted with enthusiasm by all the Spanish-American Republics, as being in the direct line of their aspirations and coincident with that which inspired Bolivar to the formation of the Congress of Panama, so fervently commended by the President of the United States, Mr. John Quincy Adams.

It is certainly an occasion of gratification that the first republic of the world, faithful to its noble antecedents, in view of the increasing disposition of these countries to seek in arbitration and not in force the solution of international difficulties, and to regard it as their friend and mediator, after having, on various occasions, interposed its good offices and succeeded in preventing conflicts or putting an end to those already in existence, without any preten-

sions to a dictatorship and solely as a manifestation of common friendship, moved solely by impulses of philanthropy and civilization, has taken the lead in a matter of so much importance to the other nations of the Western continent, and eagerly takes advantage of the great influence derived from its immense progress and power to terminate the horrible calamities of war between brothers, and deigns to preside over the deliberations of a Peace Congress, which has for its object the search for the means of arranging future misunderstandings without an appeal to war and its fatal consequences.

And their pleasure is increased by the contemplation of the fact that the United States are proceeding in a manner which respects the independence, the other attributes of sovereignty, and especially equality between themselves and the nations invited to compose the Congress, offering to bring to bear all their influence towards the conciliation of all opposing interests in the states which accept the invitation, of even assuming the expenses of the organization of the Congress, the interpretation and publication of its proceedings, etc., as your excellency has informed me in an official communication of a later date.

A proposition so exalted carries within itself the assurance of its successful accomplishment by the Government which has undertaken it; hence, there is especial reason for the hope that on the present occasion there shall be no failure of the efforts dedicated to the suppression of war between the nations of the American continent. Should this be successful, the example will not be lost on the other hemisphere, and the world shall witness the disappearance of that scourge and the substitution for the consolation of humanity and as a manifest sign of progress, of practices of love for the lives and property of men united in fraternal accord.

It is proposed to put in execution the same thought which ruled the breast of every Venezuelan when, from the 19th of April, 1819, they repeated the heroic and prophetic cry: "Long live Free America!"

It is the far-seeing anticipation of the immortal Bolivar when in the midst of a war to the death he proclaimed it

to the Argentines and invited them to a fraternal embrace upon the summits of the Andes in the center of the continent on the day of his last victory.

It is the plan formulated by Bolivar as the consummation of the work of independence, and for whose realization he convoked the Congress of Panama in 1825.

And, finally, it is the luminous design with which other continental congresses have since convened, among them that of Lima in 1864, in which Venezuela participated.

The President of the Republic, who has had occasion to appreciate the good-will and mediation of the United States in its favor, and who expects everything as the outcome of a solid and permanent peace between the nations of America, accepts with pleasure the invitation for the Peace Congress in Washington, and in due time will designate the two Commissioners to represent Venezuela, providing them with the necessary powers and instructions.

I renew to your excellency the assurances of my high consideration.

RAFAEL SEIJAS.

The Most Excellent Mr. GEO. W. CARTER,
Minister Resident of the United States of America.

THE REPLY OF GUATEMALA.

Secretary Cruz to Minister Logan.

DEPARTMENT OF
FOREIGN RELATIONS OF GUATEMALA,
Guatemala, January 12, 1882.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your excellency's communication, accompanied by a copy of the highly important dispatch recently transmitted by your excellency's Government inviting the independent governments of America to participate in a general peace congress, to be convened in the city of Washington, and which is to enter upon its labors on the day of November, 1882.

I immediately laid before the President of the Republic your excellency's communication and the very notable dis-

patch to which it refers, and the purpose of which was to invite my Government to send two representatives to the congress to be held under the auspices of the Government of the United States of America, which has generously offered to defray the expenses and make the arrangements for the realization of that exalted and friendly project, leaving to the invited nations only the expenses of their own representatives.

The President has welcomed this exalted idea with the greatest enthusiasm, and has received with profound and heartfelt satisfaction the invitation extended to my Government. It could not be otherwise in view of his sincere and manifest consideration and deference for the great Republic, by whose friendship and cordial attitude he feels honored, and whose institutions and greatness he admires; it could not be otherwise in view of the probability that only under the auspices and through the initiative of so worthy and powerful a nation will peace be practically realized between the peoples of this beauteous continent, now so frequently distressed by inexplicable contests and wars, but who need only internal tranquillity and union and cordial relations among themselves, to profit fully by the abundant elements of prosperity which they possess, and to fulfill the great destinies to which they are called.

My Government therefore gladly undertakes to send to the congress, which will mark an epoch in history, two representatives, with full powers and instructions to discuss and point out the best methods for preventing wars between the nations of America. It rejoices to learn that the United States are about to add to the long catalogue of glories which constitute their history the incomparable glory of converting into a reality what until now has been deemed only the most beauteous dream of philanthropy and the greatest but almost impossible aspiration of humanity.

Your excellency will permit my Government to communicate, through you, to the Government of the American Union the most cordial felicitations and earnest thanks. The first step has been taken; the movement has been initiated, and it can not be doubted that it will be carried to

a successful termination, led as it is by the nation which never retreats from its purposes, but, on the contrary, pushes them forward with resolution and enthusiasm, so as to astonish the other nations which wonder at its energy and vigor.

I avail myself of so welcome an occasion again to assure your excellency that I am, with the most distinguished consideration and esteem,

Your very faithful and attentive servant,

FERNANDO CRUZ.

His Excellency Mr. CORNELIUS A. LOGAN, etc., *present*.

THE REPLY OF BRAZIL.

Secretary De Sa to Minister Osborn.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS,

Rio de Janeiro, February 8, 1882.

I have had the honor to receive the note which Mr. Thomas A. Osborn, envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States of America, was pleased to address me on the 3d instant, repeating the invitation which in our interview of that day he extended in the name of the President of the United States that Brazil send two commissioners to the congress to be opened in Washington on November 22d, to consider and discuss the means to prevent war between the nations of America.

In answer to that note I have the honor to communicate to Mr. Osborn that his Majesty the Emperor, by agreement with his ministers, has resolved to accept said invitation, and that accordingly Brazil will be represented in the proposed congress, in conformity with the terms of the dispatch of the American Government of which the honorable minister had the goodness to leave me a copy.

I avail myself with the pleasure of this opportunity to reiterate to Mr. Osborn the assurances of my high consideration.

F. FRANCO DE SÁ.

Mr. THOMAS A. OSBORN, etc.

THE REPLY OF SALVADOR.

Secretary Gallegos to Minister Logan.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF SALVADOR,
San Salvador, February 13, 1882.

SIR: I have had the honor to receive your excellency's courteous dispatch dated January 4 last, and with it a copy of the notable and important circular which the Cabinet at Washington has addressed, under date of November 19 of the year last past, to the Governments of the American continent, inviting them to send plenipotentiaries to a congress which is to assemble in that capital on the 22d day of November of the present year, and which will endeavor to discover means for preventing wars between the nations of the New World.

The President of the Republic has carefully studied the important considerations which have suggested to the American Government that grand and humane idea, as also the exalted views which it entertains as to the matters to be submitted to the deliberations of the congress; and recognizing in both that spirit of fraternity and americanism characterizing the principal tendencies of the nations of this continent, in harmony with their noblest and most positive interests, he (the President) could not but welcome with enthusiasm the generous views of the American Government, whose leadership in a work of civilization and peace destined to exalt the good name and assure the progress of these Republics, he congratulates.

My Government, then, accepts at once the invitation extended to it by that of your excellency; and, in compliance with its wishes, proposes to send, on the occasion mentioned, the two plenipotentiaries who are to represent it, with appropriate instructions.

In the meantime I take pleasure in reiterating to your excellency the assurances of distinguished consideration with which I have the honor to subscribe myself,

your most attentive servant,

SALVADOR GALLEGOS.

Hon. CORNELIUS A. LOGAN,
Minister Resident of the United States in Central America, Guatemala.

THE REPLY OF NICARAGUA.

*Secretary Medina to Minister Logan.*MANAGUA, *February* 14, 1882.

SIR: Your polite communication dated the 4th of January last, inclosing a copy of a dispatch which your excellency had received from the Department of State, conveying instructions to invite all the States of Central America, in the name of your Government, to send two special commissioners to the general Peace Congress proposed to be held in Washington during the month of November next, has been received.

Without time to properly respond to this important communication, and applauding the philanthropic purposes your excellency's Government has in view, I restrict myself at this time to informing you that the Government of this Republic will take the matter under serious consideration, and that in due time I shall have the honor to communicate to you the resolution which may be adopted.

It affords me much pleasure to renew to your excellency the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

F. J. MEDINA.

Hon. CORNELIUS A. LOGAN,

Minister of the United States in Nicaragua.

THE REPLY OF HONDURAS.

Secretary Rosa to Minister Logan.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS,

Tegucigalpa, February 20, 1882.

Mr. MINISTER: I have received the communication of your excellency of the 4th of January last, and with it the important dispatch of his excellency the Minister of State of the United States of America, inviting my Government, through your excellency, to be present, by means of two commissioners, at the Peace Congress to be assembled in Washington on the 22d of November of the current year. I have referred the contents of the aforesaid documents, so worthy of high appreciation, to His Excellency the Presi-

dent of this Republic, who has instructed me to say to your excellency that the Government over which he presides fully reciprocates the noble sentiments and elevated aspirations which the dispatch of his excellency the Minister of State of the United States contains ; that it accepts with much pleasure the cordial and noble invitation addressed to it through your excellency, and that in due time he will appoint two commissioners, with ample instructions, to attend the great Peace Congress which, it is to be hoped, for the welfare of Latin America and the honor of the United States, will settle questions of the greatest interest to the future of the nations of the American continent.

I regret that your excellency has not been able, by reason of ill health, to visit this capital, where my Government would have been pleased to hear your opinions and remarks on this important affair. But this regret is in part compensated by the pleasure I have in congratulating you for the lofty sentiments expressed in your communication.

You excellency will be pleased to communicate the terms of this dispatch to his excellency the Minister of State of the United States, and receive the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

Your very attentive servant,

RAMON ROSA.

His Excellency CORNELIUS A. LOGAN,
*Minister Resident of the United States in
 Central America, Guatemala.*

THE REPLY OF BOLIVIA.

Secretary Zuloaga to Minister Adams.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS OF BOLIVIA,

La Paz, February 24, 1882.

SIR: On the 18th instant I had the honor to receive your excellency's note of the 16th, with which you were kind enough to transmit a copy of a dispatch from the Department of State of the United States to the legation which your excellency so worthily occupies, intended to invite the Government of Bolivia to an American

Congress which shall meet at Washington on the 22d of November of this year. In pursuance thereof, your excellency has been pleased to invite my Government officially to send its representatives to said Congress, called to deliberate upon matters affecting the future peace and prosperity of all the nations of the continent.

This very important dispatch will be brought to the knowledge of my Government, and I am sure it will be appreciated as it deserves, because of the high ends the congress has in view in behalf of America and the stability of its governments, and because of the high purposes with which the most excellent Government of the United States initiates said Congress.

It will be very agreeable to me to transmit to your excellency the reply of the Government of Bolivia.

Meanwhile, expressing my acknowledgment of your excellency's kind attention, I beg to remain with consideration and respect,

Your attentive and obedient servant,

P. JOSÉ ZILOCTI.

His Excellency Mr. CHARLES ADAMS,
Minister Resident of the United States.

THE REPLY TO COSTA RICA.

Secretary Castro to Minister Logan.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS,
National Palace, San José, February 25, 1882.

SIR: The very courteous and lucid communication of your excellency, dated 4th of January last, has reached my hand, accompanied with an authenticated copy of the important dispatch which was addressed to your excellency the 29th of November last by his excellency James G. Blaine, Secretary of State in the Cabinet of Washington.

The dispatch alluded to endeavors to show the increased advantage that would accrue if all the independent countries of North and South America should take

part in a general Congress, to meet on the 22d of November of the present year in the city of Washington, and whose principal object will be to consider and discuss means to prevent war between the American nations. To that end, and carrying into effect the lofty aims of the President of the United States in this regard, he invites, in the same dispatch, and also through your excellency, His Excellency the President of this Republic to send two commissioners to the said Congress, provided with the necessary powers and instructions, to take into consideration the questions which might be submitted to said Congress, within the scope of the invitation.

The President of Costa Rica, to whose knowledge I brought the note of your excellency and the copy of the dispatch referred to, has long recognized the necessity of the measure which the President of the United States now suggests and the considerable advantage the Americans will derive from it, as is evidenced by the multitude of documents emanating from the Cabinet of Costa Rica, and the recent punctuality with which the President of this Government sent its representatives to an American Congress, which was agreed to convene in Panama the 1st of December of the year just past. With the same spirit he may enter upon the consideration of the newly proposed Congress and give a definite reply; but he deems it prudent to wait until he ascertains if the Government of the United States persists in its project of an American International Congress since future events, such as the declination of the invitation by the Government of Colombia, may cause it to change its mind.

The Government of the United States will understand, without doubt, the justice of the stand taken by Costa Rica, and here with this occasion I reiterate the assurance of my appreciation and distinguished consideration.

JOSÉ MA. CASTRO.

Hon. CORNELIUS A. LOGAN, etc.

THE REPLY OF MEXICO.

Secretary Mariscal to Minister Morgan.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS,

Mexico, March 23, 1882.

Mr. MINISTER: I have the honor to reply to your excellency's note, of December 15 last, by which, referring to our interview of the same date, and to the important despatch addressed to you from Washington on November 29th by the Hon. Secretary of State, of which document you were pleased to leave me a copy, you extended, in the name of the Government of the United States of America to the President of the United States of Mexico an invitation to send two commissioners to a general congress of all the independent countries of North and South America, which is to assemble in Washington on November 24th, 1882, for the purpose of examining and discussing means to prevent war between the American nations, such commissioners to have the powers and instructions necessary to the fulfillment of their mission.

The end which your excellency's Government has in view in extending this invitation deserves the sincerest approbation and applause of the Governments to which the invitation is addressed. To avoid the evils of war, which the honorable Mr. Blaine eloquently describes in a few words, is without doubt the noblest of aspirations, that which is most important to the moral and material progress of the nations; that which is fraught with the grandest consequences for humanity. This project, so interesting that it recommends itself to the nations of the globe, acquires double importance when suggested to nations which, like those of the New World, are united to one another, be it by ties of blood, by common political institutions, or at least by the peculiar position in which they all alike stand toward the nations of the Old World. Certain it is that no American Government can, or at least should, feel less impressed than that of your excellency by the dangers and horrors of war, especially when waged by sister nations; and certain also is it that no chief magistrate in the continent of Columbus can be less sensible

than the President of the United States of the necessity of putting an end to those fratricidal struggles. The one difficulty, if any, which will present itself will be as to the practical means by which we may attain an end which is at once justly applauded and universally desired.

The attitude assumed by the Washington Government in this humane enterprise is worthy of the praise of the entire world and the most favorable consideration on the part of the nations concerned. Your excellency's Government deserves especial praise for its respect for the Law, which makes no distinction between the feeble and the strong, when it protests that it does not pretend to dictate or coerce in this matter, but only to manifest the good will, the disinterested solicitude of a friend. In the very act of protesting against force, of promoting its absolute proscription among the American nations, that one of those nations which has undertaken this generous propaganda (though she is the most disinterested, inasmuch as her greater resources make war less dangerous to her) clearly could not take advantage of her position as the principal power of the New World to impose by her authority the methods of putting an end to discord among her neighbors, but could only appeal, as she does, to friendly persuasion, by way of leading them to a voluntary agreement, the only source of rights and of obligations for sovereign communities.

Since 1853 that Government has been engaged in this glorious undertaking, in consequence, as I understand, of a recommendation from the Senate to the President that, whenever it should prove possible, there should be inserted in treaties made an article looking to the submission of the difficulties arising between the contracting parties to the decision of arbitrators chosen by common consent; and even before that date, in 1848, a similar clause had been inserted, with prudent limitations, in the treaty of peace concluded that year by our two nations. It is thus not strange that the United States should now recommend the same idea to all the States of America in general, nor is it strange that Mexico should be found disposed to adopt it.

The Mexican Government, which was sorry not to be able to accept Colombia's invitation to participate, through its representatives, in a congress which was to assemble in Panama for the purpose of signing a treaty similar to that which Colombia had concluded with Chili, binding themselves in perpetuity to submit to arbitration all the questions which might arise between the signatory powers; that Government, which, while admiring and applauding the aims of such a negotiation, could not think that the terms in which they were then embodied were compatible with the just and legitimate interests which it is bound to defend, has now the satisfaction to find that in the project for an American Peace Congress, proposed by your excellency's Government, the serious difficulties which prevented it from participating in the one proposed by Colombia have been obviated.

It appears that in the congress now proposed representation is to be accorded to all of the nations of America, without excluding any, either because of the peculiarity of its form of government, or on account of its superiority in the possession of the elements of power; and that all are to assume the same obligations, upon a footing of perfect equality. This circumstance imparts to the present project a practical importance which, from the point of view of this Republic, was lacking in the earlier one. Furthermore, no specification is made in the project of the United States of the means to be adopted for preventing war, nor is any particular draft of the proposed convention suggested for adoption. Complete liberty is thus left to the parties in interest to discuss and agree upon these points, and to designate, if arbitration should be adopted, the cases in which it can be resorted to, and those in which resort to it is deemed impracticable. It is intended, too, that the commissioners shall meet at a time when questions which are now pending (and in reference to which interests may have come into existence, which would have to be respected) will have been decided, or shall have wholly disappeared.

The Mexican Government, then, does not encounter on this occasion the difficulties which before repelled it, and

it deems it compatible with the national interests to send its representatives to an assembly which is to discuss the methods of insuring peace in the American continent. For these reasons the President of this Republic accepts with pleasure the invitation which, through your excellency, has been addressed to him by the President of the United States of America, to send two representatives to the International American Congress which is to meet in Washington on the 24th of November next.

I take pleasure in communicating this to your excellency, reiterating in this connection, the assurances of my exalted consideration.

IGNACIO MARISCAL.

His Excellency PHILIP H. MORGAN, etc.

NOTE.—Owing to the international complications in South America the proposed Congress of 1882 was postponed, and the following communication to that effect was sent to the several Governments which had been invited:

[Circular letter.]

Mr. Frelinghuysen to Mr. Osborn.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, August 9, 1882.

SIR: The President, through the medium of your legation, in November last, extended to the Government of
 * * * an invitation to be represented at a Congress of American States, which it was proposed to hold in Washington on the 22d day of November next, for the purpose of considering questions connected with the preservation of peace on the American continent, and it is presumed that you have, in compliance with the Department's instructions, communicated the invitation to the Government of
 * * *

At the time that proposal was put forth the President expressed the fervent hope that by the date fixed for the meeting of the Congress the questions now dividing some

of the republics of the southern continent would have disappeared, and that the representatives of the several commonwealths could meet with freedom to discuss the future aspects of the question, unaffected by any existing national difficulties.

The President, however, now directs me to instruct you to inform the Government of * * * that inasmuch as that peaceful condition of the South American Republics, which was contemplated as essential to a profitable and harmonious assembling of the Congress, does not exist, and he having besides on the 18th day of April, 1882, submitted the proposition to Congress without evoking an expression of its views on the subject, and no provision having been made by it for such a Congress, he is constrained to postpone the projected meeting until some future day.

While thus giving due notification to the friendly governments interested, the President can not but express his belief that the fact of such a Congress having been called has not been without benefit, it having directed the attention of the people of the United States, as well as of the Republics of South America, to the importance of having a more defined policy, to be satisfactory to all, governing the international relations of the republics.

You will communicate this dispatch to the minister for foreign relations of * * * at an early day by reading it to him, and, if he shall so desire, leaving with him a copy of it.

I am, etc.,

FRED'K. T. FRELINGHUYSEN.

To the foregoing communication Guatemala, Ecuador, Salvador, Uruguay, and Paraguay replied as follows:

GUATEMALA.

NEW YORK, 17 WEST FORTY-SECOND STREET,
Legation of Guatemala, June 5, 1882.

To the Honorable SECRETARY :

The invitation to a Peace Congress, issued by the Government of the United States in November of the year

last past, was received with enthusiasm by the Government of Guatemala.

The message of President Arthur to the Congress of the United States upon the same subject gave rise to a fear that the beautiful conception of a Peace Congress was not to be realized.

It is not incumbent upon me to consider the objections which have been urged against such a Congress, save only in so far as those objections have reference to my country.

Guatemala, Honduras, and Salvador are to-day bound together by the ties of the sincerest friendship. This friendship extends to Nicaragua, while as to Costa Rica nothing exists which can prove an obstacle to the Peace Congress.

I pray your excellency to be pleased to send a copy of this note to the Congress of the United States, so that it may be had in mind when the Peace Congress shall be discussed.

I am your excellency's most attentive and respectful servant,

LORENZO MONTÚFAR.

His Excellency the Secretary of State,

F. T. FRELINGHUYSEN.

ECUADOR.

MINISTRY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS OF ECUADOR,

Quito, September 15, 1882.

Mr. MINISTER: Having had the honor to receive the note which, under date of December 1, the Hon. James G. Blaine, Secretary of State in the Department of Foreign Relations of the Government of the United States of America, was pleased to send me, inviting the Government of Ecuador to send representatives to the American Congress which it was desired to convene in Washington on the 22d of November, 1882, I was instructed by the President of this Republic to accept the invitation, and I replied to the note, under date of March 18 of the present year, stating that my Government would at the proper time send two representatives to the Congress.

To-day I have again been honored by the receipt of the important note which, under date of August 9 last, your excellency has been pleased to address to me, stating that it has been decided to postpone the assembly to a future day, because peace in the South American Continent—that essential condition to the holding of the Congress—has not yet been re-established, and because the American Legislature has closed its sessions without taking action upon the President's message as to said Congress.

My Government, grateful for the invitation sent to it to participate through its representatives, as also for the courtesy with which your excellency's Government has been pleased to communicate the postponement recently decided on, for the reasons mentioned in the said note, has directed me to inform your excellency that, there being such good reasons for the delay in the meeting of the Congress, it accepts the postponement without comment.

I take advantage of this opportunity to reiterate to your excellency the assurances of the distinguished consideration with which I subscribe myself your excellency's attentive and obedient servant,

FRANCISCO ARIAS.

His Excellency the MINISTER OF FOREIGN

AFFAIRS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,

Washington.

SALVADOR.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS,

REPUBLIC OF SALVADOR,

San Salvador, October 3, 1882.

Mr. MINISTER: I have had the honor to receive in due time your excellency's polite communication, dated September 9 last, inclosing a copy of a note addressed to your excellency by the Secretary of State at Washington, the purpose of both papers being to inform this Government that, inasmuch as there remain still unsettled the differences between certain of the Republics of South America, whose pacification is deemed an essential condition to the assembling of the International Congress convoked for the month of November next, the American Government has

decided to postpone indefinitely the meeting of such congress, at which it hopes that this Republic will still be represented when the time comes.

It is much to be regretted that the questions on the Pacific have not yet been settled in a way which should harmonize the interests of the Republics concerned therein, and that in addition to this there should exist those other reasons which the foreign Secretary of the American Government so correctly sets forth, for postponing to a more distant date the meeting of the Congress, thus delaying the discussion of very important questions, the settlement of which would better define American international law, and at the same time exert the most beneficent and transcendent influence in promotion of the tranquillity and progress of the nations of the continent.

The hope nevertheless remains that so beneficent an idea has not been abandoned, and that later, when the exceptional conditions through which several sister Republics are now passing shall have changed for the better, it may prove possible to realize in practice with enthusiasm and success this grand idea.

The Government of Salvador, which was one of the first to applaud and accept the invitation which on the 4th of January last was addressed to it by your excellency for the purpose mentioned, will certainly not be the last to appear at Washington through its representatives when the time shall come to carry out the plan; and in communicating to your excellency the favorable attitude which my Government maintains toward the project stated it gives me pleasure to reiterate the assurances of the distinguished consideration with which I am

Your excellency's attentive and faithful servant,

SALVADOR GALLEGOS.

His Excellency MR. HENRY C. HALL, etc.

URUGUAY.

MONTEVIDEO, *October* 12, 1882.

MR. CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES: I have brought to the knowledge of his Excellency the President of the Republic the

note addressed to you by the Secretary for Foreign Affairs of North America, and of which you were good enough to leave an authenticated copy in this department, with reference to the postponement of the Congress which was to have met in Washington on the 22d of November of the present year, for the purpose of discussing questions connected with the maintenance of peace in the American continents.

As soon as he was informed of the felicitous idea of your Government of bringing about a reunion of the plenipotentiaries of the nations of America, with aims so exalted and attractive, the President of the Republic welcomed it with joy, and at once accepted with pleasure the invitation extended to him to participate in the proposed Congress, so informing your predecessor, General Caldwell.

Believing and trusting, as he does, that the results of that Congress can not but prove exceedingly efficacious in the maintenance of peace in the countries of America, thus promoting their progress and welfare, the President of the Republic directs me to request that you be so good as to communicate these sentiments to your Government, with the hope that, perhaps soon, it may be possible to realize the noble aims of the North American Government, which has known how to interpret faithfully those of the nations which have been invited to send representatives to the Congress.

Having thus carried out the directions of his Excellency the President of the Republic, I have the honor to reiterate to you the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

OSCAR HORDEÑANA.

Hon. WILLIAM WILLIAMS,

Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America.

PARAGUAY.

ASUNCION, *October 17, 1882.*

MR. CHARGÉ DE AFFAIRES: I have had the honor to receive your polite note of the 4th of this month, with which you had the kindness to send me the copy of the communi-

cation to which the honorable Secretary of State for the United States had sent to the legation of which you have charge, referring to the reunion of the Congress of American States, which was to have assembled on the 22d of next November. I have complied with the grateful duty of bringing the said communication to the knowledge of this Government, which has taken notice of the motives which have determined the Government of the United States to postpone the projected reunion until new notice.

In thanking you for the attention it is an honor to me to renew the assurances of my most distinguished consideration.

JOSÉ S. DECOUD.

His Excellency WILLIAM WILLIAMS,
*Chargé de Affaires for the United
States of America, Montevideo.*

THE SOUTH AMERICAN CONGRESS

AT

MONTEVIDEO.

1888—1889.

THE SOUTH AMERICAN CONGRESS AT MONTEVIDEO.

1888—1889.

The "South American Congress," which held its sessions at Montevideo from August 25, 1888, to February 18, 1889, was not properly a movement towards political or commercial unification of all the nations of America. It was merely a congress of jurists, and by its nature and for all purposes and effects exclusively South American. But it must be mentioned, nevertheless, in this place, not only because it was an important exponent of the civilization of the States of the southern portion of this continent, but also because it was an advanced step towards the satisfaction of a necessity deeply felt in America.*

*On the 9th of December, 1877, the anniversary of the battle of Ayacucho, which put an end to the Spanish rule in South America, another Congress of Jurists had met at Lima, Peru, at the invitation of the Peruvian Government. As it appears from a note of the Department of Foreign Relations of that Republic, dated May 21, 1878, that Congress was attended by plenipotentiaries from Bolivia, Cuba (whose independence had been recognized by Peru), Chili, Ecuador, Honduras, Peru, the Argentine Republic, and Venezuela. Later on Costa Rica sent a representative, and still later Guatemala and Uruguay adhered to the conclusions reached.

The meetings which were held by that assembly of distinguished men of law were many and had the following result:

1. A treaty for the establishment of uniform rules in the matter of private international law, dated November 9, 1878.
2. A treaty of extradition, dated March 27, 1879.

Both documents appear as an Appendix to the report sent to the Peruvian Congress in 1879 by the Secretary of Foreign Relations of that Republic. The report of 1878 contains also interesting details about the inauguration of this Congress of Jurists.

If extradition treaties are entered into without difficulty between the different States, the decisions of foreign courts in criminal matters, even if not final, being thereby caused to be respected, so far at least as the arrest of the offender and his delivery to the court of original jurisdiction are concerned, no argument seems to be necessary to prove that the same thing must be done in civil matters, and that the interests and rights of great moment often involved in judicial acts of one country should also be caused to be respected and enforced in others.

Some nations have secured the satisfaction of this necessity by means of treaties, as it has happened, for instance, between Colombia and Spain. But certainly it is better, if practicable, to try to reach this result by collective action in a conference of many, if not all, the nations interested in securing it, even if no other reason could be given than the benefit which always is derived from international meetings, when undertaken and conducted under the inspirations of common friendship and good will.

The idea of causing the South American Congress to convene seems to have occurred simultaneously to the Governments of the Argentine Republic and of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay. So it appears from the following interesting document:

PROTOCOL PROVIDING FOR THE HOLDING OF THE CONGRESS.

In Buenos Ayres, on the fourteenth day of the month of February, of eighteen hundred and eighty-eight, the minister of foreign relations of the Argentine Republic, Doctor Don Norberto Quirno Costa, and his excellency the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, Doctor Don Gonzalo Ramirez, being met in the office of the former for the purpose of carrying into immediate realization the idea in which their respective Governments have coincided, of calling together a congress of jurisconsults of the several nations of South America to make uniform, by means of a treaty, the several subjects embraced by private international law, recognizing the want of unity existing in the legislation of the several countries, and persuaded of the importance of removing the obstacles that in many cases that difference presents, all of which will disappear from the moment a uniform legislation shall facilitate civil relations between individuals, or a common law is established to adjust differences in case of inability to prevent them, both conferees agreed as follows:

First. The Argentine and Oriental Governments shall invite separately, but simultaneously, the Governments of Chili, Brazil, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela, and Paraguay to the meeting of an International South American Law Congress, whose object shall be the conclusion of a treaty embracing the subjects embodied in private international law.

Second. The Congress shall meet in the city of Montevideo, its opening taking place on the 25th of August next.

Third. Each of the governments adhering to the holding of the Congress shall be represented therein by two plenipotentiaries or delegates.

Fourth. The Argentine and Oriental Governments shall mutually agree as to the terms of the note of invitation to the other South American Governments, which shall be addressed to them in the early part of the month of March next, in order that they may have time sufficient to be represented in the Congress on the day set for its installation.

It was so agreed, the Conference terminated, this protocol being signed in duplicate for purposes of record and other effects.

N. QUIRNO COSTA,
GONZALO RAMIREZ.

DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS,
Buenos Ayres, 20 February, 1888.

Approved:

JUAREZ CELMAN,
N. QUIRNO COSTA.

Seven nations were represented in this Congress by the following plenipotentiaries:

The Argentine Republic by Doctor Don Roque Saenz Peña and Doctor Don Manuel Quintana.

Bolivia by Doctor Don Santiago Vaca Guzmán.

Brazil by Doctor Don Domingo de Andrade Figueira.

Chili by Don Guillermo Mata and Don Belisario Prats.

Paraguay by Doctor Don Benjamin Aceval and Doctor Don José Z. Caminos.

Peru by Doctor Don Cesareo Chacaltana and Doctor Don Manuel Maria Galvez.

And the Oriental Republic of Uruguay by Doctor Don Ildefonso Garcia Lagos and Doctor Don Gonzalo Ramirez.

Doctor Don Ildefonso Garcia Lagos and Doctor Don Roque Saenz Peña were elected, respectively, the former president and the latter vice-president of the Congress.

The secreteries were Don Ricardo I. Pardo and Don Oscar Hordeñana, chief clerks, respectively, the former of

the department of foreign relations of the Argentine Republic, and the latter of the same department of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay.

This Congress held thirty-five meetings, with the following result:

1. A treaty on international civil law.
2. A treaty on international commercial law.
3. A treaty on international penal law.
4. A treaty on international law of procedure.
5. A treaty on literary and artistic property.
6. A treaty on trade-marks.
7. A treaty on patents.
8. A convention on the practice of the liberal professions.
9. A protocol, containing provisions of a general character additional to the foregoing instruments.

Some of these treaties have been subsequently approved and ratified by the South American nations, and are the law of the land in the countries which have so approved them. Other nations, as, for instance, Chili, has rejected one (the treaty on international civil law) and accepted the others; and in other nations they are still under study.

The following speeches with which the Congress was closed will certainly be read with interest.

Doctor Garcia Lagos, President of the Congress, expressed himself as follows:

Gentlemen, on a day memorable in the annals of my country, and in the midst of sympathetic demonstrations toward you as eloquent as they were harmonious, I inaugurated six months since the sessions of this Congress, greeting you as the molders of American law and fraternity.

A generous and grand idea inspired us. But one thought animated us, the success of the task before us, yet we did not conceal a certain feeling of trepidation at the contemplation of the arduousness of an undertaking in which others had failed.

Mutual helpfulness having given heart to our faith, and the goal having been reached, I have to-day the honor to address you for the last time to congratulate you in the name of the President of the Republic for the notable success which has crowned the labors of this Congress of plenipotentiaries, presenting, as it has, to the several Governments a series of treaties which form a veritable code of private international law, the most complete, systematic, and practical recorded in diplomatic annals.

And in saying this, gentlemen, there is not any arrogant exaggeration; for we recognize—and we recognize it willingly—that in the preparation of that task we have consulted the works of the most eminent jurists and thinkers of modern times, and also that it has been comparatively easy for us to arrive at proper conclusions upon points which appear as veritable problems in the international jurisprudence of other countries whose political and social conditions differ from those of the nations represented in this Congress.

In this way, keeping those precedents in view, or disregarding them at times to accept other principles more in keeping with, or better adapted to, the peculiar character or necessities of our countries, the Congress has succeeded in establishing fixed rules for the settlement of the differences arising from the conflict of the laws regarding private relations in civil life as well as in commercial interchange and maritime traffic. It has succeeded in reconciling the demands of justice with the right of personal liberty. It has laid down the recognition of the right to literary, artistic, and industrial property within the limits marked out by social interest; it has prescribed reciprocal privileges for the exercise of the liberal professions; and it has determined, in fine, the jurisdiction over all legal relations affecting persons, acts, and property, as well as the special rules to be followed in the conduct and decision of proceedings, the principle of the territoriality of the laws, which means mutual respect for the sovereignty of the states, prevailing and being confirmed in all the wide range covered by its provisions.

Gentlemen, you have brought your mission to a close, and what is still more, you have discharged it with a wisdom and liberal and progressive spirit worthy of America. So signal a service rendered in behalf of the development of their international relations and the science of law is already applauded by the countries on either bank of the Plata, represented on this auspicious occasion by the high magistrates presiding over them, and it will be applauded on the morrow in your countries as one of the acts which more faithfully marks the stage of your political progress and your social culture.

Let us express the fervent hope that this work shall become still more profitable, and that, leaping the boundaries of our continent, it may very soon obtain the adhesion of other states of Europe and America, thus daily strengthening more, through the certainty and stability of all laws, the well-being of their citizens who may come to live on our soil, under the protection of its institutions.

Before we, who have up to to-day participated in the same fatigues, shall separate, permit me, my hand grasping yours, to congratulate you sincerely and feelingly for the success achieved, and to assure you that the honorable President of the Republic will in a short time carry out the announcement made in his last message to the honorable Congress relative to the sanction of the treaties.

And now, tendering a respectful greeting to the illustrious Presidents

of the Republics of the Plata who organized this Congress, as well as to the other chiefs of state who have given it their effective co-operation, I declare the sessions closed.

His excellency Dr. Quirno Costa, Secretary of Foreign Affairs of the Argentine Republic, followed, pronouncing the following discourse:

Honorable plenipotentiaries, it becomes my pleasant duty to extend to you the congratulations of the Argentine Government for the happy outcome of your labors, which will so largely contribute to the closer binding of the South American countries, uniting them still more through the enactment of a common legislation touching the principles which have been the object of your deliberations.

The fruit of your labors has been eight international compacts, and if opinions have not harmonized on all of them, still the fraternal and patriotic spirit which has inspired each one of the members of the Congress must be recognized; it being left to the Governments to seek in time the solutions which shall best subserve the common interests by reaching an agreement upon questions of form, or upon matters of substance, in so far as shall be in keeping with the constitutional law of the several countries.

In the vast programme of your work you have had scope enough to embrace in their varied phases the most complicated problems of private international law, considering it in its broadest sense, as it is considered by noted writers, and as demanded by the progress of science which tends to expand its component parts, thus obeying modern advancement which develops it in the same ratio as the relations between nations grow more intimate and communication more frequent.

You have established the rules most in keeping with the principles of law, making laws respecting persons, things, and acts, and with this triple object in view, the treaties negotiated embrace matters civil, commercial, and penal, the programme of your labors being completed by the most advanced declarations relative to literary property, which, like property in other things, could not be disregarded in view of our constitutional laws, and by Governments who maintain such extensive relations with the Old World, which not only sends us capital and muscle, but also the literary and scientific works of its great thinkers.

No nation can consider itself wounded by the conclusions arrived at by the International South American Congress, and far from this, the nations of Europe will find new proofs that it has been sought to proclaim principles which will be influential in the way of fostering good relations with the countries with whom we exchange our products and divide our riches.

Honorable plenipotentiaries, there was a time when the genius of Bolivar entertained the idea of a great congress to organize a South American confederation, and when the fruitful spirit of Monteagudo, giving form to the thought of the great captain, laid out with manly

word the programme of an assembly of representatives of the Governments of this portion of America.

An offensive and defensive alliance against any European nation was sought, and the object of the Congress of Panama was to provide for this which was deemed a necessity; but on this occasion the eagle of the Orinoco did not meet with the success it did at the "embrace" of Guayaquil, when it hurled the Spanish lion from the Andes to the other side of the seas, and which, on that solemn occasion, was inspired by sentiments of sublime patriotism, picturing in its mind, perchance, the field of Ayacucho, where the last cannon's roar proclaimed to the world that the Republics destined to be the pride of the Latin race were free and independent.

Before this time, gentlemen, San Martin had foretold also, in the presence of eternal snows and upholding the strong arm of O'Higgins, that the freedom of Chili would be secured at Chacabuco, crossing with his cannon the most towering and inaccessible peaks, once more to carry out the compact of Chilians and Argentines, who, conquerors in Maipu, carried triumphant the flags of the two nations even unto the uttermost limits of America.

Besides that of Panama, other attempts were made in the same direction. It was the embryonic period of the people who had just freed themselves. At times they lost faith in the future, and, believing themselves threatened by enemies from beyond seas, they saw their strength weakened by the disorder incident to the struggle, and which greatly increased when the common enemy had once been conquered.

Those perils have passed, and the South American nations abide in the midst of the peace and progress with which they will dismiss the nineteenth century, to become great and powerful in the twentieth, which, as has been said, will be the century of America.

With abiding faith in the great destinies awaiting each one of the South American nations, all enjoying close relations with the old world, as defined by their laws, all bound to make right prevail, and with elements of inexhaustible wealth, each country is the architect of its own fortune, but united all in the interest of the future of South America, whose sons desire that it shall always be said of the States forming it: "All for each, and each for all."

Gentlemen, the greatness of the countries of this part of the continent, their power as autonomic entities, depends to-day upon peace, upon liberty, and upon the development of their own elements, strengthened by others, which upon joining shall commingle to form an harmonious whole, which, without losing sight of its origin, which we should never deny, for it honors us, shall present extensive horizons to labor and to collective and individual action under the law.

Alliances against the nations of the old continent had their day and their reason during the struggle for independence, and even after that, when Europe could be ruled by one will, or when the policy of its

Governments savored of the adventurous or was inspired by dreams of conquest.

To-day there exists in America on the north a great nation, and on the south budding States, which occupy a distinguished station among civilized countries, and what is more, so as to entirely eradicate the fears of the days, we have tightened the ties that bind us to Europe by daily increasing commerce, by the immigration we are receiving, and which has commenced to blot out our deserts, and finally by the mutual respect we command, she, as well as us, so that we may consider ourselves already as indispensable factors in the advancements of the world.

We have not, then, to extend the battle lines as in the heroic periods of our history, but we do have to recognize each other as brothers, as before, and to seek in the inspirations of patriotism, in the invocation of the spirits of our illustrious dead, and even in our own advantages, the means which shall forever prevent bloody conflicts, which would paralyze the great future reserved for us.

Honorable plenipotentiaries, when the minutes of your sessions shall be read, the importance of your work, the science and experience revealed by the international adjustments by you arrived at known, your Governments and the jurists of Europe and America, who await them with all the interest aroused by a body of eminent men, such as you form, shall have passed upon them, the International South American Congress will be ever remembered with gratitude by the countries whose interests it has more closely served, and with respect by men of science, just as the indisputable merit of other efforts in the same direction, among which shines the Congress of jurists, held in Lima a few years since, on the initiative of the Government of Peru, should be held in remembrance and recognized. There should be recognized also the intelligent and patriotic co-operation in this Congress of the Governments of Paraguay and Bolivia, worthily represented by their plenipotentiaries.

It will always be said that on the banks of the Plata, in the capital of the Oriental Republic of Uruguay, which merited from the world the name of the New Troy, was held the first International South American Congress on the initiative of the two nations bathed by the great river; that there were prescribed the rules which shall forever prevent the conflict of the laws of seven sovereign States, realizing what to many was a dream, and which up to the present time has been an impossibility for countries occupying a high station among nations.

Countries recently come into being, which struggled half a century to constitute themselves, each having passed through critical periods in the various epochs of their national history, and republics or monarchies, direct your gaze to-day over the vast continent, and you will discover only the foot-prints of the endeavors of peoples and governments to reach a proud station among nations, be it in the field of free institutions or in that of material advancement wherein all struggle by means of labor.

Thus, in the matter of institutions not long ago we witnessed the solemn spectacle of the abolition of slavery in Brazil, a grand event the whole world has applauded, a magnificent action, which once more revealing the manly character of a monarch worthy of the nation he rules, reveals also the just and humanitarian heart beating within the bosom of the Emperor Pedro II, initiator of the idea realized to the honor of his name and in the midst of the enthusiasm of the people whose destinies he rules.

The Montevidean Congress is, gentlemen, another happy and beneficial event, in that we are seen united, the countries bound together by solemn compacts which record the most liberal principles of the science of law. Every one knows that with a union of the people, the union of the governments is the most logical of consequences.

Honorable Plenipotentiaries: Upon declaring, in the name of my Government, that your sessions are closed, I must say to you, as a proof of the esteem your labors have merited, that the first act of the Most Excellent the President of the Argentine Republic, upon reassuming the administration of the nation, will be to approve the eight treaties you have negotiated, so as to transmit them to the Honorable Congress with the special recommendation which so useful and important international acts merit.

And now, gentlemen, I beg that you will rise to give thanks to Providence for the favors bestowed upon you during your labors, and as a mark of respectful consideration to the Oriental Republic and its Government, which has shown and shows us such cordial and never-to-be-forgotten hospitality, and whose distinguished roll in the International South American Congress will ever be a seal of honor which shall occupy a leading place in the pages of its history.

LEGISLATION AND PROPOSED LEGISLATION
IN THE
CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
REFERRING TO
THE INTERNATIONAL AMERICAN CONFERENCE.

LEGISLATION AND PROPOSED LEGISLATION
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CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
REFERRING TO
THE INTERNATIONAL AMERICAN CONFERENCE.

The following is the legislative history of the International American Conference in the Congress of the United States:

On the 21st of January, 1880, the Hon. David Davis, of Illinois, by request of Mr. Hinton Rowen Helper, introduced the following bill, which is the first suggestion found in the records of Congress of legislation leading to the International American Conference:

[S. 1095 Forty-sixth Congress, second session.]

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

January 21, 1880.

Mr. Davis, of Illinois (by request), asked, and by unanimous consent obtained, leave to bring in the following bill; which was read twice and referred to the Committee on Commerce:

A BILL for the encouragement of closer commercial relationship between the United States and the Republics of Mexico, Central America, the Empire of Brazil, and the several Republics of South America.

Whereas from the southern boundary of the United States to the Argentine Republic, and also the Republic of Chili, a distance of about four thousand five hundred miles, including Mexico, Central America, the United States of Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay, containing a population, in all, of about forty million of industrious and progressive people, with whom the people of the United States hold, and desire to maintain, the most friendly relations and with whom a closer and reciprocal interest in trade and commerce ought to be encouraged, yet with whom the people of the United States have no facilities for intercommunication, except by long sea voyages, although no great physical obstacle exists

to the construction of a through line of railroad running at the foot of the eastern slope of the great mountain chain, from its northern to its southern termini, which would open that vast interior region to our manufactures and commerce; connected on the eastern side at the headwaters of navigation with a grand river system that extends for thousands of miles through the United States of Colombia, Guiana, Venezuela, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, and the Argentine Republic, and on the Pacific side with the principal sea-ports, by means of branch railroads similar to those that have been constructed in Peru, and terminating with one branch on the Pacific at the sea-port of Valparaiso and on the Atlantic side with a branch at Buenos Ayres; and

Whereas it is considered that this great international work can be constructed through the united efforts of the several Governments of the Republics and the Empire of Brazil, through whose territory it would pass, guided by the advice and experience and assisted by the material aid from the commercial and railroad interests of the United States: Therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to initiate such action as may lead to the adoption of measures that may form a basis for the organization of an international administration, to which shall be intrusted the duty of carrying forward the work of constructing said railroad, that the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and requested to invite all the Governments of the said several Republics of Mexico, Central America, South America, and the Empire of Brazil to send duly appointed delegates to meet in convention in the city of Washington, upon the third Monday in June, eighteen hundred and eighty, to adopt such measures as may be considered the most practicable to carry forward the proposed work in the interest of peace, commerce, and mutual prosperity; that the sum of fifty thousand dollars, now in the Treasury of the United States and not otherwise disposed of, be, and is hereby, appropriated, or so much thereof as may be necessary, and placed to the credit of the Secretary of State, to defray, in a manner becoming the dignity of the United States, the expenses incidental to the holding of said convention.

IN THE SENATE, 1882.

On the 24th of April, 1882, at the suggestion of Mr. Hinton Rowen Helper, Mr. Cockrell, of Missouri, introduced the following bill:

A BILL to authorize the appointment of a special commissioner for promoting commercial intercourse with such countries of Central and South America as may be found to possess the most natural and available facilities for railway intercommunication with each other and with the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of

the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and directed to appoint, for a term of two years, a special commissioner whose duty it shall be to proceed in regular order, and as soon as it may be convenient, to Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, and the Argentine Republic, and there obtain specifically all the facts and information of every nature which may be utilized in extending friendly and commercial intercourse between those and the adjacent countries and the United States.

SEC. 2. That it shall also be the duty of the said commissioner to ascertain the disposition and purposes of the inhabitants of the several countries named with reference to railway intercommunication with themselves, respectively, and with the United States, and what provisions, guaranties, and privileges, if any, they have already granted, or may be inclined to grant, to secure the benefits of more speedy and perfect postal communication and unobstructed trade and travel between themselves and the people of the United States.

SEC. 3. That it shall further be the duty of said commissioner to transmit to the Secretary of State careful and complete reports from each and every country visited by him, and the various reports so transmitted shall be retained in the Department of State for such reference and use as the public interests may require. Copies of the same reports may at any time be subject to the order of Congress.

SEC. 4. That the salary of the said commissioner shall be eight thousand five hundred dollars per annum; and that he may employ, as translator and secretary, an assistant of his own selection, but subject to the approval of the Secretary of State, at a salary of three thousand dollars per annum.

SEC. 5. That the sum of eleven thousand five hundred dollars per annum, for the period of two years as aforesaid, is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, to pay the salaries of the said commissioner and his assistant under appointment as thus authorized.

MR. MORGAN'S BILL.

On the same day, April 24, 1882, Mr. Morgan, of Alabama, introduced in the Senate the following:

A BILL for the encouragement of closer commercial relations between the United States and the Republic of Mexico, Central America, the Empire of Brazil, and the several Republics of South America.

Whereas from the southern boundary of the United States to the Argentine Republic and the Republic of Chili, a distance of about five thousand miles, including México, Central America, the United States of Colombia, Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador, Brazil, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Uruguay, containing, in all, a population of about forty million of industrious and progressive people, with whom the people of the United

States hold and desire to maintain the most friendly relations, and with whom a closer and reciprocal intimacy in trade and commerce is desirable and worthy of encouragement, yet with whom the people of the United States have no facilities for intercommunication except by sea, although no great physical obstacle exists to the construction of a through line of railroad along and at the foot of the eastern slope of the great mountain chain from Central America to Chili, which would open that vast region to our manufactures and commerce, connected on the eastern side at the headwaters of navigation with the grand river system that extends for thousands of miles through the United States of Colombia, Guiana, Venezuela, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, and the Argentine Republic, and on the Pacific side with the principal seaports by means of branch railroads similar to those that have been constructed in Peru, and terminating with one branch on the Pacific at the seaport of Valparaiso and on the Atlantic at Buenos Ayres; and

Whereas it is considered that this great international work can be constructed through the united efforts of the several Governments of the Republics and the Empire of Brazil, through whose territory it would pass, guided by the advice and experience and assisted by material aid from the commercial and railroad interests of the United States: Therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to initiate such action as may lead to the adoption of measures to form a basis for the organization of an international administration to which shall be intrusted the duty of encouraging the work of constructing said railroad, the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, requested to invite all the Governments of the said Republics and the Empire of Brazil to send delegates to meet in a convention in the city of Washington, at a time to be designated by the President, during the present year, anno Domini eighteen hundred and eighty-two, then and there to adopt such measures as to them may seem the most practicable to undertake and carry forward the work herein proposed, in the interest of peace, commerce, and mutual prosperity; that the sum of dollars, now in the Treasury of the United States and not otherwise disposed of, be, and is hereby, appropriated, or so much thereof as may be necessary, and placed to the credit of the Secretary of State, to defray in a proper manner becoming to the dignity of the United States the expenses incidental to the holding of the said convention.

ADVERSE ACTION IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

Similar bills at the same time were introduced in the House of Representatives, and were referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs. On the 20th of June following Mr. Kasson, of Iowa, submitted the following report:

REPORT:

[To accompany bill H. R. 6023.]

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 6023) to authorize the appointment of a special commissioner for promoting commercial intercourse with such countries of Central and South America as may be found to possess the most natural and available facilities for railway intercommunication with each other and the United States, respectfully report the bill back to the House with the recommendation that it do not pass, and ask that the committee be discharged from the further consideration of the same, and that the bill and report be laid on the table.

REVIVAL OF THE SENATE BILLS.

On the 8th of February, 1883, Mr. Cockrell, of Missouri, introduced a bill very similar to that previously proposed by him for the appointment of a special commissioner to visit the several Republics of Central and South America. A similar bill was introduced at the same time in the House of Representatives.

At the beginning of the next session Mr. Cockrell re-introduced the bill in the Senate, and it was also re-introduced in the House. On the 11th of December, 1883, Senator Sherman re-introduced the bill that had been proposed the year before by Mr. Morgan, of Alabama, for the appointment of a commission to visit Central and South America. The same bill was introduced in the House by Mr. Jordan, of Ohio.

A CUSTOMS UNION PROPOSED.

In the first session of the forty-eighth Congress Mr. Townshend, of Illinois, proposed the following, which was referred to the Committee on Commerce:

JOINT RESOLUTION requesting the President to invite the co-operation of the Governments of American nations in securing the establishment of free commercial intercourse among those nations and an American customs union.

Whereas the establishment of free commercial intercourse among the nations now existing upon the continent of America will promote the friendly political relations, internal commerce and industry, and secure a more extensive market for the surplus products of each of said nations: Therefore,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the

United States be, and he is hereby, requested to invite the co-operation of the Governments of the American nations in securing the establishment of a commercial league by and between the said nations to be known as the Customs Union of America, the arrangement of a common basis of import duties from other countries than those which may compose said league, and that the commercial intercourse among the people of all the American States may be freed from the payment of any customs or other dues whatever; and that a common system of weights and measures may be also established for the purpose of facilitating said intercourse.

FAVORABLE ACTION IN THE SENATE.

On the 3d of March, 1884, Mr. Cockrell introduced in the Senate the following bill, which was the basis of an amendment added to the diplomatic and consular appropriation bill of that year, authorizing the appointment of the commission which, during 1884 and 1885, visited Central and South America:

A BILL to authorize the appointment of three commissioners to visit the principal countries of Central and South America for the purpose of collecting information looking to the extension of American trade and commerce, and the strengthening of friendly and mutually advantageous relations between the United States and all the other American nationalities.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and requested to nominate and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to appoint, for a term not exceeding two years, a special commission of three persons, whose duty it shall be to proceed, as soon as it may be convenient after such appointment, to the sixteen distinctively independent countries here designated, in the order indicated, namely, Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, the Argentine Republic, Chili, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Brazil, and inquire diligently after and collect such information as may be useful in extending trade and commerce, and in strengthening the subsisting friendly relations and reciprocally sustaining principles and policies between those several neighboring nationalities and the United States.

SEC. 2. That it shall also be the duty of such commission to inquire into and ascertain the feelings and inclinations of the peoples of those countries with reference to railway intercommunication between themselves, respectively, and the United States, and likewise what guarantees, immunities, and privileges, if any, have already been granted by them, or that they may hereafter be willing to grant, looking to the

increase and quickening of postal communication, commerce, trade, and travel between their own inhabitants, respectively, and the inhabitants of the United States.

SEC. 3. That it shall be the further duty of such commission to transmit their reports, in writing, from time to time, to the Secretary of State of the United States, concerning the matters and interests hereinbefore mentioned, which reports, when received, shall be preserved in the Department of State for such reference and use as the public welfare may seem to require.

SEC. 4. That each of the said commissioners shall receive the sum of five thousand dollars per annum as compensation in full for the services rendered by him under the provisions of this act; and the said commission shall be allowed, during the said term of two years, for necessary and official expenses, a sum not exceeding thirty-five thousand dollars, to be certified and audited in the manner usual with the Department of State; but the said commission may, if in their experience and judgment it shall be necessary, employ an assistant well versed in the Spanish language, at a salary, payable by the United States, of not more than two thousand five hundred dollars per annum.

SEC. 5. That the sum of seventy thousand dollars, payable by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, upon the warrant of the Secretary of State, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to pay the salaries and expenses of the said commissioners and their assistant during the said term of two years.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, 1884.

The bill having been referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, was returned to the Senate with the following favorable report:

REPORT.

[To accompany amendment to the consular and diplomatic appropriation bill.]

The Committee on Foreign Relations beg leave to report the accompanying amendment, which they propose to the bill making appropriations for the consular and diplomatic service for the year ending June 30, 1885, in lieu of bills S. 347, 594, and 1700, which bills the committee recommend be indefinitely postponed, and ask that the amendment herewith be referred to the Committee on Appropriations. The subject matters embraced in the above-mentioned bills have been carefully considered by the committee, and their views are contained in the letter from the Department of State dated March 26, 1884, hereto appended and made a part of this report.

MR. FRELINGHUYSEN'S PROJECT.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, March 26, 1884.

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 5th instant, inclosing copies of two proposed amendments to the consular and diplomatic bill for an appropriation to defray the expenses of a conference of independent American nations to promote commerce and general peace, and in which you inform me of the courtesy of the committee in submitting the amendments for my consideration, with the request that if the President approve of the proposition, to place it within his power, so far as expenses are concerned, to invite such a Conference that I submit a draft of an amendment, such as I regard as proper, or that I indicate which of the two I prefer.

I am thoroughly convinced of the advisability of knitting closely our relations with the States of this continent, and no effort on my part shall be wanting to accomplish a result so consonant with the constant policy of this country and in the spirit of the Monroe doctrine, which, in excluding foreign political interference, recognizes the common interest of the States of North and South America. It is the history of all diplomacy that close political relations and friendship spring from unity of commercial interests. The merchant or trader is the forerunner and aid to diplomatic intimacy and international amity. With the spirit of the proposed amendments I am in harmony.

But certain practical objections to the mode suggested occur to me. I fear that a congress so soon to meet without previous conference with the several Governments, and without the preparation of a well-digested programme for discussion, might be unable to accomplish a valuable result. The views of the States which are to be parties to the Conference should be obtained, their wishes and aims carefully considered, and thereupon the scope and purpose of the congress carefully defined and outlined in the invitation.

The disadvantage of summoning a congress without some definite assurance of general accord and without an announcement of its programme was shown in 1880, when the Colombian Government convoked a congress of Spanish-American States at Panama to concert measures for preserving peace between them by means of international arbitration. Few States were represented, and the Conference failed to develop unity of views, and broke up without accomplishing anything, except, perhaps, a prejudice against the renewal of the project.

Moreover, it is probable that the other States, certainly the smaller and less powerful among them, would desire a treaty of alliance, requiring of the United States protection and defense in case of attack, not only by European powers, but by their more powerful neighbors on this continent. Material aid also in the construction of their railroads and other similar public works would be expected, neither of which propositions could be entertained by us. In the Conference the

smallest State would have a voice equal to that of the United States, and while we need not necessarily be bound by the conclusions reached, it would weaken rather than strengthen our influence with these countries if we should feel forced to reject measures adopted by the Conference.

Considerations of much this character influenced the failure of the notable project for an American congress at Panama during Mr. Adams's administration, in 1828-'29. The congress was proposed by the South American States, then recognized by us as independent, but still nominally at war with Spain. Its purposes were mutual alliance and preservation of peace among them. President Adams and Mr. Clay favored the project, but continued opposition, in and out of Congress, developed the general belief that the only result would be to make the United States the protector of the whole republican system of the continent, thus giving the minor States the benefit of a special protection which the United States did not need for themselves and could not adequately expect from the rest. The United States commissioner, although appointed, did not attend the congress, and owing to the disordered condition and conflicting interests of the Spanish-American States it attained no result. (See note to Dana's Wheaton, p. 99, *et seq.*)

The true plan, it seems to me, is to make a series of reciprocity treaties with the States of Central and South America, taking care that those manufactures, and as far as is practicable those products, which would come into competition with our own manufactures and products should not be admitted to the free list. By these treaties we might secure for valuable consideration so as not to violate the most favored-nation clause of other treaties, further substantial advantages. Such, for example, as the free navigation of their coasts, rivers, and lakes.

Indiscriminate reduction of duties on materials peculiarly the production of Central and South America would take from us the ability to offer reciprocity and we would thus lose the opportunity to secure valuable trade. Removal of duties from coffee, without greatly cheapening its price, deprived us of the power to negotiate with the coffee-growing countries of Spanish-America highly advantageous reciprocity treaties, and indiscriminate reduction of duties on sugar would complete our inability to establish favorable commercial relations with those countries which form our natural market, and from which we are now almost entirely excluded. If we confine the reduction of duties on such articles as sugar and coffee to those Spanish-American countries which are willing to negotiate with us treaties of reciprocity we cheapen these products for our own people and at the same time, gain the control of those markets for the products of our fields and factories.

Another point seems well worthy of consideration. The United States are great producers of silver, and every market which can be opened for this valuable product is to our direct advantage. Great Britain, on the other hand, strives to disparage and exclude it as a

means of exchange ; for its use in this way depreciates her wealth and works to her disadvantage. The states of Central and South America are also silver producers, with interests like ours. It would, therefore, be advantageous, and is probably practicable, to agree upon a common silver coin equal in value, say, to our gold dollar, or to some other appropriate standard, which, under proper regulation as to coinage, etc., should be current in all countries of this continent. Thus value would be given to our silver products, and commerce with these countries would be aided.

I suggest that it would be well to make an appropriation giving to the President power to appoint a commission to carefully consider what the best interests of North and South America and the Isthmus require ; to send, if found advisable, delegates to confer with the Governments of the other countries, and, after this commission has made its report upon the most feasible means of carrying out measures of mutual advantage, then, empowering the President, if he sees proper, to call the convention. A body so convened would meet with its general object and scope marked out, and would know beforehand what wishes of the other states this Government is unable to comply with, thus avoiding what might seem a rebuff should we feel obliged to decline a project matured by the congress without our assent.

I inclose herewith a draft of an amendment embodying these views which meet the President's approval.

I have the honor to be, sir, your obedient servant,

FRED'K T. FRELINGHUYSEN.

Hon. JOHN F. MILLER,

Chairman Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate.

FAVORABLE REPORT IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

A similar bill was introduced in the House of Representatives and reported favorably from the Committee on Foreign Affairs by Mr. Charles Stewart on the 7th of May, 1884. The following is a copy of Mr. Stewart's report :

REPORT.

[To accompany bill H. R. 6926.]

The Committee on Foreign Affairs have carefully considered the two following bills, the first being H. R. 124, entitled " A bill to authorize the appointment of a special commissioner for promoting commercial intercourse with such countries of Central and South America as may be found to possess the most natural and available facilities for railway intercommunication with each other and the United States," and the other being H. R. 1240, entitled " A bill for the encouragement of closer commercial relationship, and in the interests of, and the perpetuation of, peace between the United States and the Republics of Mexico and Central and South America and the Empire of Brazil."

Inasmuch as the purposes sought to be effected by the passage of these two bills are substantially the same, they may be considered together, and the objects which they seek to attain may be stated to be, viz :

(1) To strengthen the subsisting friendly relations between this country and the Republic of Mexico, and the different Governments of Central and South America.

(2) To promote greater commercial intercourse between the United States and the before-named countries.

(3) To ascertain the feeling and inclinations of the peoples of Mexico and the countries in Central and South America with reference to railway communication between said countries and the United States; and likewise, what guaranties, immunities, and privileges, if any, have already been granted by them, or that they may hereafter be willing to grant, for the purpose of increasing and quickening postal communication, trade, and travel between their countries and the United States.

Although both bills have in view the accomplishment of the same purposes they are widely divergent in the means sought to be employed. One provides for the appointment by this Government of a single commissioner, who may, if, in his experience and judgment it shall be necessary, employ an assistant, and this commissioner shall visit the countries hereinbefore named for the purpose of acquiring such information as will aid in the accomplishment of the objects heretofore mentioned; the other seeks to attain the same end by empowering the President of the United States to invite all the Governments of Central and South America, and also the Republic of Mexico, to meet in convention in the city of Washington, upon such a day as he may appoint, during the year A. D. 1884, for the purpose of considering and adopting such measures as will tend to promote the same great policies. The committee is of opinion that no convention of the countries named should be invited until the wishes of said Governments in relation thereto be ascertained, and therefore it can not recommend the passage of a bill which makes provision for the immediate call of such a convention; and it is also of the opinion that the magnitude and importance of the duties to be performed are too much to be intrusted to a single commissioner. Entertaining these views, the committee has prepared a substitute for said bills, which is herewith reported, and it recommends that the bills H. R. 124 and H. R. 1240 do lie upon the table,* and that the substitute in lieu thereof be adopted.

The committee deem it not improper to call attention to some facts and to make some suggestions which may serve to show the importance of legislation for the accomplishment of the purposes sought to be attained by the two bills before mentioned; and which purposes, it is thought, can be more certainly accomplished by the adoption of the substitute accompanying this report. All the countries with which we seek to cultivate amicable and commercial relations, with the excep-

tion of one, are republics, and because of the similarity in forms of government, there is a bond of sympathy between them and us which would have long since produced more intimate relations, both social and commercial, but for obstacles which can now be removed by the enlightenment and progress of the age.

Brazil is the only country in South America without a republican form of government, but this vast country is peculiarly fortunate in having a great and progressive statesman for its Emperor, who has excited the admiration of all good and wise men by his persistent efforts to develop the resources of his extensive domain, and to improve in every possible way the condition of his people. We may with entire confidence rely upon the co-operation of Brazil in all undertakings which will promote reciprocal relations of friendship and commercial prosperity.

Central and South America have an area of nearly 8,000,000 square miles, and the development of the resources of this vast territory can hardly be said to have begun; and its capabilities for the production of mineral and agricultural wealth can not be approximately estimated.

With but a partial development of its resources, its foreign commerce, both imports and exports, for the year ending June 30, 1883, amounted to \$694,793,000, and more than one-half of this amount of business was done with Great Britain, and less than one-fifth of it was done with the United States. The following tabular statement is believed to give a correct idea of the commerce of Mexico and the different States in Central and South America.

FIRST EXHIBIT.

Countries.	Value of the foreign commerce of the several countries, respectively, of South and Central America and Mexico, with all other countries during the year ending June 30, 1883.		
	Value of exports of the countries designated.	Value of imports of the countries designated.	Total value of foreign commerce with all the world.
Mexico	\$28,835,000	\$29,290,000	\$58,125,000
Guatemala	4,368,000	3,054,000	7,422,000
Honduras (all).....	3,415,000	2,885,000	6,300,000
Salvador.....	5,208,000	3,450,000	8,658,000
Nicaragua.....	2,110,000	1,300,000	3,410,000
Costa Rica.....	6,470,000	4,220,000	10,690,000
Colombia.....	20,126,000	19,367,000	39,493,000
Venezuela	16,534,000	13,860,000	30,394,000
Guianas (the three).....	15,613,000	12,998,000	28,611,000
Ecuador.....	11,271,000	9,663,000	20,934,000
Peru.....	43,866,000	28,630,000	72,496,000
Bolivia.....	3,202,000	2,709,000	5,911,000
Chili.....	46,482,000	27,160,000	73,642,000
Argentina	60,389,000	61,246,000	121,635,000
Uruguay	22,660,000	19,410,000	42,070,000
Paraguay.....	4,439,000	3,627,000	8,066,000
Brazil.....	119,106,000	95,955,000	215,061,000
	413,094,000	338,824,000	752,918,000

SECOND EXHIBIT.

Countries.	Value of external commerce between the United States and the several countries, respectively, of South and Central America and Mexico, during the year ending June 30, 1883.		
	Exports from the United States to the countries designated.	Imports into the United States from the countries designated.	Total commerce with the United States.
Mexico	\$15,483,000	\$8,462,000	\$23,945,000
Guatemala	1,626,000	3,160,000	4,786,000
Honduras (all)	621,000	732,000	1,353,000
Salvador	457,000	589,000	1,046,000
Nicaragua	276,000	438,000	714,000
Costa Rica	466,000	983,000	1,449,000
Colombia	5,485,000	6,990,000	12,475,000
Venezuela	5,967,000	6,672,000	12,639,000
Guianas (the three)	2,119,000	2,826,000	4,945,000
Ecuador	496,000	1,150,000	1,646,000
Peru	297,000	965,000	1,262,000
Bolivia	83,000	323,000	406,000
Chili	1,520,000	2,272,000	3,792,000
Argentina	3,121,000	4,968,000	8,089,000
Uruguay	1,612,000	4,164,000	5,776,000
Paraguay	81,000	243,000	324,000
Brazil	9,253,000	48,382,000	57,635,000
	48,963,000	93,319,000	142,282,000

An examination of the above statement will show that the total amount of our imports from Central and South America for the year ending June 30, 1883, was \$84,857,000, and that our exports to those countries for the same year amounted to \$33,480,000, showing a balance of trade against us to the amount of \$51,377,000.

An intelligent citizen of this country, who has traveled over a great portion of South America, in a recent publication, speaking of the commerce of that country, says:

"It always grieved me exceedingly, and was particularly offensive to my sense of the fitness of things, to find almost everything in the way of foreign merchandise throughout the length and breadth of my routes of European manufacture. At different points along the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, in many cities of the plains, in various towns on the mountain slopes, on the apex of Potosi and on the tops of other Andean peaks higher than Mount Hood, I have gone into stores and warehouses and looked in vain—utterly in vain—for one single article of American manufacture. From the little pin with which the lady fastens her beau-catching ribbons to the grand piano with which she enlivens and enchants the hearts of all her household; from the tiniest thread and tack and tool needed in the mechanic arts to the largest plows and harrows and other agricultural implements and machines required for use on the farm—all these and other things, the wares and fabrics and light groceries and delicacies in common demand; the

drugs and chemicals sold by the apothecary; the fermented malt and spirituous liquors in the wine saloon; the stationery and fancy goods in the book-store; the furniture in the parlor and the utensils in the kitchen, are, with rare exceptions, of English, German, Spanish, or Italian manufacture. And what makes the matter still more unsatisfactory and vexatious to the North American and more expensive and otherwise disadvantageous to the South American, is that these articles are, as a general rule, inferior both in material and make to the corresponding article of American manufacture."

This condition of things ought to be changed at the earliest practicable moment; and there should be no balance of trade against us in our commerce with those countries, and in order to effect such a change in our commercial relations with Central and South America the committee earnestly recommends the adoption of the substitute herewith reported, believing that it will serve to initiate such policies as will be of great advantage not only to the population of this country, but to the inhabitants of Central and South America.

Our commercial relations with Mexico are more satisfactory. From the tabular statement hereinbefore given it appears that the foreign commerce of Mexico, both exports and imports, in the aggregate amounted to the sum of \$58,125,000, and that nearly one-half of this commerce was done with the United States. It also appears that for the year ending June 30, 1883, that with Mexico there was a balance of trade in our favor amounting to \$7,021,000. Our proximity to Mexico has had much to do with building up our commerce with that country; but much more is due to the liberal and progressive spirit by which the Mexican Government has been actuated in encouraging and protecting the investments of American capital.

Already American enterprise is actually engaged in constructing railways in Mexico, and to-day one may go from New York all the way by rail to the city of the Montezumas, the Mexican Central Railroad now being in operation from Denver to the City of Mexico. The Atchison and Topeka Railroad Company has built one of its lines through Mexico to the city of Guaymas, on the Pacific. One other line of railway is in operation from Laredo, Tex., to and beyond the city of Monterey, and other lines of railway are being rapidly pushed from Texas towards the City of Mexico and to points on the Mexican Pacific coast. The construction of these roads has infused new life and energy into Mexico, and her rapid increase in wealth and material prosperity is assured. But Mexico reaps not all the benefits resulting from these investments of American capital, for our commerce with that country has greatly increased and is continually enlarging.

Why may not like results be obtained in the States of Central and South America by the investment of American capital and the application of American energy? A duty imposed upon the commissioners by the bill herewith reported is to ascertain the feelings and inclinations of the Governments of Central and South America with reference to rail-

way communication with the United States. The idea of building a railway from the United States to the Argentine Republic is somewhat startling to those who have never given the subject a thought, but a little reflection will convince any one that no insuperable obstacle is in the way of such an enterprise. A railroad from some point in Texas, or elsewhere in this country, where a connection is formed with the railroad system of the United States to the City of Mexico, and thence through the Republic of Mexico and Central America and along the Isthmus of Darien, passing east of the Andes through South America to the Argentine Republic, would meet with but few natural obstacles in the way of its construction, and the distance will not exceed 6,800 miles, and it may be shortened to 6,000 miles by commencing its construction at the City of Mexico, where it will connect with roads already built and in process of construction. Distance and natural obstacles have never thwarted American enterprise in the construction of railways. Already have several lines of railway been stretched across this continent, either of which, from ocean to ocean, is more than 3,000 miles in length. While it may be true that a railroad from the United States to the Argentine Republic is of greater magnitude, yet it is believed that the obstacles to its completion are no more formidable than were encountered eighteen or twenty years ago in the construction of our first transcontinental line.

In the United States, with an area of something over 3,000,000 square miles, we have now about 125,000 miles of railroads, which, with all their appurtenances, have cost not less than \$5,000,000,000. South and Central America, with a population very nearly as large as that of the United States, and with an area of nearly 8,000,000 square miles, have an aggregate of 8,452 miles of railroads, this being a less number than is found in one single State in this Union. From Guatemala and Honduras to Chili and the Argentine Republic, embracing the several independent and progressive commonwealths of Salvador, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay, the conditions of topography, soil, climate, population, productions, and all other circumstances, actual and prospective, are believed to be such as to invite and fully justify the construction of the great line of railway suggested by this bill, and when it is constructed our commerce will be enlarged to such an extent as at this time to defy anything like a correct estimate of its value, and then we will be in a position to say to European Governments in the memorable words of President Monroe:

“That we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety.”

It is believed that no topographical difficulty exists that will prevent the construction of the proposed railway. The trouble is in another direction. The capital with which the road is to be built and operated must be protected by the pledged faith and proper guaranties of all the

Governments that may be interested in the building and maintenance of the colossal enterprise ; and this protection must be extended at all times, in time of war as well as in time of peace.

While it is true that the commissioners will not be confined to an investigation of the practicability of connecting this country with the States of Central and South America by railways, but must extend their investigations to all other means and facilities, whereby closer commercial relations with said States and this country may be promoted, it is also true that they will be charged with no more important duty than to obtain all information which may show the feasibility of constructing such railways with entire safety to those who may invest their money in building and operating the same.

It may be thought by some that the duties imposed upon the commissioners by the bill herewith reported can easily be performed by our ministers and consuls in Mexico and Central and South America without an additional expense to this Government. If such an objection be made, we beg that it shall be remembered that the provisions of the bill contemplate an integrity and singleness of purpose which can be conveniently advanced and achieved only by a special commission. One section of the bill, when enforced, will bring to said commissioners all the assistance which the diplomatic officers of this Government in those countries may be able to render. It would be impossible for ministers and consuls who are widely separated to have that concert of action which would exist with a commission charged with the performance of specific duties, and without such concert of action no good could be accomplished. Besides, the sending of a special commission to Mexico and to the different nationalities in Central and South America would be a higher manifestation of our regard for those Governments, and would demonstrate the sincere desire of this Government to cultivate with them such relations as will be of mutual benefit.

THE "SOUTH AMERICAN COMMISSION" AUTHORIZED.

The following is an extract from the act of Congress making appropriations for the consular and diplomatic service of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1885 :

For three commissioners to be appointed by the President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, at a compensation of seven thousand five hundred dollars each. Said commissioners shall ascertain the best modes of securing more intimate international and commercial relations between the United States and the several countries of Central and South America, and for that purpose they shall visit such countries in Central and South America as the President may direct.

For one secretary to said commission, to be appointed by the Presi-

dent, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, three thousand dollars; and in addition to the foregoing amounts such further sum as may be required for the reasonable expenses of said commission, such expenses to be paid upon the certificate of the chairman thereof and approved by the Secretary of State; and said commission shall report their action to the President, for transmission to Congress, with such recommendation as he may deem fitting.

Under the authority of this bill the President of the United States appointed a commission, consisting of George H. Sharpe, of New York; Solon O. Thacher, of Kansas; and Thos. C. Reynolds, of Missouri, with William Eleroy Curtis as secretary, to visit the several countries of Central and South America to ascertain the best modes of securing more intimate international and commercial relations. This commission held conferences with the merchants and manufacturers of the United States in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Orleans, and San Francisco, and then visited each of the several countries in turn.

George H. Sharpe having resigned in March, 1885, William Eleroy Curtis was appointed commissioner to succeed him. This commission made from time to time a number of reports, which were printed by order of Congress, and appear as H. R. Ex. Doc. 226, Forty-eighth Congress, second session, and H. R. Ex. Doc. 50, Forty-ninth Congress, first session. These reports recommended that an invitation be extended by the United States to the several other Governments of America to join at Washington in a conference to promote commercial intercourse and to prepare some plan of arbitration.

THE CUSTOMS UNION PROPOSITION ADVERSELY REPORTED.

On the 21st of December, 1885, Mr. Townshend, of Illinois, re-introduced his joint resolution requesting the President to invite the co-operation of the Governments of the American nations in securing the establishment of free commercial intercourse among those nations, and an American customs union.

On the 15th of April, 1886, Mr. McCreary, of Kentucky, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, made the following report:

REPORT :

[To accompany H. Res. 14.]

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred joint resolution (H. Res. 14) requesting the President to invite the co-operation of the Governments of American nations in securing the establishment of free commercial intercourse among those nations and an American customs union, have considered said resolution and report the same with an adverse recommendation.

RESOLUTION TO PROMOTE ARBITRATION.

On the 26th of January, 1886, Mr. Worthington introduced in the House of Representatives the following joint resolution :

JOINT RESOLUTION to authorize the President of the United States to invite the autonomic Governments of America to send delegates to an international American congress to arrange for the arbitration of all national differences.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and is hereby, authorized, through the Secretary of State, to invite the autonomic Governments of America with which the United States has diplomatic relations to send delegates to an international American congress, to be held at such time and place as he may designate, for the purpose of agreeing upon and recommending for adoption to their respective Governments a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes, and differences that may now or hereafter exist between them ; and that the President is hereby authorized to appoint such a number of delegates from the United States as he may see fit, who shall serve without compensation other than their expenses, and to take such other steps as may be necessary for the execution of the purposes of this resolution; and that the sum of twenty-five thousand dollars is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to defray the expenses that may be incurred under this resolution.

On the 15th of April Mr. McCreary, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, made the following report :

REPORT.

[To accompany H. Res. 94.]

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred joint resolution (H. Res. 94) to authorize the President of the United States to invite the autonomic Governments of America to send delegates to an International American Congress to arrange for the arbitration of all

national differences, have had the said resolution under consideration, and report the same with an adverse recommendation, and ask that it lie on the table.

THE RAILWAY SCHEME REVIVED.

On the 8th of February, 1886, was re-introduced into both Houses of Congress the bill of Mr. Hinton Rowen Helper, authorizing the President of the United States—to invite all the Governments of the said several Republics of Mexico, Central America, and South America, and the Empire of Brazil, to meet in convention, in the city of Washington, upon such a day as he may appoint, during the present year, anno Domini eighteen hundred and eighty-six, to consider such questions as relate to the best mode of establishing upon a firm and lasting basis peaceful and reciprocal commercial relations, and also to adopt such measures as may be considered the most practical to carry forward the construction of the said railroad in the interests of peace, commerce, and mutual prosperity; and that the sum of fifty thousand dollars, now in the Treasury of the United States and not otherwise disposed of, be, and is hereby, appropriated, or so much thereof as may be necessary, and placed to the credit of the Secretary of State, to defray, in a manner becoming the dignity of the United States, the expenses incidental to the holding of said convention.

ARBITRATION IN THE SENATE.

This bill was returned by the Committee on Foreign Affairs with an adverse recommendation. On the 15th of February, 1886, Senator Logan of Illinois, introduced in the Senate the following bill, which on the 6th of May was reported adversely from the Committee on Foreign Relations, and indefinitely postponed.

A BILL to authorize the President of the United States to send delegates to an international American congress to arrange for the arbitration of all national differences.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and is hereby, authorized to invite the Governments of America with which the Government of the United States has diplomatic relations to send delegates to an international American congress, to be held at such time and place as may be designated, for the purpose of agreeing upon and recommending for adoption to their respective Governments a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes, and differences that may now or hereafter exist between them; and that the President is hereby authorized to appoint such a

number of delegates from the United States as he may see fit, not to exceed ten in number, to be divided equally between political parties, who shall serve without compensation other than their expenses, and to take such other steps as may be necessary for the execution of the purposes of this act; and that the sum of twenty thousand dollars is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to defray the expenses that may be incurred under this act.

SENATOR FRYE'S ORIGINAL BILL.

On the 23d of February, Senator Frye, of Maine, introduced in the Senate the following :

A BILL to promote the political progress and commercial prosperity of the American nations.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President be, and he hereby is, authorized and directed to invite, on behalf of the Government and people of the United States, delegates from each of the Republics of Central and South America, from San Domingo, and the Empire of Brazil to assemble in Washington on the first day of October, eighteen hundred and eighty-seven, to meet delegates on the part of the United States, to consider and decide upon such questions as shall be to the mutual interest and common welfare of the American people ; that each of the independent nations of this hemisphere shall be entitled to send as many delegates as it shall for itself determine, but in deciding questions in the congress no delegation shall have more than one vote.

SEC. 2. That in forwarding the invitation to the constituted authorities of the several independent Governments of the American hemisphere, the President of the United States shall set forth that the congress is called to consider—

First. Measures that shall tend to preserve the peace and promote the prosperity of the several Republics and the Empire of Brazil, and to preserve the present integrity and territorial conditions of each as they exist against forcible dismemberment.

Second. Measures toward the formation of an American customs union, under which the trade of the American nations shall, so far as is possible and profitable, be confined to American waters, and there shall be a free interchange of the natural and peculiar manufactured products of each.

Third. The establishment of regular and frequent lines of direct steamship communication between the ports of the United States and the ports of Central and South America.

Fourth. The establishment of a uniform system of custom regulations in each of the independent American states to govern the importation

and exportation of merchandise, a uniform method of determining the classification and valuation of such merchandise in the ports of each country, and a uniform system of invoices.

Fifth. The adoption of a uniform system of weights and measures, and uniform laws to protect the persons and property, the patent rights, copyrights, and trade-marks of either country in the other.

Sixth. The adoption of a common silver coin which shall be issued by each Government in such an amount proportionate to the population of each as may be determined upon, the same to be legal-tender in all commercial transactions between the citizens of all of the nations of the American hemisphere.

Seventh. An agreement upon and recommendation for adoption to their respective Governments of a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes, and differences that may now or hereafter exist between them.

SEC. 3. That such delegates as may attend the said congress shall be the guests of the Government of the United States, and shall be entertained, from the time of their arrival in this country until their departure, in such a manner as shall be consistent with the dignity of the nation and the importance of the duty they are appointed to perform; and that the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the same to be disbursed under the direction of the Secretary of State.

SEC. 4. That the President of the United States shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, twenty-four delegates to the said congress, selected equally from the political parties, of whom at least three shall be learned in international law, and the remainder, men who are actively engaged in agriculture, manufacturing, and the exportation and importation of merchandise.

A COMMON SILVER COIN PROPOSED.

On the 16th of March, 1886, Mr. Reagan, of Texas, introduced the following in the House of Representatives:

A BILL to provide for a conference of the American nations on a common standard silver coin, and for other purposes.

Whereas it is desirable that all the American nations, producers of silver, and using almost exclusively silver coins in the operations of their domestic and foreign trade, should agree upon a common standard silver coin, equal in value, size, weight, and fineness, current in all of them; and

Whereas the result of such agreement is likely to be highly beneficial to each and all the contracting parties, and will increase their commercial and friendly relations: Therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That immediately after the passage of this act the President shall invite the Governments of all the American Republics and the Empire of Brazil to join the United States in a conference to agree upon a common standard silver coin, equal in value, size, weight, and fineness, current in all of them; such conference to be held at such place on the American continent, and at such time, within six months from the passage of this act, as may be mutually agreed upon by the Governments joining the same, whenever the Governments so invited, or any three of them, shall have signified their willingness to unite in the same.

SEC. 2. That the sum of fifteen thousand dollars is hereby appropriated, out of any moneys now in the Treasury and not otherwise appropriated, or so much thereof as may be necessary, and placed to the credit of the Secretary of State, to defray, in a manner becoming the dignity of the United States, the expenses incidental to the holding of said convention.

MR. M'CREARY'S ORIGINAL BILL.

On the 29th of March, 1886, Mr. McCreary, of Kentucky, introduced the following:

A BILL authorizing the President of the United States to arrange a conference for the purpose of encouraging peaceful and reciprocal commercial relations between the United States of America and the Republics of Mexico, Central and South America, and the Empire of Brazil.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, requested and authorized to invite the several Governments of the Republics of Mexico, Central and South America, and the Empire of Brazil to join the United States in a conference to be held in the United States or in one of the Republics named herein, for the purpose of considering questions relating to the improvement of business intercourse between said countries, and to encourage such peaceful and reciprocal commercial relations as will be beneficial to all and secure more extensive markets for the surplus products of each of said countries. The President of the United States shall appoint three commissioners who shall attend said conference on behalf of the United States, and shall report the proceedings thereof to the President, who shall transmit the same to Congress; and the commissioners shall each receive the sum of one thousand dollars and their reasonable expenses, to be approved by the Secretary of State; and the amount necessary to pay such compensation and expenses is hereby appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated.

AN ARBITRATION CONFERENCE AGAIN PROPOSED.

On the same day Mr. McKinley, of Ohio, introduced the following :

A BILL to authorize the President of the United States to invite the autonomic Governments of America to send delegates to an international congress to arrange the settlement of national differences by arbitration.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized to invite the autonomic Governments of America to send delegates to a congress to be held at Washington or New York, and at such time as he may designate, for the purpose of revising and formulating and recommending a definite and fixed plan of arbitration of all differences now existing or that may hereafter exist between them, with the understanding that the delegation from each Government shall have but one vote in said convention ; and that the President is hereby authorized to appoint delegates, who shall not exceed twelve in number, equally from the two leading political parties, six of them being learned in international law, and that such delegates shall serve without compensation other than their expenses ; and that the President is hereby authorized to take such other action as may be necessary for the purposes of this act ; and the sum of thirty thousand dollars is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to defray the expenses that may be incurred under this act.

MR. M'CREARY'S ORIGINAL REPORT.

On the 15th of April, 1886, Mr. McCreary, of Kentucky, reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives, the following:

A BILL authorizing the President of the United States to arrange a conference for the purpose of promoting arbitration and encouraging reciprocal commercial relations between the United States of America and the Republics of Mexico, Central and South America, and the Empire of Brazil.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, requested and authorized to invite the several Governments of the Republics of Mexico, Central and South America, and the Empire of Brazil to join the United States in a conference to be held at Washington, in the United States, for the purpose of discussing and recommending for adoption to their respective Governments some plan of arbitration for the settlement of disagreements and disputes that may hereafter arise between them, and for considering questions relating to the improvement of business intercourse be-

tween said countries, and to encourage such reciprocal commercial relations as will be beneficial to all and secure more extensive markets for the products of each of said countries. The President of the United States shall appoint three commissioners who shall attend said conference on behalf of the United States, and shall report the proceedings thereof to the President, who shall transmit the same to Congress; and the commissioners shall each receive the sum of one thousand dollars for their service; and the sum of twenty thousand dollars, or so much thereof as shall be necessary, is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to pay said compensation and the reasonable expenses of the conference, to be approved by the Secretary of State.

This bill was accompanied by the following report:

REPORT:

[To accompany bill H. R. 7884.]

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to which was referred the bill (H. R. 7267) authorizing the President of the United States to arrange a conference for the purpose of promoting arbitration and encouraging reciprocal commercial relations between the United States of America and the Republics of Mexico, Central and South America, and the Empire of Brazil, have had the same under consideration, and respectfully report the accompanying bill, and recommend its passage.

This bill, as far as is deemed proper and practicable, is for the accomplishment of the same results sought in joint resolutions 14 and 94 and House bill 5444, to wit. the establishment of more intimate commercial and other international relations between the United States and other autonomic States of the American continent.

The subject of establishing closer international relations between all the Republics of the American continent and also the Empire of Brazil, containing in the aggregate one hundred millions of people, for the purpose of improving the business intercourse between those countries and securing more extensive markets for the products of each is both interesting and important. Sixty years ago this subject was discussed and a conference was suggested between representatives of our Government and the other Governments, and President John Quincy Adams appointed representatives to the Congress held at Panama to consider measures for promoting peace and reciprocal commercial relations between said countries. This Conference was beneficial, but at that time our people were looking more to Europe for business and commerce than to the countries south of us, and no action was taken by our Congress. Now the United States is at peace with all the world and our population and wealth make this the foremost Republic of the world, and our Government should inaugurate the movement in favor of an American conference.

The present depression of business and low price of farm products are caused, to a considerable extent, by a limited market for our surplus products. Some of the best markets we can look to are not far beyond our southern border. They are nearer to us than to any other commercial nation. The people of Mexico and of Central and South America produce much that we need, and our abundant agricultural, manufactured, and mineral productions are greatly needed by them. These countries cover an area of 8,118,844 square miles, and have a population of 42,770,374. Their people recognize the superiority of our products, and desire more intimate business intercourse with our people, but the great bulk of their commerce and trade is with Europe. The Argentine Republic has from forty-five to sixty steam-ships running regularly between Buenos Ayres and European ports, and no regular line between that country and the United States, and our commercial facilities with the other republics of Central and South America are about the same.

In 1884 our exports were valued at \$733,768,764.

Of this amount we exported but \$64,719,000 to Mexico and South and Central America.

Our annual mechanical and agricultural products are valued at fifteen thousand millions of dollars, while we seldom have sold more than seventy-five millions of dollars worth of these products to our nearest neighbors, who buy in Europe at least five times as much as they get here.

The total commerce of the countries named in 1883 was as follows :

Imports.....	\$331,100,599
Exports.....	391,294,781

Of the \$331,100,599 of merchandise sold to those countries, the share of the United States was only \$42,598,469 ; yet we are their closest neighbor.

The disparity of our trade with Peru, Chili, Argentine Republic, and Brazil is both amazing and humiliating.

Last year the imports of merchandise were as follows:

To—	From Great Britain	From United States.
Peru	\$6,235,685	\$743,105
Chili.....	11,060,880	2,211,007
Argentine Republic.....	29,692,295	4,317,293
Brazil	33,946,215	7,317,293

The following tables exhibit the population of the countries named, and the relations of trade carried on by them with the United States and Great Britain during the last year :

	Argentine Republic.	Brazil.	Central America.	Chili.	Colombia.
Population	2,406,000	10,108,291	2,900,000	2,400,396	2,951,323
Exports to Great Britain....	\$5,793,965	\$23,507,165	\$6,526,950	\$12,977,465	\$2,166,380
Imports from Great Britain....	29,692,295	33,946,215	4,624,560	11,060,880	6,107,645
Exports to United States....	4,328,510	45,263,660	6,409,001	604,525	2,342,007
Imports from United States	4,347,293	7,317,293	2,762,531	2,211,007	5,583,368

	Mexico.	Peru.	Venezuela.	Uruguay.	Dominion of Canada.
Population	9,389,461	3,050,000	2,075,242	447,000	4,750,000
Exports to Great Britain....	\$3,502,500	\$10,414,170	\$1,300,565	\$3,283,625	\$45,558,555
Imports from Great Britain....	5,415,765	6,235,685	3,028,680	8,131,640	44,727,095
Exports to United States....	9,267,021	1,764,890	6,309,580	2,734,617	39,000,000
Imports from United States.	8,340,784	742,105	3,043,609	1,682,443	50,000,000

Total values of free and dutiable merchandise imported into the United States from Mexico and Central and South America during the year ending June 30, 1885, with the estimated amounts of duty collected on such imports.

Countries from which imported.	Value of merchandise.			Estimated amounts of duty collected.
	Free of duty.	Dutiable.	Total.	
Argentine Republic	\$3,154,337	\$1,174,173	\$4,328,510	\$364,933.28
Chili	399,464	205,061	604,525	68,386.89
Mexico	5,173,441	4,093,580	9,267,021	635,960.72
Central American States	6,149,873	259,142	6,409,015	140,759.88
United States of Colombia.....	2,335,083	6,994	2,342,077	1,714.68
Venezuela.....	6,267,887	41,693	6,309,580	20,297.40
Peru	1,749,632	15,258	1,764,890	5,148.06
Brazil	38,136,191	7,127,469	45,263,660	6,607,377.15
Uruguay	2,317,131	417,478	2,734,617	255,480.80
Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Patagonia	753,321	280	753,601	140.00
Total.....	66,436,368	13,341,128	79,777,496	8,100,198.86

Per cent.

Total value of merchandise free of duty.....	83.28
Total value of merchandise subject to duty.....	16.72
Equivalent ad valorem rate of duty on—	
Dutiable merchandise.....	10.15
Free and dutiable merchandise.....	60.72

The consumption of cotton goods in Central and South America and in Mexico amounts to nearly one hundred millions of dollars annually, and although they are so near our cotton-fields, England furnishes about 95 per cent. of these goods.

Cotton fabrics constitute the wearing apparel of nearly three-fourths of those people, and they have to import all they use.

England monopolizes this trade because of her cheap transportation facilities, and because her mills furnish goods especially adapted to the

wants and tastes of the consumers, which our mills have never attempted to produce.

It is very important that transportation facilities between the United States and her southern neighbors should be improved ; for as long as the freight from Liverpool, Hamburg, and Bordeaux is \$15 a ton, they can not be induced to pay \$40 a ton to bring merchandise from the United States.

There is not a commercial city in these countries where the manufacturers of the United States can not compete with their European rivals in every article we produce for export.

The report of the South American Commission shows, by the testimony of the importing merchants of those countries, that aside from the difference in cost and convenience in transporting, it is to their advantage to buy in the United States, because the quality of our products is superior, and our prices are usually as low as those of Europe. In this connection it may be important to consider whether a common standard of gold and silver coins equal in value, weight, and fineness in all of the countries named, and current in all of them, would help to increase commerce and friendly relations among them.

The bill does not seek to control the conference or determine what it shall do, but simply to bring representative men of each Government together, to discuss and recommend for adoption to their respective Governments some plan of arbitration for the settlement of disagreements and disputes that may hereafter arise between them, and to consider questions relating to the improvement of business intercourse between said countries, and to encourage such reciprocal commercial relations as will be beneficial to all, and secure more extensive markets for the products of each.

While no scheme may be devised by which all and every disagreement and dispute may be submitted to arbitration in such manner as to always avoid international war, it certainly will be in accordance with the civilization and Christianity of this age to seek to establish a plan of arbitration by which questions of difference may be arranged and settled peaceably.

The Amphictyonic council of Greece, composed of delegates from each of its states, and empowered to examine and decide all their disputes, did much to preserve peace between them for years, and the Achæan league did the same, and was often solicited even by foreign nations to act as arbiter of their disputes, and the recent adjustment of the controversy over the "Alabama claims" shows that the Government of the United States favors arbitration.

While we have great respect for those who advocate a reform of our laws on currency and taxation, we believe that the great questions presented in the bill under consideration should not be delayed, but should receive prompt action, so as to keep pace with the other important subjects referred to.

It is not proposed to intrust to the Conference the power to make final

and definite treaty arrangements—that would be in opposition to our Constitution; but it is believed that all will be benefited by a conference held under the invitation and auspices of the most prosperous and powerful nation of the American continent, from which assemblage reports of the proceedings shall be made to the respective Governments for proper action.

The bill provides that the commissioners shall report the proceedings thereof to the President, who shall transmit the same to Congress, and it is believed that nothing but common good can grow out of such a conference.

At no time since the organization of our Government has there been a deeper conviction of the propriety of connecting in closer relations our Republic and the Republics of Mexico, Central and South America, and the Empire of Brazil.

Whatever tends to bring into kindly accord the interest and aims of our country and those of our neighbors will be beneficial.

The report of the commissioners, appointed under the act of 1884, shows that the people of these countries are anxious to encourage more intimate commercial relations with the people of the United States.

They say in their report:

“Unless we have been completely misled by the expressions and protestations of the ruling powers of each and every one of the Governments we have visited, the only estrangement possible between them and us will flow from our own indifference and neglect. Indeed, we have already lost much that naturally belongs to us from this cause. Every President and cabinet officer, every leading and thoughtful citizen we met, joined in the sentiment of gratified surprise that our country had taken the initiative by this embassy in bringing about more cordial and hearty communication between the various Republics and our own. In our effort to reach more intimate relations we have, then, this basis of kindness and desire upon the part of those we seek to reach as a foundation for our action. We shall plant seed in a genial soil, beneath a propitious sky.”

MR. BELMONT'S MINORITY REPORT.

VIEWS OF THE MINORITY.

I regret extremely that I am unable to concur with my associates on the Foreign Affairs Committee who advise the House to accept and pass the bill H. R. No. 7267, which requests the President to invite the several Governments on this continent therein named to join this Government in a Conference, and authorizes the President to appoint three commissioners who shall attend the Conference on behalf of this Government, and appropriates \$20,000 therefor. The objects and aims of the Conference, as vaguely mentioned in the bill, are three fold. One is to discuss and recommend for adoption by this Government, and

each of the other Governments, *some plan* of arbitration for the settlement of disagreements and disputes hereafter arising between them. Another is to consider questions relating to the improvements of business intercourse between "said countries." A third is to encourage such peaceful and reciprocal commercial relations as will be beneficial to all, and secure more extensive markets for the surplus products of each of said countries.

If the bill shall become a law this Government will, as befits its dignity and power on this continent, be the initiator of the Conference, and will naturally be considered by the participating nations as the one to take the lead in formulating the propositions to be considered by the Conference. I have seen no indication that the President has suggested or advised the proposed Conference, and if such a Conference is to be convened by his invitation, on the request of Congress, then the promoters in Congress should, as it seems to me, define, with reasonable precision, not only the objects to be sought by those representing this Government in the Conference, but the ways and means by which those objects are to be obtained, including, in the outline, the concessions which our law-making power, as distinct from our treaty-making power, might be willing to make. If the Conference were proposed by other Governments, as was the congress at Panama in 1826, or if the President had initiated the Conference now proposed, and had asked the sanction of the Senate by the confirmation of commissioners, and of the two Houses by an appropriation of money therefor, then the President could be assumed to be in possession of, or to have formulated, the measures to be proposed at the Conference, and the stipulations which, if inserted in a treaty, he would be willing to sign and transmit to the Senate for its action. But, in the present case, the initiation of negotiations to be carried on by the President comes, so far as I am informed, entirely from the House. If the Conference should convene under the proposed bill, and the assembled powers were to ask our commissioners for an outline of their plan as regards the three topics, what reply should the President instruct them to make?

Arbitration.—The first topic in the bill is arbitration. It proposes that the Conference shall discuss and recommend "some plan." What plan? Which "disagreements and disputes" are to be submitted to arbitration? What sort of arbitration? Those are problems concerning which the President should, by the bill, be advised, or else most inconvenient consequences might flow from a rejection by the Senate or Congress of a plan or system of arbitration which had been adopted by the Conference on the initiation and advocacy of our own commissioners.

What is arbitration as understood in international intercourse? Vattel defines it to be "a reasonable and natural mode of deciding such disputes *as do not directly affect the safety of the nation.*" The exclusion contained in this definition is most important. It is believed that during the century and a quarter which has intervened since this definition was written, no powerful Government has consented or indi-

cated its willingness to consent generally to the reference to an arbitration, either by neutral Governments or by commissioners, of any but secondary questions, such as claims for pecuniary compensation for injuries, questions of boundary lines, disputes over the interpretation of treaties, and other similar questions. Wars have been prevented by the mediation, or good offices of some friendly Government or Governments, but the exercise of mediation or of good offices is rather a method of *conciliation* than of *arbitration*, which last implies the power of definite and final decision.

The United States ever since the organization of their national Government, and notably in the treaty of peace of 1783, have frequently used with great success arbitration as a method for the settlement of secondary questions. The plenipotentiaries to the congress of Paris of 1856, in their twenty-second protocol, express in the names of their Governments the wish that the States between whom serious difficulties may arise, would, before appealing to arms, have recourse, as far as circumstances will admit, to the good offices of a friendly power. But there again the exceptions "as far as circumstances will admit," and the employment only of good offices (which last is often a simple formality to bring the contending parties together), as distinct from arbitration, which pronounces a real obligatory judgment, are significant.

It may be said that the international tribunal at Geneva was the submission by this Government of a question too important to be called a secondary question, but it is to be remembered that it was by the result of negotiations by the Joint High Commission at Washington that the "three rules" were formulated, which left little to be done at Geneva, excepting to ascertain the facts, apply the rules, and assess the damages. It was the decision of the British Government that war ought not to come out of the "Alabama claims" which led up to the Joint High Commission, which in turn created the tribunal at Geneva.

The bill reported to the House gives no indication of the class of "disagreements and disputes" which this Government will consent to refer to arbitration. Will the United States consent to confer on any tribunal the power to adjudge the cession of territory by us, or the demolition of our fortifications, and to decree anything and everything to be done by us which, according to the present usages of international law, may be imposed upon a defeated nation by its victors in war? Probably not, and, if not, then precisely what class of questions will the United States say may be referred to arbitration? If arbitration is to be a complete substitute for war, then it would seem essential that the jurisdiction of the arbitrators shall cover all "disagreements and disputes" which may possibly lead to war. When a commotion or insurrection or civil war is, to the great possible injury of a neighboring nation, on the point of breaking out within any one of the nations to participate in the Conference, shall the origin of the outbreak, and the claims of the contending parties, be submitted to arbitration, or shall the sphere of arbitration be limited to questions which, according to existing international usage,

are capable of constituting legitimate causes of war? Will the United States consent to submit to arbitration a decision of the question whether or not this Government shall make an apology to some other nation?

Assuming the proposed bill to be so enlarged and amended as to declare definitely the class of questions which this Government may declare to the conference that it is willing, in behalf of itself, to submit to arbitration, then what international machinery shall be provided on this continent to ascertain the facts which underlie the dispute, and give judgment? Shall this international organization, for the settlement of "disagreements and disputes," be of a *permanent* character, with authority to take immediate jurisdiction without waiting until the parties concerned mutually agree to submit to arbitration? Is there to be on this continent a permanent congress of nations, or a new international nation? Are the several independent nations on this continent to form themselves into a federation for the purpose of arbitrating disputes between themselves? If this congress of nations is not to be in perpetual session, then by whom is it to be convened in order to deliver its judgment upon "disagreements and disputes" tending to disturb the peace of the continent? As our own thirty-ninth Government, which is the Federal Government at Washington, clasps and enfolds the thirty-eight State Governments in the union of States, and as is intended to settle disputes and prevent war between them, shall there be a new international nation on this continent, with a congress, a court, and an executive, to settle disputes and prevent war between the several nations?

What limitation shall be placed upon the nature of the award and judgment which this international tribunal may make?

And when the proposed bill has been amended so as satisfactorily to answer these questions, then will come the other question, whether the decisions of this new international tribunal on this continent shall have only a moral authority, or provision shall be made for the physical enforcement of the verdict. Is the new contrivance to be, in the first place, an appeal from force to reason, and then, if reason does not prevail, an appeal back again from reason to force? If there is to be armed force behind the decision of this new board of arbitration, how shall this force be maintained, who shall command it, and what shall be the limit of international expenditure therefor?

If it be said that the proposed bill only contemplates an effort to concert measures between the independent Governments on this continent to exercise a *moral* authority between nations where "disagreements and disputes" unfortunately arise, and thus settle them in an amicable and satisfactory manner, it may be said that this Government has already given ample indication that such is its wish. But if, on the other hand, a chief object of the proposed bill is to urge the several Governments of the Republics of Mexico, Central and South America, to agree on "some plan of arbitration for the settlement of disagreements and disputes that may hereafter arise *between them*," but which do not directly concern this Government, then it will deserve consideration

whether, uninvited by those Governments or either of them, it will be prudent for this Government to thus attempt to participate in the mutual relations of other independent Governments on this continent, and whether, if we do thus endeavor, we shall not thereby enter upon a field of effort from which hitherto our well-established policy and the warning voice of Washington have excluded us.

Arbitration as a means in the affairs of individuals of obviating the necessity of recourse to courts of law, or in the affairs of nations of preventing the arbitrament of the sword, has much to commend it. Courts of *conciliation* are scarcely less effective and benevolent than courts of *arbitration*, whether in individual or international affairs. But before the proposed bill shall become a law, ought not Congress to define the circumstances and conditions under which the decision of the arbitrators shall *not* be binding? Surely an independent government can not be expected to be bound if the arbitrators are incapable (as perhaps this Government had reason to suspect in its latest arbitration of the fishery question); or if the arbitrators acted in bad faith; or if the contending parties have not been misunderstood; or if the award shall have been in excess of the terms of the reference; or if the decision shall have been contrary to natural justice. These questions and others like them will naturally come to the front on the assembling of the proposed conference, and our commissioners will naturally ask for instructions from the President. The law which initiates the congress should, as it seems to me, clearly intimate to the President its opinion.

In July, 1873, Mr. Gladstone said in the House of Commons that a general and permanent system of arbitration would make practical progress, not by attempting permanent international concert, which would then be premature, but by "a steady adherence on the part of those powers who are readily inclined and convinced and persuaded, on the subject to principle, first governing themselves by justice and moderation, and next losing no opportunity of recommending a peaceful settlement of disputes between nations."

Improvement of "business intercourse."—The second topic to be discussed by the conference concerns "the improvement of business intercourse between said countries." And here, again, what is to be accomplished by the President in that direction seems rather vague and difficult to practically deal with. Does the "improvement of business intercourse between said countries" imply and include the improvement of the means of transportation by land and by sea? Does this Government intend to commit that large problem to an international conference, and to hold out the expectation to the Governments participating in such conference that this Government will be bound by the result of the deliberations? Or, if not, then should there not be in the bill a limitation and definition of the subjects relating "to the improvement of business intercourse between said countries," concerning which a conference is invited?

Markets for surplus products.—The third object of the proposed con-

ference is declared in the bill to be the encouragement of "such peaceful and reciprocal commercial relations as will be beneficial to all and secure more extensive markets for the surplus products of *each* of said countries." It is to be inferred from this language that one of the objects which this Government seeks to promote is the obtaining of "more extensive markets for the surplus products of Mexico, Brazil, and the States of Central and South America." It is not to be assumed that this Government will initiate a conference between themselves and the other Governments on this continent in order to monopolize *for ourselves* the purchase of "the surplus products of each of said countries." It is not to be assumed that either of those countries will undertake to sell its surplus products to none else but ourselves. The purpose is, on the contrary, declared to be such "reciprocal commercial relations" as will secure more extensive markets for the surplus products of *each*. Whether or not all who dwell on this Western Hemisphere, or even we of the United States of America, would be more prosperous and better off if all commercial relations with the Eastern Hemisphere were prohibited or prevented, is of course a very large question. But so long as the people and the governments on this continent which are at the south of us shall find on the other continent, and not find on this continent, the surplus capital and money which they need, it will not be reasonable for us to hope that Mexico, Brazil, and the Republics of Central and South America will cease to hold commercial intercourse with Europe, or that European holders of the indebtedness of those states will cease to exercise very potential influence in their affairs, and in the end control, it is feared, any conference to be assembled under the proposed bill. There is no danger that the primacy of the United States of America upon this continent, which comes of their situation, population, wealth, enterprise, energy, and determination to assert their rights, will be questioned or denied. But it is true, nevertheless, that we seek an outlet for the surplus product of our skill and our prosperous labor, and for that reason we should welcome the enlargement of "such peaceful and reciprocal commercial relations" between us and the Spanish races to the south of us. For the same reason we should encourage similar "peaceful and reciprocal commercial relations" with the five millions and more of people of our own race, speaking our own language, reading our newspapers, and living under laws and political institutions similar to our own. And for the same reason we should encourage "peaceful and reciprocal commercial relations" with the peoples who inhabit the islands of the Gulf of Mexico, and the surrounding seas, which islands are now the colonial dependencies of European governments. But the Dominion of Canada to the north of us and the islands of the Gulf to the south of us are excluded from the arrangements contemplated in the proposed bill.

Nothing is now so desirable for our own people as a free and reciprocal interchange of products between ourselves and the people of other nations on this continent. But what now hinders such free inter-

change so much as our tariff laws? If this Government shall invite Brazil, Mexico, and the Republics of Central America and South America to join us in a conference to promote such free and reciprocal interchange of products, what concessions in our tariff schedules is the President to be authorized to instruct our commissioners to propose on our part? The question on our own tariff will naturally and immediately come up for discussion and consideration. Shall, for example, our commissioners be authorized to offer to the Argentine Republic to admit its wool into our ports free of duty?

No one can be more sensible than I am of the great advantages which in our country flow from that free commercial intercourse, unvexed by tariffs or custom-houses, which the Federal Constitution secures. I wish by some possible and wise contrivance those advantages now enjoyed by and between Maine and California, Florida and Alaska, could be realized by and between every nation and every producer on this hemisphere from Baffin's Bay to Cape Horn. But is this Government now in condition to successfully ask in a diplomatic way the accomplishment of such a result? To use Mr. Gladstone's language, should we not first of all begin to govern ourselves in tariff matters with "justice and moderation?" And then, too, does opinion in this House tend to tolerate a reform or protective system by treaties? What is to be the fate of the Sandwich Islands treaty and Mexican treaty? Is there not a disposition against the sugar arrangements of the Hawaiian Islands treaty to even sacrifice the great political and naval advantages which that treaty gives to us, situated as these islands are in the track of traffic between California and China, Japan and Australia?

And if we can not successfully compete in our own jurisdiction with foreign manufacturers, excepting by the aid of prohibitory or impeding tariff rates, I am at a loss to understand how our commissioners to the proposed conference can convince Mexico or Brazil or the Republics of Central and South America that we can, in their jurisdiction, compete successfully against those same manufacturers and offer our products at cheaper prices than European manufacturers can offer similar articles.

So far as this bill (7267) endeavors to accomplish an increase of trade by the exchange of products between the people of our own United States and the people living under other governments on this continent (including the colonies hereon possessed by European governments) the object is one which deserves encouragement and success; but it may well be doubted whether such an object can be best promoted by international conferences and treaty stipulations. So far as the welfare of our own Government is concerned, it is to be feared, as I have already said, that the deliberations of an international conference between the representatives of this Government and of other independent governments established and having the seat of authority on this continent, would be in danger of injurious interference, so far as this Government

is concerned, by the intrigues of those in Europe who are the holders of so large a part of the indebtedness of Central American or South American States.

It is true that the trade and commercial intercourse now existing between foreign peoples on this continent and other peoples are not altogether carried on with ourselves. The following statements will exhibit the population of the independent states on this continent, including the colonial Dominion of Canada, and the relation of trade carried on by them with the United States to the trade carried on by them with Great Britain, and the vessels in which it is carried on :

	Argentine Republic.	Brazil.	Central America.	Chili.	Colombia.
Population	2,406,000	10,108,291	2,900,000	2,400,396	2,951,323
Exports to Great Britain	\$5,793,965	\$23,507,165	\$6,526,950	\$12,977,465	\$2,166,380
Imports from Great Britain ..	29,692,295	33,946,215	4,624,560	11,060,880	6,107,645
Exports to United States	4,328,510	45,263,660	6,409,001	604,525	2,342,007
Imports from United States ..	4,317,293	7,317,293	2,762,531	2,211,007	5,583,368

	Mexico.	Peru.	Venezuela	Uruguay.	Dominion of Canada.
Population	9,389,461	3,050,000	2,075,245	447,000	4,750,000
Exports to Great Britain	\$3,502,500	\$10,414,170	\$1,300,565	\$3,283,625	\$45,558,555
Imports from Great Britain ..	5,415,765	6,235,685	3,028,680	8,131,640	44,727,095
Exports to United States	7,267,021	1,763,890	6,309,580	2,734,617	39,000,000
Imports from United States ..	8,340,784	742,105	3,043,609	1,682,443	50,000,000

Total values of free and dutiable merchandise imported into the United States from Mexico and Central and South America during the year ending June 30, 1885, with the estimated amounts of duty collected on such imports.

Countries from which imported.	Value of merchandise.			Estimated amounts of duty collected.
	Free of duty.	Dutiable.	Total.	
Argentine Republic	\$3,154,337	\$1,174,173	\$4,328,510	\$364,933.28
Chili	399,464	205,061	604,525	68,386.89
Mexico	5,173,441	4,093,580	9,267,021	655,960.72
Central American States	6,149,873	259,142	6,409,015	140,759.88
United States of Colombia	2,335,083	6,994	2,342,077	1,714.68
Venezuela	6,267,887	41,693	6,309,580	20,297.40
Peru	1,749,632	15,258	1,764,890	5,148.06
Brazil	38,136,191	7,127,469	45,263,660	6,607,377.15
Uruguay	2,317,139	417,478	2,734,617	255,480.80
Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay, and Patagonia	753,321	280	753,601	140.00
Total	66,436,368	13,341,128	79,777,496	8,100,198.86

	Per cent.
Total value of merchandise free of duty	83.28
Total value of merchandise subject to duty	16.72
Equivalent ad valorem rate of duty on—	
Dutiable merchandise	10.51
Free and dutiable merchandise	60.72

Statement showing the value of imports and exports of merchandise carried in American and foreign vessels, respectively, in the foreign trade of the United States with Mexico, Central America, the West Indies, and South America during the year ending June 30, 1885.

Countries.	Imports.		Exports.		Total.	
	In American vessels.	In foreign vessels.	In American vessels.	In foreign vessels.	In American vessels.	In foreign vessels.
Mexico *	\$3,748,890	\$2,841,767	\$4,799,254	\$1,560,359	\$8,548,144	\$44,402,26
Central American States and British Honduras	4,915,347	1,712,028	2,337,733	754,551	7,293,080	2,466,579
THE WEST INDIES.						
Cuba	28,975,822	13,330,271	8,074,752	931,408	37,050,574	14,261,679
British West Indies	2,560,874	7,802,507	2,589,694	4,621,185	5,150,568	12,423,692
Porto Rico	2,590,135	3,514,128	691,113	878,092	3,281,248	4,392,220
Hayti	626,464	1,844,972	1,080,268	2,227,021	1,706,750	4,071,993
San Domingo	1,311,746	149,673	937,566	49,135	2,249,312	198,808
French West Indies	419,654	727,861	752,205	666,768	1,171,859	1,394,629
Dutch West Indies	233,479	153,189	440,463	226,379	673,942	379,568
Danish West Indies	169,275	167,028	435,836	150,323	605,111	317,351
Total	36,887,449	27,689,629	15,001,915	9,750,311	51,889,364	37,439,940
SOUTH AMERICA.						
Brazil	10,108,298	35,155,362	3,681,883	3,635,410	13,790,181	38,790,772
United States of Colombia	774,597	1,567,480	4,917,069	666,300	5,691,666	2,233,780
Venezuela	4,357,892	1,951,688	2,128,394	915,215	6,486,268	2,866,903
Argentine Republic	3,338,446	990,064	2,543,715	2,132,786	5,882,161	3,122,850
Uruguay	496,594	2,238,023	382,402	1,300,041	878,996	3,538,064
Chili	290,342	314,183	1,581,687	629,320	1,872,029	943,503
British Guiana	390,309	531,045	75,886	764,771	1,266,195	1,295,816
Peru	811,245	953,645	511,585	230,520	1,322,830	1,184,165
Dutch Guiana	258,212	7,127	277,364	21,654	585,576	28,781
French Guiana	1,803		81,184	29,660	82,987	29,660
All other South America	558,224	195,377	383,740	44,271	941,964	239,648
Total	21,385,962	43,903,994	17,364,909	10,369,948	38,750,871	54,273,942
Grand total	66,937,648	76,147,418	39,725,728	22,435,169	102,590,850	98,582,587

* In addition to the merchandise stated as imported and exported in vessels, merchandise to the value of \$2,676,364 was imported, and merchandise to the value of \$1,981,171 was exported "in cars and other land vehicles."

Until there shall be a reform of our own laws of currency and taxation, and a plan adopted that promises permanency, there will be, it is feared, little hope of a successful result of diplomatic negotiations with the neighboring governments on this continent looking to an increase of trade and commercial intercourse by them with ourselves. What reply could our representatives make to-day when asked what our policy about currency and taxation is to be? The theory of our existing tariff legislation is that our own manufacturers can only be saved alive against foreign competition by preventing, through a custom-house tax, on nearly every completed manufacture our own people from buying a similar fabric in a foreign country. That tariff legislation has, it is be

lieved, created the very evil which the proposed bill and one of the proposed joint resolutions would endeavor to remove.

One of the difficulties with which we in the United States have now to contend is that, by reason of our present tariff laws, we can not in our own workshops compete with European manufacturers, notwithstanding the great advantage we have from the efficiency of better paid and better educated labor. So long as such tariff laws shall be maintained it is not believed that any diplomatic negotiations will enable the United States to do in the Dominion of Canada, or in Mexico, or in Central America, or in South America what we can not do at home—which is to compete with European manufacturers. Freedom to *buy* in these communities we now have, and we can enlarge its use to any degree, but freedom to *sell* to those communities we can only enlarge by producing equally good articles which we will sell at least as cheaply as our European competitors. All schemes whatever for retaining a protective system and gaining foreign markets are impossible of success, no matter how many railways we may build or steam-ships we may subsidize. It will be seen from the statistics already given that a large part of the products of our neighbors to the south of us are now admitted at our custom-houses free of duty, but the difficulty of increasing the exports of our manufactured products to those countries remains, because our protective tariff inflicts what, owing to the increased cost of manufacture, is in effect an *export tax* upon our products, which frustrates the efforts of our enterprising and inventive people to have more complete possession of the neighboring markets upon this continent.

The annual report of Secretary Manning to Congress, and his subsequent communications on currency, taxation, and tariff reform, together with the recent report of the Bureau of Labor, clearly indicate how and when a removal of the existing business depression is to come. A rehabilitation of silver and a restoration of the old price of that metal by open mints for all comers bringing gold or silver; free coinage of full legal-tender coins of both metals on an international ratio contemplated by the second section of Mr. Bland's law of 1878, and endeavored to be promoted by Secretary Bayard; a sound system of finance; and a wise adaptation of the burden of taxation to the back that must bear it, will do more to open markets for our products in South America than will any diplomatic negotiations to be carried on by the President, and should precede such attempted negotiations.

PERRY BELMONT.

THE SENATE BILL AS ORIGINALLY PASSED.

On the 6th of May Senator Frye reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate the following bill as a substitute for several similar measures which had been referred to that committee.

A BILL to promote the political progress and commercial prosperity of the American nations.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President be, and he hereby is, authorized to invite, on behalf of the Government and people of the United States, delegates from each of the Republics of Mexico, of Central and South America, Hayti, San Domingo, and from the Empire of Brazil, to assemble in Washington on the first day of October, eighteen hundred and eighty-seven, or as soon thereafter as practicable, to meet delegates on the part of the United States, to consider such questions and recommend such measures as shall be to the mutual interest and common welfare of the American states.

SEC. 2. That in forwarding the invitation to the constituted authorities of the several independent Governments of the American hemisphere, the President of the United States shall set forth that the conference is called to consider—

First. Measures that shall tend to preserve the peace and promote the prosperity of the several American states.

Second. Measures toward the formation of an American customs union, under which the trade of the American nations with each other shall, so far as is possible and profitable, be promoted.

Third. The establishment of regular and frequent communication between the ports of the several American states and the ports of each other.

Fourth. The establishment of a uniform system of customs regulations in each of the independent American states to govern the mode of importation and exportation of merchandise and port dues and charges, a uniform method of determining the classification and valuation of such merchandise in the ports of each country, and a uniform system of invoices, and the subject of the sanitation of ships and quarantine.

Fifth. The adoption of a uniform system of weights and measures, and laws to protect the patent rights, copyrights, and trade-marks of citizens of either country in the other, and for the extradition of criminals.

Sixth. The adoption of a common silver coin, to be issued by each Government in such an amount proportionate to the population of each as may be determined upon, the same to be legal-tender in all commercial transactions between the citizens of all of the American States.

Seventh. An agreement upon and recommendation for adoption to their respective Governments of a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes, and differences that may now or hereafter exist between them, to the end that all difficulties and disputes between such nations may be peaceably settled and wars prevented.

Eighth. And to consider such other subjects relating to the welfare of the several states represented as may be presented by any of said states.

SEC. 3. That the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the same to be disbursed under the direction and in the discretion of the Secretary of State, for expenses incidental to the conference.

SEC. 4. That the President of the United States shall appoint, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, twenty-four delegates to said conference, who shall serve without compensation other than their actual necessary expenses, of whom at least three shall be learned in international law, and the remainder men who are actively engaged in agriculture, manufacturing, and the exportation and importation of merchandise.

SEC. 5. That the Secretary of State shall appoint such clerks as may be necessary, and provide for the publication by the Public Printer of so much of the proceedings of the conference, in both the English and Spanish languages, as the conference may acquire.

REPORT OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE.

This bill was accompanied by the following report :

REPORT.

[To accompany bill S. 2362.]

Your Committee on Foreign Relations, to whom was referred Senate bill 1616—a bill “to promote the political progress and commercial prosperity of the American nations”—have considered the same, and report the accompanying bill as a substitute therefor, with a favorable recommendation.

Your committee annex and make a part of their report the accompanying statements of the United States commissioners to South and Central America, made before them, together with certain extracts from the testimony taken by said commissioners in their investigation.

[Remarks of S. O. Thacher before the sub-committee of the Committee on Foreign Relations upon the bill introduced by Hon. William P. Frye, entitled “An act to promote the political progress and commercial prosperity of the American nations.”]

Mr. CHAIRMAN : The measure before the committee is in part the outgrowth of the act of Congress of July 7, 1884, providing for a Commission to the States of Central and South America for the purpose of ascertaining the best modes of promoting more intimate international and commercial relations between those countries and our own.

Having filled as well as I could the position of commissioner under that law to those countries, you have kindly invited me to place before you the results of my observations so far as the same are applicable to the proposed legislation.

In the final report of that commission I have at some length endeavored to gather into a readable review the most obvious reflections flowing from the long journeys and many interesting interviews with the leading officials, merchants, and educated men in those parts. To what I have there said I now add such observations as seem to me pertinent to the question before the committee.

ITS IMPORTANCE IN SOLVING THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM.

The question before the committee is one whose magnitude and far-reaching importance can not be too earnestly considered.

It brings into view questions affecting our own welfare as a nation, casting light upon the solution of a grave and ever urgent problem. The industrial outlook of our land is not one of entire sunshine. There are more laborers than there is work for them to do. Where one man is discharged from almost any of the manual occupations there waits one to take his place.

The inflow of laborers from other lands to this is no more a great need. In every department of industrial life there is production beyond consumption. Labor is struggling to hold its position, and is fearful of being displaced or of losing its present ground. The products of farm, shop, and factory were never, within the memory of this generation, so low as they are now. In some branches of production there is a slight reaction from the paralysis of the past, but on the whole, as never before, our future growth, peace, and tranquillity depend on finding more consumers for what we have to sell. In this measure there is an effort to open to our producers of agricultural and manufactured wealth an adequate market.

In vain do we turn our eyes to any other part of the world for a people who at once need and are willing to take from our farms, looms, forges, and wells of mineral oils that which we are able to produce and spare. The nations of Central and South America offer not alone the most alluring and most profitable markets whereby to relieve our excessive productions, but there is no other field.

The statesman who shall secure that great region so contiguous, so easily reached, and so prolific in wants, for the easy disposition of our merchandise, will be entitled to the highest commendation.

Labor can be constantly employed at fair wages when what it produces can be sold at a fair profit. This condition failing, the whole fabric of society suffers alarm. There is no crying need of legislation to reconcile one element of our social progress with another when there is employment for all who are willing to labor at a remunerative compensation.

It seems clear to me that the relations between employer and employé will readily adjust themselves when the venture to which each contributes is one of gain and not of loss. And no law can produce harmony between labor and capital when the enterprise which enlists both proves disastrous.

The easy way and the only way out of the complications and disappointments that yearly are being intensified by the diminishing profitability of all our industrial enterprises is to seek that market which so cordially invites us, and from which with strange fatuity we have for the last twenty-five years averted our thoughts.

The statistics time and again have been brought before the public, and have at much length been represented in the first general report of the Commission to Central and South America, showing how dismally meager is our trade with those countries, which once were our well-pleased customers, and with whom we could most easily re-establish our former friendly and profitable relations. There is no need of enlarging on this point. It presses itself upon the thoughtful consideration of every law-maker as well as upon the whole people.

A very interesting summary of our trade and that of other nations with Central and South America was published by the Treasury Department in January of last year. It is a brochure comprising statements Nos. 17 to 41, inclusive, of the quarterly report No. 1, series 1884-'85, of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics. Its preparation, Mr. Nimmo says, grew out of the recent demand for information by Senators, Representatives, and others interested in the trade of those countries. To the condensed statistics there presented I can not add anything of value except such statements as pertain to subsequent trade relations. These are not within my reach.

Peace, progress, and the manifold blessings of contented producing classes wait on the footsteps of any measure that shall insure to our laborers, our farmers, and our manufacturers a fair chance in the markets of Central and South America. To-day they are nearly closed against them. The causes of this denial to our people of an easy access to those natural depots for our surplus products have been set out very fully in the various reports the Commission to those nations has submitted, and which I learn will in a few days be received by Congress from the Government Printing House. In them and in the many statements subjoined to each of them will be found the remedies for the deplorable state of trade in those parts.

Farther on I will briefly advert to these causes; I only now state the fact.

INTERNATIONAL ASPECT OF THE MEASURE.

But the proposed measure rises to a higher plane than that of merely seeking a rich and permanent outlet for our surplus products. It proposes to secure the "political progress" as well as the "commercial prosperity" of those countries and our own. And yet in accomplishing this nobler end we shall certainly contribute to the success of the other.

I can not on this point say more than quote from the final report before mentioned:

"The scope of our mission, as defined by the act of Congress creating it, embraced an inquiry into 'the best modes of securing more intimate international and commercial relations between the United States and the several countries of Central and South America.'

"In the course of our inquiries we became convinced that it is quite as axiomatic that commerce derives support and promotion from friendly political relations as that trade quickens international unity. They mutually aid each other. Whatever tends to bring into kindly accord the diplomatic interests and aims of our country and those of our American neighbors, whatever unifies our national purposes, benefits commerce. Mutual confidences in matters of state foster equal trusts in business transactions. Peoples held together in close political relations naturally have a greater faith in the fidelity of the products of each other. Confidence lies at the basis of every business operation and of every national compact; and where it is found wanting in one, it will not be strong in the other.

"Necessity or profit may force trade into a channel of a purely business character, where international respect or fellowship is slight, but commerce flourishes much more naturally and vigorously under the protecting care of faithful and constant national harmony and concord. The disruption of friendship between nations is a disaster to their mutual trade interests. As we write this report the Spanish people, at home and in the colonies, are resolving against trade with Germany because of the supposed affront in the seizure of the Caroline Islands. Other things being equal, trade will be facilitated by warm international ties; wise and just diplomacy will aid the merchant and trader as much, at least, as they in turn can promote friendly international relations."

OUR EXAMPLE FOLLOWED.

That nations exert an unconscious influence as well as individuals is remarkably illustrated in the history of the Republics of Central and South America.

A people far removed from us by ethnic conditions and civil and religious training, dwelling in cities whose foundations were laid by Cortez, Alvarado, Pizarro, Valdivia, and Mendoza a century before Plymouth Rock, and twice that period ere Bunker Hill and the Declaration of Independence, turned their eyes toward our great example, and for themselves, after heroic sacrifice, destroyed the rule of the rapacious and exacting viceroy, severed the ties of colonial dependence, and erected on the ruins of foreign customs and impositions governments in imitation of our own.

OUR INDIFFERENCE.

Yet during all the subsequent years our country has, until recently, turned an icy look upon these struggling Republics and our diplomacy has been no whit warmer or more friendly towards them than it has towards the several despotisms of the Eastern Hemisphere.

While we have been a conspicuous propagandist of democratic institutions by our deeds and self-deliverance and aggrandizement, we have neglected to aid by sympathy and counsel those who were eagerly hoping for them.

Overtures for a more kindly fraternity have been treated by us with silence, and an effort on the part of these people to draw near to us in more rapid and certain communications have been met by cold indifference.

DESIRES FOR A CONVENTION.

The wonder remains that notwithstanding all this neglect to cultivate and encourage those nations they still admire our greatness and long for a nearer bond of union and fellowship. Every line of the reports of the many conferences held by the Commission with the representative men of those nations shows how fervently and with what glad surprise our overture for a convention of all the nations of the American Continent was welcomed.

ATTITUDE OF CHILI.

An exception may possibly be noted in the case of Chili. Yet I think that as that Government exhibited an unwonted desire to have realized two objects to be considered in such a conference, and which can be more readily attained through it than in any other way, namely, the adoption of a common silver coin which shall be current in all the countries of the Western Hemisphere, and also the promotion of direct, speedy, and frequent steam navigation between the ports of North and South America, I conclude that at the proper time Chili will not only assent to such a convention, but will be represented there by men of large statesmanship.

It may be well to say that there were three things that gave to the mission to Chili less of warmth than it received in other states. Chili justly regards itself as the most important power on the South Pacific coast. In the interview I had with the President and his cabinet he remarked that the course his Government should take on the matters brought forward by me would be followed by the other powers of that coast, and that consultation with them was needless. It happens that Chili was the last instead of the first nation visited on the Pacific. Again, the letter accrediting the Commission mentioned three persons as being sent to Chili with the highest diplomatic rank; of the three only one appeared. The President declined to recognize the telegraphic permission sent by Mr. Bayard to the secretary of the Commission, Mr. Curtis, to act as commissioner for Ecuador, Peru, and Chili. Here, too, was a cause of irritation and some embarrassment. To this must be added, as I was informed by our minister, Mr. Logan, a certain coolness growing out of the apprehension that with the change of administration in our country would come an earnest effort by our Government to enforce upon Chili the payment of various claims of our

countrymen for alleged losses suffered by them in the war between Chili and Peru. I believe to these apparently minor matters was owing the somewhat defensive and non-committal attitude of Chili.

I have no doubt of there being present at the convention when called by our country representatives from every one of the western powers, and that these delegates will be men of great weight at home in all the matters affecting their foreign relations.

OPINIONS OF LEADING MEN.

To be persuaded of this I need only quote utterances of the public men of those lands on the relations that do or should obtain between their country and ours.

In 1879 the executive power of the Argentine Republic sent to Congress a message urging a subsidy to be granted to establish a line of steamers between the ports of the La Plata and our own. In it occurs the following passage :

“The executive power considers it useless to dilate on the considerations upon the advantages of a direct communication with the most powerful commercial and free nation that has best realized the forms of government that we have accepted, following precisely its example. This other market that opens itself is a new interchange for the men, the ideas, and the products.”

The President of Chili, in responding to the address I made at the time I was presented to him, among other things, said as follows :

“The extraordinary progress of the United States, independent of the advantage gained by the extension of its area, of its geographical position, and the elements which constitute its social organization, is due to the liberal institutions under which the people are governed, and by which it has been proven that the free people are those that really prosper, and are the only ones that have peace as the essential condition of material, intellectual, and moral progress.

“The South American Republics when they made themselves free had in the northern zone an authority they could consult and an example they could follow. If owing to reasons which are well understood they could not copy the edifice you have framed, they have always endeavored at least to inspire in their own people the ideas which have enabled you to advance so resolutely on the road of human liberty and progress. If on this road so happily trodden the American constellation has added to its stars, it is also true that the southern star, following with no less certainty in the same heavens, and pursuing the same purpose, shines to-day with greater splendor and shows that we have not been amiss in seeking the path to glory, liberty, and prosperity.”

Not less earnest and admiring were the words of the President of Guatemala, as witness the following from his response of welcome to our mission :

“It is the source of the greatest gratification to me to receive from

your hands the autograph letter by which his excellency the President of the United States has accredited you as envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to my Government. From the very beginning we have embraced with the greatest ardor the plan of the American Congress to send a commission to the Spanish-American Republics for the purpose of securing more intimate and friendly relations between them all.

"Such a noble and elevated purpose can not but have the sincerest sympathy and co-operation from all those who desire the progress of the several nations of the New World, so that in having the honor to receive you and give you a most affectionate welcome, it is gratifying to be able to assure you that you will find on the part of the Government and the people of Guatemala a sincere disposition to aid in the success of your most important mission.

"The grand Republic of the United States is the natural market for the different products we export, and they should find in your rich and populous country consumers who are able to send us in return the great variety of their agricultural and mechanical products with benefit to the producers and consumers of both countries.

"Guatemala has always endeavored to maintain the greatest harmony with the nations which honor us with their friendship, and it has always endeavored very especially to strengthen more and more the cordial relations which have forever existed between this country and the United States, so that when you come, vested with an exalted duty by the grand American Government, inspired with the benevolent sentiments which you have just uttered, I have the honor to congratulate myself upon your arrival, and promise to leave nothing undone to make your visit a success, and enter into bonds with you to unite more closely two peoples which by their analogous institutions, by their geographical positions, and many other circumstances and considerations, should establish a more active and lucrative commerce."

Without wearying you with these iterations of the desire of the American peoples visited by the Commission to realize such results as are proposed in this measure, I will content myself by adding the following from the President of Mexico, a most progressive and enlightened statesman :

"Mr. Commissioner Thacher then quoted the instructions of the Secretary of State relating to an international congress of delegates from the several nations of the American hemisphere, and asked the views of President Diaz as to the practicability of such a congress and his opinion as to the topics which it should consider.

"To this President Diaz replied that the suggestion was an old one, and had many times been considered by the Mexican Government, which he believed had always favored it. He recited his recollection of the several attempts made in this direction, beginning with Bolivar's plan of 1824, and the attitude presented on each occasion by the several administrations in his own country, showing great familiarity with

the history of the proposition. He said he had always hoped such an international congress would be some time held, as he believed great good could be accomplished if all the American Republics would consent to send delegates to meet upon an equal footing and agree upon measures for the common welfare.

"The chief object to be discussed at such a gathering would naturally be a method of arbitration by which international differences could be peacefully adjusted, and another, equally important, was to confine American trade, so far as possible, to American nations."

I venture on one more quotation; it is a paragraph from the response of the President of Venezuela:

"I respond in the most frank and cordial manner to the expressions of good-will of your Government, and I view the very elevated object of your mission from the stand-point of its great importance.

"Venezuela and the United States have the same institutions, the same history. They produced the immortal George Washington, 'the first in the hearts of his countrymen,' and Venezuela produced the immortal Bolivar, the father of five republics, freed by the impulse of stupendous efforts. Both of them honored by the recognition of the two confederacies, they are to-day the faithful representatives of the association of our interests and aspirations—equality before the law and the truth of democracy.

"With these lofty motives the people of the New World aspire by union to seek the development of their industrial and commercial prosperity and to cement the alliance of views and intents in the reign of equity and the empire of justice."

EFFICACY OF PROPOSED LEGISLATION.

The twofold object unfolded in the title of this bill will, I conceive, in a large degree be realized by its enactment.

The historic fact that our example has led to the creation of republics striving to realize our progress and destiny imposes upon us a different relation to those peoples than that which we hold to other nations. This is intensified by the propinquity of these constitutional governments and by the further consideration that while we have forborne giving them much aid or comfort in the past, we have quite emphatically repeated our objection to the acquisition by any European power of any territory in the western hemisphere.

It is that relation that this measure proposes to exalt in the eyes of the world—to give it form, expression, and efficacy—to assume for the greatest Republic on earth, if not the greatest nation, a significance and moral power toward those states which have found in her antecedents and marvelous development a model for their own institutions, heretofore forgotten or neglected.

The proposed law is a lofty recognition of the truth that no nation with a republican form of government can live to itself alone.

It is this international aspect of the proposed congress that will draw the attention of mankind to its deliberations, and will make it in many respects the most remarkable if not most important assemblage the world has ever seen. Its benign objects, when contrasted with those of other national conferences where the repression of human liberty and progress were the bonds of the confederating potentates, will add to its work dignity and crown its conclusions with the wreath woven for that which ennobles and enlarges humanity.

DIFFERENT PROPOSITIONS OF THE BILL.

The first and seventh propositions of the bill are those on which territorial integrity and national tranquillity depend. The mind at once sees how impossible national dismemberment or aggressive wars would be under the provisions foreshadowed in these suggestive topics.

Peace is the imperative need of these Spanish republics. The tyranny of the mother country is so recent, and it burned so deeply into the subjected provinces, that their chief national dislike is the country whence came the viceroys and rulers over them. But with the disappearance of the Spanish yoke there rose military rulers, and for a time the army made presidents and cabinets.

A government founded on universal and intelligent suffrage can not even yet be said to be fully realized in some of the Latin nations of this hemisphere.

Against violent measures of any kind these provisions of general concord would be powerful defenses.

SAME RESULT AIDED BY PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF OUR INTERIOR LIFE.

It is in this direction that a great educating force would be brought to bear upon the delegates from our sister States by a sojourn in our midst under the hospitable welcome of our Government.

Our schools, our higher institutions of learning, our religious life, where church and state are totally independent of each other, our industrial pursuits and growths, our systems of internal improvements, in fine all that intense personal freedom of thought and action out of which has grown our present commanding position, would profoundly impress our visitors and they would carry back to their own lands new views and purposes.

The result would be the same, in part at least, as that I pointed out in the final report as following the education of their young men in our midst:

“Every year there are delegations of young men from each republic finding educational homes and advantages in the schools of Europe, whence they bring back at least far less accurate ideas about and love for American institutions than they would were they returning from our colleges or higher schools of learning. A number of young men from each republic, ingenious and eager for mental improvement and

education, annually educated in our midst, familiarized with our progressive life, the spirit of our laws, the genius of our institutions, and the comprehensiveness of our energy, would, in a few years, make a marked change in the knowledge their people have of the United States.

“They now admire our greatness, but then they would revere the benign principles, the complete tolerance, and the singleness of purpose and aim on which the whole superstructure of American growth, power, and welfare rests. They would feel that the impulses of equality, religious toleration and independence, and the isolation of Government from all aims save those essential to the protection of the person and property of the people, were the secrets of a power and elevation their countrymen so much applaud. They would be missionaries returning to their countrymen with the story of our people, life, and achievements, and holding them up for imitation.

“They would speak of the filling of the great offices of state by a free, uncoerced ballot, and the quiet acquiescence of 55,000,000 of people in the will of the majority, however narrow that might be. What more powerful argument could they bring against the too frequent revolutions in those States that follow their recurring national elections?

“They would point their countrymen to school-houses in the smallest rural district of the great Republic as in the most populous wards of its thronged cities, to the schools of art, technology, industrial pursuits, and classical and scientific acquisitions, whereby the blessings of a free education are brought within the reach of the poorest child in the land. They would tell their people of a state where every form of religious faith is protected but not supported by law, and yet where the spires of churches, temples, and cathedrals rise above the roofs of every city and the groves of every village, hamlet, and neighborhood, scarcely out of sight of the traveler as he passes from ocean to ocean. What stronger motives for the independence of the church and the education of the masses could they place before their patriotic countrymen?”

To this end the delegates should be shown our great centers of trade and business, our manufactories and our appliances for agricultural development, and be afforded by extended tours from the Atlantic to the Pacific coast, from the lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, an opportunity to behold on a grand scale the workings of our elastic institutions.

COMMERCIAL FEATURES OF THE BILL.

Turning to the other details of the proposed law, we find they tend to one point—the promotion of trade, the building up of commercial interests by and between the consulting Governments.

This aspect of the matter opens a wide field of inquiry and in some degree of speculation.

The peculiarities of the Latin race in America lead it away from man-

ufacturing pursuits. Valencia centuries ago imported wool from England and returned it in cloths, but the process is now reversed.

Great Britain manufactures for the world, and Spain, with all the colonies she planted, contributes to her commercial supremacy.

In Spain there is cheap fuel and plenty of water-power. In Spanish America, from Mexico to Magellan, there are few coal-fields, but almost everywhere flowing streams, furnishing the cheapest and most abundant power.

Guatemala, Costa Rica, the western slopes of the Andes, Uruguay, and portions of the Argentine Republic have unfailing and enormous stores of this easily-used motor. Yet in Costa Rica I saw only two water-driven mills; in Guatemala there were a few more; yet not one-thousandth part of the water-power was utilized. The Rimac for nearly 70 miles is a dashing cascade, with only a tannery, a brewery, and possibly a few other industries at Lima holding in check for a few minutes its rushing flood.

Chili in the Mopocho and the Maipo has powerful streams, and hundreds of smaller water-courses find their way to the ocean.

The report from Uruguay calls attention to its internal water-power, and the statements submitted with the report from the Argentine Republic show how immense is the water-power in the Gran Chaco region.

We must conclude, then, that the want of manufactured products in these countries grows out of either or both of two causes; the one a disinclination to take up the patient, steady routine of daily toil necessary to successful manufacturing, and the other a greater profitability in other more congenial pursuits.

Without dwelling on the point, I may say that it is safe to aver that these countries will for years be great consumers of foreign manufactured goods.

In Chili the war with Peru demoralized the soldiers, many of whom were taken from the ordinary pursuits, and, returning from their conquest, failed to take up the peaceful avocations they left; and yet Chili is beyond doubt in manufactories the New England of South America. The special report on this country fully covers this question.

In any trade relations we may establish with those countries we may reasonably count on the permanence of the demand for our goods.

OUR COMPETITORS.

The larger portion of the commerce we are seeking has been in the hands of Great Britain, but of recent years another, and what promises to be a more formidable rival, has come to the front.

The German manufacturers, intrenched behind encouraging and protecting legislative walls, have pushed their products far beyond the home demand. Always sure of their own market without competition, they have turned their unflagging energies to secure centers of trade in

the Western Hemisphere. They are clever imitators of every new invention, of every improved machine, and of many of the most useful and popular goods produced in the United States. They send out counterfeits of the famous "Collins" wares, even to the very brand; they make mowers and agricultural implements as nearly like ours as possible. Our sewing-machines are copied by these people, and the imitations are palmed off on the South American trade as coming from the United States. The character and ways of these new rivals for the trade of our neighbors is thus graphically portrayed by our former consul-general in Mexico, Mr. Strother, and I may add that what the German is in Mexico he is in all the other Central and South American nations.

General Strother says:

"For the rest it will still remain with American manufacturers and merchants to solve the question of successful competition with their European rivals, the most formidable of whom at present are the Germans, whose commercial establishments are more substantially planted and more widely extended than those of any other foreign nation. And it may be well here to note their methods and the causes of their success. The German who comes to Mexico to establish himself in business is carefully educated for the purpose, not only in the special branch which he proposes to follow, but he is also an accomplished linguist, being generally able to converse and correspond in the four great commercial languages—German, English, French, and Spanish. His enterprise is usually backed by large capital in the mother country. He does not come to speculate, or inflated with the hope of acquiring sudden fortune, but expecting to succeed in time by close attention, patient labor and economy, looking forward twenty, thirty, or even forty years for the realization of his hopes. He builds up his business as one builds a house, brick by brick, and with a solid foundation. He can brook delays, give long credits, sustain reverses, and tide over dull times. He never meddles with the politics of the country; keeps on good terms with its governors, whoever they may be. He rarely makes complaints through his minister or consul, but if caught evading the revenue laws, or in other illegal practices, he pays his fine and goes on with his business. With these methods and characteristics, the German merchant generally succeeds in securing wealth and the respect of any community in which he may have established himself."

In a conversation with the British minister, Sir Spencer St. John, in Mexico, he observed to me that the success of the Germans in dealing with the revenue officials and in pushing their trade had driven out of Mexico every wholesale English house, whereas the foreign commerce was once largely in the hands of his countrymen.

In passing from this point we must not forget that notwithstanding all this copying of our productions by the German manufacturer, yet the deception deceives few, and that were the markets open to our

dealers the superior material, workmanship, and fidelity of our goods would defy all competition.

The French, equally protected by home legislation and alive to the wants of the South American markets, are increasing their trade there.

Indeed we must meet in the ports of our neighbors the wares of many of the European countries, all of which are borne to their destination in vessels flying their own national ensign.

STEAM-SHIPS A NECESSITY.

This brings me to the pivotal point in all our efforts to secure those markets to ourselves. In round numbers \$400,000,000 of imports are consumed annually in Central and South America.

The volume each year rises in magnitude. Of this great business our country should enjoy at least three-fifths.

I may be permitted on this point to repeat the observations I made in the final report.

“Without the frequent and certain appearance of the flag of our country in the waters of these States there can be no strong international ties. “Out of sight, out of mind” is as certain of nations as of individuals. The ships of a country carry its sovereignty, its name, and its character to the ports of the world. “Intimate international relations” suggests association, an interchange of friendly offices, frequent communication, negotiation, intercourse. A friendship with an ocean ever rolling between the friends is a cold thing. The allies we seek in the western hemisphere, except Chili, are almost wholly without a mercantile marine.

“If we would impress them with the value of our friendship, lead them to look to us for sympathy in time of need, invite them to repose confidence in our sincerity for their welfare as nations, we must devise some way of frequent and easy communication. Isolation on our part will increase indifference. There is scarcely a maritime country of Europe whose flag on war-ships, steam and wind driven craft, is not better known in the waters of South America and along the Spanish Main than is that of our country. And yet there is no flag so welcome there as ours.

“Our special reports have shown with what earnestness the people of the Republics we have visited in South America pressed upon us the necessity of establishing American steam-ship lines to increase trade, and to a willingness of those republics to contribute to their establishment. We shall not be called upon to furnish all the money necessary to enable the projected lines to compete with European merchantmen; for so desirous are those countries for regular and frequent steam-ship intercourse with us that we can rely upon their material aid to promote it. We believe that the adjustment and perfecting of the common enterprise between all the parties to the measure would of itself beget confidence and better acquaintance.

"A business enterprise promoted by the different countries would draw to it the patronage of the people of these lands. Patriotism would aid in diverting trade to the new lines, and just as railroads sweeping over State boundaries in our country have tended to the unification of the people of all the States, so would these messengers of commerce promote better acquaintance with the good qualities of each among all the rest, and thereby foster nearer national as well as commercial ties.

"The concurrent testimony of all whom we have consulted, holding positions of influence or information, and the results of our own observation in every port we visited, demonstrate the futility of our efforts to promote trade in the desired direction, so long as freight and passage rates tell so heavily against us and so heavily in favor of our European competitors.

"There is no reason to imagine we can regain the trade we once held in South America, or capture that now possessed by foreign nations, unless we adopt the same measures those countries employed to take that commerce from us and to keep it and its increase. We append to this report the answers to our inquiry sent to the several legations in Europe as to the amount paid by other countries to promote and maintain steam-ship lines to the South American States. They show by what agencies the great volume of commerce of that continent is made to roll to European ports, and prove how useless will be our efforts to turn it unless we use means of equal significance and potency."

I find the following in the Missouri Republican, of St. Louis, of the 2d instant:

"*Important meeting.*—The board of directors and transportation committee met yesterday and adopted the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That in the interest of the trade between the Mississippi Valley and the Central and South American States we recommend that direct mail communication be encouraged between the United States and those countries through the port of New Orleans, and that for the promotion of this object we urge upon our Congressmen, with those representing the other States in the Mississippi Valley, that Congress make liberal appropriation to subsidize any steam-ship line that will establish communication between New Orleans and the countries named.

"*Resolved*, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the various exchanges in the Mississippi Valley, and the Congressmen representing the same, urging their hearty co-operation in this movement."

No one can question the value to our country of the recommendations made by the St. Louis Board of Trade, and most emphatically is this true of the agricultural and manufactured products of that wide expanse comprehended in the Mississippi Valley. The course of trade in this vast region towards the ports of our neighbors is illustrated in the way hams manufactured in the Western packing-houses find that market. They are shipped to New York, thence to some English port; there they are stripped of their American wrapping and brands, re-

wrapped and branded as of English make, and then shipped to some South American port, where they bring 50 cents per pound.

Direct communication from New Orleans with the markets of the Spanish Main and of the South Atlantic coast, and thence to those of the South Pacific, would add large value to everything the great valley sends to those places. Flour, lumber, agricultural machinery, oils, provisions, and other articles directly affecting the welfare of the farmer and manufacturer would find a higher and better market were the resolutions of the St. Louis Board of Trade adopted by Congress.

INTERNATIONAL QUARANTINE.

But this stimulated service would fail of its best results if it was not supplemented by a far better and less vexatious system of quarantine both at New Orleans and the ports above mentioned than now exists.

On this point I refer to that part of the address before the Commission at New Orleans of Maj. B. F. Hilder, found on page 377 of the report of the Commission, at the second session of the Forty-eighth Congress, Ex. Doc. 526, and also to the still more exhaustive and most interesting paper of Dr. Joseph Holt, president of the Louisiana board of health, found at page 382 and following pages of the same document; also to the views of the Commission on the subject, found at page 431, together with the statement of Dr. Burgess, of Havana, on this question, found on page 433.

It will be seen that unless some such system as that outlined by Dr. Holt can be adopted through international co-operation an almost insuperable barrier is erected against continuous steam communication between the entrepôt of the great river and the ports southerly therefrom. More or less yellow fever exists the year around in the ports of the Caribbean Sea, those of the South Atlantic as low down as Rio de Janeiro, and those of the South Pacific to Callao.

Dr. Holt suggests a feasible way to preserve perfect sanitation of the exposed ship, and so obviate, save in very exceptional cases, any serious detention of it when it reaches its destined port.

ADDITIONAL TOPICS.

I venture to suggest to the chairman that to the topics already proposed for consideration by his bill he add one covering—

“The best method of sanitating ships and cargoes going from infected ports, and of reducing the time of quarantine detentions.”

And (I may as well here respond to the chairman's invitation to name topics for consideration other than those mentioned in his bill) the following: To the fifth proposition add, “and for the extradition of criminals.”

To-day a refugee from justice, a Boston embezzler or forger, under an assumed name, publishes an American newspaper at Buenos Ayres.

No wonder his presence in that city neither gives respect nor welcome to the character of American citizenship.

It might be well to ask the delegates to bring certain information as to the feasibility or advisability of effecting an all-railroad connection between all the nations; of carrying the steel highway from Mexico south until it meets the one being pushed north by the Argentine Republic through the Gran Chalco and into the almost unvisited regions of eastern Bolivia and western Brazil.

Again, I would add a general invitation to each country represented in the congress to present such different or more specific propositions than those mentioned as it felt inclined.

VALUE OF UNIFORMITY IN CUSTOMS, LAWS, MONEY, WEIGHTS, AND MEASURES.

The propositions of the bill in the second, fourth, fifth, and sixth subdivisions, if carried into general use, would facilitate trade between the nations, and, in fact, tend to an almost entire exclusion of European states from all such branches of commerce as could be carried on without them.

This unity of coin value, of weights and measures, and the uniformity of law touching exports and imports, would inevitably stimulate and enhance business ventures of all kinds between the states governed thereby. The reflections upon the effect of such uniformity are so obvious that they readily come to mind the moment the general proposition is named. In addition to those that lie upon the surface, it may be stated that out of this uniformity would come on our part a closer study of the wants of the people whose trade we seek; the manufacturer would, through branch houses and agents well versed in the language and habits of those countries, know what patterns, widths, lengths, styles, and character of goods his customers require.

The doleful cry of faulty packing and reckless disregard of orders would not be heard. Bills of lading and invoices would utter a language familiar to all. The vexations of the custom-house would disappear. The measure of value would no longer be the shilling of the English, the mark of the German, or the franc of the French, but it would be the dollar of the western hemisphere.

Many difficulties and many years possibly stand in the way of this desired end. But great organizations of capital and labor fill the land with their gigantic forms. Why should not the same idea inform and guide the policies, international and commercial, of the American nations?

The call for this congress will meet a cordial response from the best men of those countries. Such statesmen as Ex-President Sarmiento, the father of the educational system of the Argentine Republic, Chancellor George Huennos, speaker of the house of representatives of Chili and the head of the National University at Santiago, and many more who might be named, will see in this international conference auguries of good, and good only, for the struggling republics of Central and South America.

LETTER OF MR. REYNOLDS.

[Letter of Thomas C. Reynolds, presenting his views on Senate bill 1616 "to promote the political progress and commercial prosperity of the American nations."]

ST. LOUIS, MO., *April 7, 1886.*

SIR: Responding to the invitation with which, on behalf of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, you have honored me, I respectfully present my views on your Senate bill 1616 to promote the political progress and commercial prosperity of the American nations.

Each and all of the seven objects set forth in the second section of your bill are so clearly wise and statesmanlike that comment on them is superfluous. I therefore confine myself to making some suggestions concerning the modes in which, and the extent to which, those objects can be attained.

The meeting at Washington of a congress of delegates from all the independent nations of our hemisphere, for the consideration of those objects, will present peculiar advantages. Prepared for, by our regular diplomatic and consular officials, it would present opportunities for the officials of our Government to be brought into direct communication with delegates specially selected for the purposes of the congress, and those delegates would be in like communication with our officials and with each other.

The roundabout way of communication by the regular diplomatic representatives of the Governments, or by a commission from our own, having constantly to report home for orders, would be avoided. A free interchange of opinions would lead in a very short time to practical conclusions, which it would require years to reach by the regular diplomatic methods.

It should be distinctly understood, and perhaps be in some way indicated in your bill, that the consent of all the Governments invited, to the congress will not be indispensable. Power should be given to the President to convoke it, should only some of the Governments invited send delegates to it. Diplomatic correspondence, and information heretofore, would indicate that many of those States would, for various reasons, decline the invitation. The countries south of the equator might find it best to form a customs union of their own. Should only the Governments of the Republics bordering on the Caribbean Sea and Gulf of Mexico—our American Mediterranean—unite in the congress, it should meet without awaiting the action of the other States. A customs union of the latter, south of the equator, would finally gravitate to a like connection with our own part of the hemisphere, as South Germany did towards the customs union of North Germany.

On the general subject of the congress, as well as in regard to the objects specified in the seven clauses of the second section of your bill, the rise and progress of the German customs union (*zollverein*) is practically instructive. I have no authorities to which I can refer, and must rely on my remembrance of observation and information during several years' sojourn at German universities, at a period when that

union was in the course of development. It was composed at first of the Prussian dominions and a few minor contiguous States. As its advantages became evident, other States joined it, under the influence not only of those advantages, but also of retaliatory tariffs against them by the union, and special favors offered to them by it. South Germany long held back, and my recollection is that its States first formed a customs union of their own. The Hanseatic sea-ports (independent sovereignties) hesitated still longer. Indeed, I have an impression that the great commercial city of Hamburg is not yet completely included in the union. Sixty years or more have passed in bringing the union up to its present extent and importance. The causes or pretexts of the reluctance to join it were mainly difference in tariffs, fear of injury to protected industries, and (to a formidable extent in bureaucratic Governments) the opposition of employés to a system which, as they believed, would economize by abolishing their places.

Similar causes may lessen the number of Governments which will accept the invitation to the Congress or unite upon plans to effect the objects mentioned in the bill; but even should only a few be represented in the Congress here, as in Germany, it will be the first step which costs, and afterwards like obstacles will be removed by like means. Should even but one State be willing to unite with us in carrying out any of the objects mentioned in your bill, a beginning will have been secured, and, as in Germany, the adhesion of all the others to a complete commercial and customs union will be a question of time—probably of less than half a century.

Taking by clauses the first section of your bill, I deferentially make these suggestions.

CLAUSE FIRST.

While a general assent may be expected to measures that shall tend to preserve the peace and promote the prosperity of the several Republics and the Empire of Brazil, the exact definition of those to preserve the present integrity and territorial conditions of each as they exist against forcible dismemberment will meet with serious obstacles. Several Spanish-American States still have treaties mutually guarantying each other's territories; but they are not observed by any of them. Several, probably most, of the Spanish-American Republics and Brazil have questions of boundary to settle, and to do so existing territorial conditions of occupancy might have to be changed. To become a party to such questions, even by general or vague declarations, might lead the United States into entangling engagements. Possibly these objects of this clause of your bill could be united with that mentioned in section 7: "an agreement upon, and recommendation for adoption to the respective Governments, of a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes, and differences that may now or hereafter exist between them." As to forcible dismemberment by any European power, the position of the United States is too well under-

stood, and satisfactory to the other American Governments, to need any agreement in the proposed Congress.

CLAUSE SECOND.

The final crowning result which the other objects of your bill would be contributory to, or even accompany, will be the formation of the American customs union proposed in this clause, "Under which the trade of the American nations shall, so far as is possible and profitable, be confined to American waters, and there shall be a free interchange of the natural and peculiar manufactured products of each." I assume that the interchange is to be of all products of each, as our commerce with the countries south of us will always naturally consist, to a very great extent, of our manufactures in exchange for the products of their fields, forests, and mines.

On the details of such a customs union, the honest collection and equitable distribution of the revenues from it, the measures for preventing smuggling, the proper consideration of existing vested interests, the necessary navigation laws defining the origin and ownership of vessels to which the trade is to be confined, and many other important matters, I do not propose to write. But it may not be superfluous to make some observations on what may be necessary to prepare for a customs union, and which in fact, to a limited extent, is such a union itself, viz, a reciprocity treaty.

Among the means to secure more intimate commercial relations between the United States and the several countries of Central and South America, suggested in the first report of the Commission to those States (transmitted by the President to Congress on February 13, 1885, and printed as Ex. Doc. No. 226), were the following (p. 4): "Commercial treaties with actual and equivalent reciprocal concessions in tariff duties." As the words "actual and equivalent" were adopted at my suggestion, an explanation of their full force may not be superfluous. A stipulation in a treaty that certain products of one country shall be admitted free, or at a reduced duty, into another country, may, on paper, appear to offer a reciprocal concession for a like admission of certain other products of the latter country into the former. But the seeming effect of it may be neutralized in various ways, so that it will be, to the one country or the other, not an actual concession. Chief among those ways are, the existence of treaties with other nations, placing them on the footing of the "most favored nation," export duties, home bounties, drawbacks, monopolies, and municipal or other local taxation. The skill of the diplomatist, aided by information from consuls, merchants, shippers, and other experts in the questions, should be exerted to frame the treaty so as to prevent the defeat of its real object by such collateral disadvantages and burdens. To explain them, or point out modes of removing them, severally, would unduly extend the length of this letter.

But one of them, the "most favored nation clause," deserves special consideration. It is understood that Great Britain, Germany, and probably other countries, claim that a reciprocity treaty with the United States by a Spanish American country applies to them, under that clause in their treaties with the last-mentioned country, with the same effect as if their names had been in the treaty instead of or along with that of the United States. For example, should the United States, resuming import duties on coffee, grant to Brazil freedom from them, on the "reciprocal concession" that flour and certain American manufactures should be admitted free into that Empire, Great Britain, which consumes very little coffee of any kind, and probably none from Brazil, would claim the same freedom for her like manufactures. Thus, in return for our being customers of Brazil, in coffee, to the amount of about \$50,000,000 annually, Great Britain, offering no "equivalent" concession in fact, would still be able to drive (or, rather, keep) us out of the Brazilian market for those manufactures which she can supply more cheaply or with greater facility through her lines of steamers.

After much thought on the subject, I have found no surer mode of making reciprocity "equivalent" than by expressing in the treaty itself, and as a condition of it, the real object of every reciprocity treaty, the actual and equivalent increase of the commerce between the parties to it. For illustration, should the United States make a reciprocity treaty with Spain for certain concessions designed to increase our exports to Cuba, in consideration of a reduction of our duties on Cuban sugars, the treaty should provide that that reduction should exist only as long as Cuba imported from the United States at least a certain fixed amount in value annually, and Spain might justly require a like condition as to the annual amount of our imports of Cuban sugars. The custom-house returns of the two countries would readily fix the respective amounts, and the reciprocity of the treaty, whenever it ceased to be actual and equivalent, could be suspended by a proclamation of the President, on due notice to be provided for in the treaty.

As it is undeniable, and even generally admitted, that the "most favored nation clause" entitles a country having the privilege of it to be merely "on all fours" with any other nation, and share the advantages of it only on the identical conditions accompanying them, such a proviso as that above mentioned would effectually block the diplomatic game which Germany is understood to have played upon us in Mexico, by claiming for herself the benefits of our recent reciprocity treaty with that Republic. Taking, in fact, no sugar and little tobacco or anything else from Mexico, she sagaciously offers to remit her duties on them, and claims for her exports to that Republic, mainly in manufactures, the same concessions it made to the United States in order to increase the exports of its own products to our country. With such a proviso as that above suggested, Germany would be beaten on her own diplomatic ground. Mexico would be obligated by the "most favored nation clause" only to offer to Germany the same treaty, *mutatis mu-*

tandis, her name taking the place of that of the United States. As her imports from Mexico would not compare with ours, such a treaty would give her no actual advantage over us. So, also, with Cuba in her commerce with Germany, and probably, also, with Great Britain and France. No one of those countries (France and Germany making their own beet-root sugar, and Great Britain being supplied principally by her own colonies) would be able to take from Cuba the amount of sugars which would be the treaty "equivalent" for the concessions made to the United States.

Another important consideration in deciding what kind of a reciprocity treaty to make, or whether to make it at all, is the effect it would have on some equally advantageous indirect trade. By driving out of some South American market some other country which trades with us, we may diminish the purchasing power of that country in our own markets, and increased indirect trade with the former may not compensate us for a loss of trade with the latter. In this connection, the effect of several misused terms is to be deprecated. Generally when our imports from and exports to any particular country do not balance at all, the very bad English is common of speaking of a "balance of trade" for or against us. It is refreshing to notice that in the reports of our Bureau of Statistics that improper phrase is discarded, and the difference between exports and imports is described as an excess of one over the other. An excess of imports over exports in a particular venture may represent a gain, and not a loss. A familiar illustration is that of a Boston ship which, in former times, would take a cargo belonging to the ship's owner, worth, say, \$100,000, to China, and return with one, also belonging to the same owner, worth twice the amount. The difference, being the returns for the expenses of the voyage, the profit in China on the original venture, and that in Boston on the return cargo, would be all gain. The same may be the case with the entire commerce of one country with another, as could be amply shown from the statistics of British trade with Asia, given in Mr. Frelinghuysen's letter on the "Commerce of the world." Of course, in some other special case it might be otherwise.

Another very general error is to treat an excess of imports over exports in our trade with a particular country as a difference which we pay in cash. This is rarely, if ever, the case. It is usually paid in exchange on some other country, obtained by selling to it our own products. Brazil affords a very fair illustration. We take from that Empire directly products many millions in value in excess of what we send directly to it. That excess is paid for by exchange on London, based on our exports of provisions, cotton, etc., and with that exchange the Brazilian pays for English manufactures to be sent to Rio. The indirect trade may be different. The Englishman may sell his manufactures in Brazil, convert the proceeds directly, or indirectly by purchase of exchange, into coffee, with the proceeds of which in New York he purchases provisions to be sent to England. In either case the result

is the same. England gains some profit in exchange, as London is the world's money center, and in freights which her ships carry. But to the extent to which England is crippled in her sales to Brazil, her purchasing power in our provision markets may be diminished.

Therefore, before making a reciprocity treaty, we should carefully consider, in each particular case, whether, even with the profits in exchange and shipping in a direct trade, we may not be losing a more profitable commerce in a different direction, by diminishing the power of others of our regular customers to purchase products from us.

CLAUSE THIRD.

"The establishment of regular and frequent lines of direct steamship communication between the ports of the United States and the ports of Central and South America" is unquestionably indispensable for the promotion of a direct trade between those ports. But to discuss the modes of securing that communication would unduly lengthen this letter; and besides to do so would be entirely superfluous, as every aspect of the subject has been fully presented in the statements of merchants and shippers, which accompany the reports of the commission to Central and South America. Whether encouragement to a direct trade be given by liberal mail contracts, direct subsidies, differential import and tonnage duties, bounties on ship-building, as in France, or even by a return to the navigation laws by which Cromwell transferred England's foreign carrying trade from Holland to herself, and which substantially constituted our own earlier legislation on the subject, two points seem to me clear. Equity would suggest that our citizens on the sea-board are as fully entitled to the expenditure of Government money over and above the receipts from postage, in encouraging foreign trade and intercourse, as our interior settlements are to similar expenditures to facilitate their correspondence with other parts of our own country. The benefits of the former expenditure would indirectly accrue to those settlements, as the latter does to our sea-board. In selecting lines for such expenditures, preference should be given to those which afford us the advantages of proximity and the existence of an already established commerce by sailing vessels or transient steamers. The histories of the American regular steamship line between New York and Venezuela, and that connecting the Isthmus of Panama and New York and San Francisco, are very instructive; they have succeeded in building up direct American trade and almost excluding competition in it from foreign steamers, even from "tramps."

CLAUSE FOURTH.

"The establishment of a uniform system of customs regulations in each of the independent American States to govern the importation and exportation of merchandise, a uniform method of determining the classification and valuation of such merchandise in the ports of each country, and a uniform system of invoices."

These are of great importance and even in a customs union would have to be considered; but they will be the most difficult to effect until after public sentiment shall have been fully prepared, in Spanish-America and Brazil, for a customs union. Habits, customs, and regulations in such matters are so fixed by usages, probably of centuries, in the various countries of our hemisphere, including our own, that not only revenue officials, but even the merchants themselves, could with difficulty be brought to see the advantages of entire uniformity. Both those classes habitually prefer even a cumbrous routine with which they are familiar to a new one which they will have to learn. Each country would advocate the uniformity which consists in having its own system adopted by all other countries. The more artificial the system might be, the more earnestly would those trained in it insist on its advantages, in the same impulse of human nature that made common-law pleaders object to the beauty and simplicity of civil-law procedure.

Yet, as with the reform of our own laws, much may be done by skillful diplomacy, aided by our merchants, shippers, and their agents, both in our own country and in the rest of our hemisphere, towards a partial if not complete uniformity. Tariffs could be reformed by leading the other Governments (and possibly also our own) to see that the revenue will not be affected and frauds will probably be diminished by simplifying the classification of merchandise; as, for instance, placing under a few general heads the four or five hundred articles, often but slightly different from each other, specified in most, perhaps all, of the Spanish-American tariffs. Arbitrary fines could be abolished, customs regulations be gradually improved, the classification and valuation of merchandise, even under the existing systems, be simplified and made explicit, and especially the modes of redress for wrongs made more liberal, prompt, and inexpensive than they now generally are in Spanish-American countries.

SECTION FIFTH.

“The adoption of a uniform system of weights and measures and uniform laws to protect the persons and property, the patent rights, copyrights, and trade-marks of either country in the other.”

Several Spanish-American states have already enacted laws of the kind above described or embodied them in treaties with European powers. An industrious diplomacy would doubtless secure like advantages to the United States. The question of uniformity of weights and measures presents greater practical difficulties. The Latin-race Governments of America have shown a decided tendency to adopt the French metric system, and although, as the experience of France herself suggests, the reception of a new system by a people is of very slow growth, yet that metric system, on account of its intrinsic merits and advantages, has such a hold upon those Governments and scientific men in those countries that probably such a uniformity could be ob-

tained only by our adopting that system, at least in our commercial intercourse with them. There could be no reason for their exchanging their own popular weights and measures, of Spanish *varas*, *leguas*, *libras*, *arrobas*, etc., for our equally unscientific feet, yards, miles, pounds, bushels, etc. Perhaps a practical solution of the question, at least for a long time, in invoices and other commercial documents, could be found in fixing, by treaty or otherwise, the precise equivalents, in our weights and measures, of the old Spanish, as well as of those in the metric system. The uniformity would thus become, in practice, simply a matter of arithmetical computation, as is now the case in the construction of railways in Mexico, by converting miles into *kilometros*.

CLAUSE SIXTH.

"The adoption of a common silver coin, which shall be used by each Government in such an amount proportionate to the population of each as may be determined upon, the same to be legal-tender in the commercial transactions between the citizens of all the nations of the American hemisphere," presents much more formidable difficulties than any of the other propositions in your bill. To explain them, some account of the currencies of Spanish-America, succinct, but aiming to avoid obscurity, may be useful.

Although some of the Spanish-American states have, theoretically, gold coin, yet, in fact, silver coin is alone in circulation, and, what is more important, is the sole measure of value. Practically they are as much under the silver, monometallic system as India or China. From some cause the silver coin known as the *peso sencillo*, or "simple dollar," to distinguish it from the old Spanish milled dollar, *peso duro*, or "hard dollar," is the basis of all their coinages under the names of *bolivar*, *boliviana*, *sol duro*, &c. I conjecture that this "simple dollar," of the same weight and fineness as the French five-franc piece, arose from the preponderance in Spanish coins of the *peseta*, which was once so current in the United States under the name of "pistareen." The Spanish milled dollar was legally divided into eighths, called *reales*; the *peseta* was, for the purpose of making small change, coined as of the intrinsic value of a *reale* and a half, and the convenience of a decimal system asserting itself, even under such unfavorable circumstances, 5 *pesetas*, although only of the value of $7\frac{1}{2}$ *reales*, became the current measure of value, instead of the dollar of 8 *reales*. In Spain the *peseta* itself has been adopted, both in commerce and in Government accounts, as the unit of coinage, and I assume it to be of the weight and fineness of the French and Belgian franc, the Greek drachma, the Italian lira, and the Venezuela bolivar, as the Director of our Mint gives to each of them the value of $19\frac{3}{10}$ cents. His valuations of the Spanish-American coins show that, except in Mexico, the *peseta* or franc is the actual unit of coinage.

With the extensive commerce of those states with France, Belgium, Spain, and Italy, and their intimate connection in habits and ideas with their European kindred of the Latin race, it may be expected that they will adhere with great tenacity to the "common coin" they already have. It would seem that we could do best by either adopting that common coin, for commercial transactions between us and them or by inventing a new silver coin of a fixed weight and fineness and representing a permanent value, not in an artificial ratio of value to gold, but in their own measure of value and as a commodity or as bullion.

It so happens that our own coins of less denomination than a dollar correspond exactly, or very nearly so, in weight and fineness, with the Spanish-American silver coin, two of our half-dollars being equal in intrinsic value to the "simple dollar." There is no good reason why they should not circulate in Spanish America as at par with like weights of parts of the "simple dollar." It has been said that they formerly did so, but that the act of Congress securing their convertibility into our intrinsically much more valuable silver dollars (these also being of legal tender) caused them all to be sent home again. They are now rarely to be seen in any Spanish-American country.

To agree upon an amount of the common silver coin proportioned to the population of each country also presents difficulties, as the amount of circulation needed by each country would not be at all in proportion to population, even if that could be accurately ascertained under the defective census system in Spanish America, and probably not even in proportion to wealth and resources, which would probably have to be only estimated. Such considerations doubtless influenced the Latin Union to refuse admission of Venezuela into it, even after she had adopted the same silver coinage and theoretically became also a bimetallic country. But, should such a limitation be desirable, some other basis could be agreed on. Possibly a proportion to the total amount of each country's average imports and exports, in a certain series of years, would be safe and acceptable.

The other mode above suggested would be to agree upon a new common coin, with a specific name, say a florin, to be of the fineness of our own silver coin, and to weigh precisely half an ounce. It would have the advantage both of being a coin and of representing an ascertained amount of silver, as merchandise or bullion.

With either of these common coins as the measure of value the commerce of the several countries could be carried on, the coinage of each country being legal tender, not for any other kind of money or coins of any other metals or even for silver coins of other denominations, but solely in fulfillment of contracts made specifically in the common coin, as our gold bonds are made payable only in gold coin.

But, of course, here we encounter the immense difficulty that while the Spanish-American countries use silver alone, both for coinage and as a measure of value, we use both silver and gold and attempt to get

and keep a measure of value by fixing, through statutes, a ratio of value between the two metals. To discuss a mode of establishing such a ratio between our bimetallic coinage and the silver monometallism of Spanish America, would unavoidably lead into the mazes of the silver question in our own country. I abstain from entering into them, except by expressing the opinion I have held ever since I examined the subject many years ago (but in which I may be alone), that the whole attempt has been and will continue to be a conspicuous failure and should be abandoned. Contracts could be made in either gold or silver coins, of fixed weights and fineness, according to the intents of the contracting parties, and the ratio of value between the two metals—which even in our own time has varied so much that to keep up the semblance of it we first debased our gold coins and afterwards our silver—could be left to be determined by the immutable laws of even a slowly variable supply and demand, rather than to the dangerous expedient of statutory or treaty regulations, changeable at the will of Governments which may be in necessity or influenced by false theories or even corrupt. For the convenience of the construction of contracts, a measure of value in either silver or gold could be established by law to define the unit of value in legal tender in contracts in which the metal or coin had not been specified. Under a system by which values were measured in greenback dollars, although at a discount below both gold and silver, and contracts in coin had to be exceptionally so stated, our commerce flourished. The difference in commercial or intrinsic value between the two currencies would be mere matter of computation; the variances would be so gradual as to be scarcely perceptible, except in the lapse of an entire year, and the computations of them, to ascertain value in the one coin or in the other, would be no more difficult or injurious to commerce than like computations of rates of exchange.

But, as our own people are so accustomed to fix rates of value between gold and silver coins and to their being in certain fixed proportions legal tenders for each other—an expedient about as logical and sensible as a statute determining what weight of Indian corn shall be a legal tender for a bushel of wheat, both being in this country, and only one of them in Great Britain, current as food for man—a practical view of a common silver coin for the American hemisphere should take into consideration our existing bimetalism, with its disturbing adjunct of a statutory ratio of value which may not accord with that fixed by commerce in the metals themselves.

With due diffidence, I suggest that our present half dollar, and the subdivisions of it, might be advantageously adopted as the common silver coin, as it is identical, in weight and fineness, with the measure of value and existing coinage of all Spanish America except Mexico. The privilege to convert them, under our statute, into silver dollars would have to be abolished, but their present limited legal tender qualities could be preserved. With like legal tender qualities, at par with like silver coins of Spanish-American countries, they would freely

circulate in those countries, as did Spanish and Mexican coins in our own country in the early part of this century. There would be little return of them, as the limited amount to which they would be legal tender here would be amply supplied by our own mints. The same limited legal-tender quality in our country could be extended without danger to the like coinage of South American countries joining in the agreement; little of it would come to us to compete with our own, and we would reap the advantage that our own would be legal tender, as the proper measure of values, in all commercial transactions in those countries. Brazil, having now merely a depreciated paper currency, might be readily induced to introduce it into her mints; and a change in the coins of Mexico could be as readily made as a like change was in Spain, her present dollar, where contracts call for it, being decreed to be the fair equivalent of $5\frac{1}{5}$ of the South American franc (one-fifth of the simple dollar). Under such an agreement for a common silver coin, the coinage of it could safely be left free, supply and demand regulating its commercial ratio of value to gold coin. The legal-tender qualities of those coins would be on no unequal or unfair basis. They would have in each country the legal tender extent given to like coins of that country—limited with us as our own, unlimited in Spanish America as their own.

The adoption of a common coin, of the weight of half an ounce of silver, would encounter the difficulties that it would disturb commerce by giving a new measure of value, and the convenience of computing its value by weight might cause it to degenerate into being treated as mere bullion. Nevertheless, could it obtain extensive adoption in commerce as a measure of value, that convenience would increase its utility. Transactions in it could be reduced to gold, or any other currency, by examining the quotations of the market value of silver in gold or in such other currency.

The proposition to adopt a common silver coin of the value of our gold dollar, if coupled with the quality of being legal tender for the latter, seems to me impracticable and illusory, for the simple reason that, should the present value in silver of the gold dollar be adopted, any fluctuation in the comparative values of these metals would affect it. Should gold continue to rise in those comparative values, the silver dollars of South American mints, being of less value than gold dollars, would have a tendency to flood our markets and increase the confusion into which we have already got, by using two measures of value and attempting to force a ratio between them. Should gold fall in comparative commercial value, there would be a strong temptation to exchange gold coins for the Spanish-American common coins, to pass into our circulation and unduly expand it or even be sold as bullion. If the common coin is to be the measure of value and legal tender only in transactions in such coins, and not as equivalent in any fixed ratio for other money or gold, the already established "simple dollar" presents advantages over every other silver coin.

The existence of our bimetallic coinage and artificial ratio of value between gold and silver naturally suggests the question, how are values of merchandise to be computed for the collection of duties where the invoices give amounts in "simple dollars?" The answer is readily found: the value of the new coinage, in our currency, can be annually ascertained by the Director of the Mint and proclaimed by the Secretary of the Treasury, as is now done with the coins of all countries of silver monometallism. The merchant importer or exporter, in ascertaining the cost to him in our currency of goods bought in Spanish America, or the value there, in the common silver coin, of his wares sent thither, need concern himself little about such valuations, as both his payments and receipts will be regulated, as now, by rates of exchange. But he will have a share in adjusting those rates, instead of having them determined for him in London. Should they exceed cost of transportation, interest, and insurance, he can ship American half dollars in legal-tender payment of his purchases in South America. In like manner the South American can send his "simple dollars" to the United States, with the advantage that, instead of being treated as mere bullion, as they would be in Europe, they will have a partial advantage as legal tender, like our own subsidiary coin. The result might eventually be to transfer the exchange market of this hemisphere from London to New York. Of course, beyond the use of the common coin as legal-tender, it would, as any other silver coins, be valuable only as bullion, at the market price, in currency or gold.

The suggestion of a new silver coin, to be legal tender when a contract calls for it and otherwise only to a limited extent, but without any fixed ratio of value to gold or even our standard silver dollar, is so novel that the foregoing suggestions are made with diffidence. I regret that I have not at hand information about the means by which Great Britain maintains a balance between her own gold monometallism and the silver monometallism of her vast possessions in India. But a study of those means may suggest modes of reconciling our double standard with the single silver standard of Spanish-America. The attempt to do so should not be lightly abandoned; for, as President Arthur said in his last annual message to Congress, by the adoption of a common silver coin for this hemisphere, "the surplus productions of our mines and mints might be thus utilized, and a step taken towards the general remonetization of silver."

In connection with the suggestion of introducing into our domestic circulation a coin based on a measure of value different from our own bimetallic, it may be well to note that even in gold, monometallic England a like plan has been considered. A special cablegram to the St. Louis Globe-Democrat from London on the 11th ultimo states: "At the dividend meeting of the managers of the Bank of England to-day the question of bimetalism was discussed, and the coinage of a silver rupee and florin currency for circulation in both India and England was suggested."

CLAUSE SEVENTH.

"An agreement upon and recommendation for adoption to their respective Governments of a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes, and differences that may now or hereafter exist between them."

My personal observation and knowledge of the Spanish-American people through several years of sojourn with them induce me to believe that most, perhaps all, of them will gladly make such an agreement, and the enlightened and able Emperor of Brazil would assuredly join in it. With the tendency of our age towards arbitration, even of private differences between employers and employed, it may be extended between Governments, literally to "all questions," including many of those covered by the second section of your bill, especially those mentioned in the fourth clause, which are the principal sources of disputes between our Government and those of the other American States. Thus this agreement, leading gradually to others, if not simultaneous with them, may become the corner-stone of the international edifice in which, in time, all the nations of this hemisphere will dwell together in the peace and harmony of a great American customs union. Should the congress result in even nothing more than such an agreement it will have fully rewarded our Government for having convoked it, and richly compensate us for the hospitality to be extended to its members.

The impression exists in some quarters that, under such an agreement, our Government would have to assume the often thankless duty of being regular and perpetual arbitrator in all the quarrels of our somewhat excitable sister American communities. The exact contrary is most probable; they might, from over-sensitiveness, systematically avoid giving the United States so conspicuous a mark of leadership. They would most probably select as arbitrator in their disputes some such standing international peacemaker as the late King of the Belgians was in European differences, or some Government entirely unconnected with American interests, or the head of their religion, the Pope, or even, reverting to a former prevalent usage, some university of international reputation for erudition and integrity.

I have, perhaps at too great length, given my views on all the subjects embraced in your bill; but I have done so in the hope to indicate that, even should the proposed congress result in agreements on but few of those subjects and by only some of the States which may send delegates to it, yet such results will amply demonstrate the wisdom of having invited it. And, even should it result in nothing definitive, the knowledge which each of the Governments represented in it will acquire of the views and policies of all the others and the personal intercourse between our own representatives and those of the other countries will lay the foundation of a cordiality between both which

will be advantageously felt in our future diplomatic and commercial intercourse with the other nations of this entire hemisphere.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
THOS. C. REYNOLDS.

Hon. WILLIAM P. FRYE,
United States Senate.

REMARKS OF MR. CURTIS.

[Address of William E. Curtis, late commissioner from the United States to Central and South America, before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, with reference to Senate bill 1616, "to promote the political progress and commercial prosperity of the American nations," March 27, 1886.]

South of the Rio Grande and the Gulf of Mexico, in what is known as Spanish America, are about 48,000,000 of people, engaged in a foreign commerce amounting to over \$800,000,000 a year. This commerce is about equally divided between exports and imports. The exports consist exclusively of raw products and always will, while the imports consist of manufactured merchandise. The Spanish-American people have no taste for mechanical industry and lack the water-power or the fuel to exercise it if they had. They will always be compelled to import all the luxuries and nearly all of the necessities of life except food, and their wealth must come from the boundless resources with which a prodigal nature has stored the continent.

In 1884 our exports were valued at \$733,768,764, mostly manufactured merchandise. Of this amount we exported but \$64,719,000 to Spanish America. Our annual mechanical and agricultural products are valued at \$15,000,000,000, but we seldom have sold more than \$75,000,000 worth of this product to our nearest neighbors, who buy in Europe many times as much as they ever get here.

We have more trade with either Belgium, Italy, The Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland, Russia, China, Japan, or Australia than we have with all of the Central American States combined. We have nearly as much trade with Greece as we have with Chili. We sell more sewing-machines in Switzerland than we sell in Chili, and Switzerland sells Chili more sewing-machines than she buys of us.

England, France, and Germany have secured a monopoly of the trade of Spanish America by the establishment of quick, regular, and cheap transportation, and we have lost it by neglect. For example, Bolivia has a foreign trade of over \$16,000,000 a year, yet the name of that country does not appear in the tables of our Bureau of Statistics. The chief imports of Bolivia are cotton and woolen goods, agricultural implements, mining machinery, hardware, cutlery, clocks, watches, canned goods, and provisions, a list which could be filled in any commercial city of the United States as cheaply as in Europe, and yet the annual reports of the Treasury Department do not show a dollar's worth of commerce between the United States and that country.

The same conditions exist with other nations in quite as startling a form.

In 1884 the value of manufactured merchandise imported into the several countries of Central and South America was as follows:

Central America:

Mexico	\$30,000,000	
Guatemala.....	3,500,000	
Honduras.....	750,000	
Salvador.....	2,750,000	
Nicaragua	3,250,000	
Costa Rica.....	2,800,000	
British Honduras	1,250,000	
		\$44,300,000

South America:

French Guiana.....	1,500,000	
Dutch Guiana.....	1,700,000	
British Guiana	10,800,000	
Venezuela.....	16,000,000	
Colombia	13,700,000	
Ecuador	4,375,000	
Bolivia	4,500,000	
Chili.....	52,600,000	
Peru.....	7,600,000	
Argentine Republic.....	84,900,000	
Uruguay.....	26,000,000	
Paraguay.....	1,300,000	
Brazil	101,000,000	
		325,975,000

West Indies..... 117,113,000

Grand total... 487,388,000

The figures showing the distribution of these imports for 1884 can not yet be obtained, but the exports of the United States, France, and Great Britain to the countries named below in 1883 were as follows:

Countries	United States.	Great Britain.	France.
Central America.....	\$2,003,407	\$4,186,893	\$1,392,113
Colombia	6,868,971	6,009,414	5,984,352
Venezuela	2,403,705	3,126,123	1,324,468
Brazil.....	9,252,094	34,140,119	15,657,473
Uruguay	1,452,812	9,683,712	5,111,211
Argentine Republic...	3,543,196	30,695,963	24,956,691
Chili.....	2,860,496	21,318,312	9,655,555
Peru.....	493,894	4,811,600	1,760,670
Total	28,878,625	113,972,136	65,843,533

The increase of the imports from Great Britain into the Argentine Republic in 1884 was very large and reached a total of \$38,000,000. There was a corresponding increase in most of the other countries.

The following shows the exports from England, France, and the United States to Mexico, Central and South America, the Spanish West Indies, Hayti, and San Domingo of cotton goods, iron and steel, machines and implements, and hardware and cutlery, the goods in which we excel:

Articles.	England.	France.	United States.
Cotton manufactures.....	\$45,738,000	\$6,215,000	\$4,563,000
Iron and steel	11,090,000	3,339,000	2,810,000
Machinery, engines, etc.....	8,022,000	1,157,000	6,820,000
Hardware and cutlery.....	3,505,000	114,000	1,254,000
Total principal articles.....	68,355,000	10,825,000	15,447,000

Our total exports to Mexico are greater than those of either England or France, while our total exports to South America are less than one-fourth of those of England, and only one-half of those of France.

During the last twenty years the value of the exports from the United States to the Spanish Americans was \$442,048,975, and during that time we purchased of them raw products to the amount of \$1,185,828,579, showing an excess of imports during the twenty years amounting to \$765,992,219, which was paid in cash. It will thus be seen that our commerce with Central and South America has left a very large balance on the wrong side of the ledger, while those countries have all the time been buying in Europe the very merchandise we have for sale. Being the very reverse of the United States in climate and resources, they constitute our natural commercial allies, and the exchange should at least be even; but they sell their raw products here and buy their manufactured articles in Europe. The principal reason for this is that the carrying trade is in the hands of Englishmen. The statistics show, that, of the total imports into the United States from Spanish America, which, in 1884, amounted to \$159,000,000, three-fourths were carried in foreign vessels. Of our exports to those countries, amounting last year to \$64,000,000, \$46,000,000 were carried in American vessels, while only \$18,000,000 were carried by foreign vessels. It will thus be seen that nearly everything we buy is brought to us from Spanish America by Englishmen, while nearly everything we sell we have to carry there ourselves. The logic of these facts is irresistible.

The most absurd spectacle in the commercial world is the trade we carry on with Brazil. We buy nearly all her raw products, while she spends the money we pay for them in England and France.

In 1884, of the exports of Brazil \$50,266,000 went to the United States, \$29,000,000 to England, and \$24,000,000 to France. Of the imports of

Brazil in 1884, \$35,000,000 came from England, \$15,000,000 from France, and \$8,000,000 from the United States.

Another peculiar feature of this commerce was that of the exports of Brazil to the United States \$32,000,000 was carried in English vessels and \$9,000,000 in American vessels, while of her imports from the United States \$6,000,000 was carried in American vessels and only \$2,000,000 in English vessels. The trade is carried on by triangular voyages. Two lines of steam-ships sailing under the British flag load every week at Rio for New York. Arriving at the latter port they place their cargoes of coffee and hides in the hands of commission merchants, and sail for Europe, where they draw against these consignments, and buy Manchester cotton, Birmingham hardware, and other goods which they carry to Brazil. During the last twenty years this absurd spectacle has cost the United States \$600,000,000, every cent of which has gone into the pockets of English and French manufacturers. We have not only paid for the goods that England has sold Brazil, but as we have had no banking connections with that country and no ships on the sea, nearly every ton of this commerce has paid a tax to English bankers and vessel-owners.

Several years ago when we removed the import tax on coffee, Brazil put an export duty on, so that the attempt of Congress to secure a cheap breakfast for the workingman simply resulted in diverting several million dollars from the Treasury of the United States into the treasury of Brazil, without changing the price of the article. Mexico and the countries washed by the Caribbean Sea produce a better quality of coffee than is grown in Brazil, and if the United States Government would consent to discriminate against Brazilian coffee, raised by slave labor, the nations of Central America and the Spanish Main would reciprocate by admitting free to their ports our flour, lumber, provisions, lard, dairy products, kerosene, and other articles which are now kept from the common people by an almost prohibitory tariff.

Brazil is in such a critical condition, financially and commercially, that if we did not buy her coffee it would rot on the trees, and the Englishmen who control her foreign commerce would have to close their warehouses and throw all the Brazilian planters into the bankrupt court. These Englishmen have secured mortgages upon the plantations of Brazil by supplying the planters with merchandise on credit and taking the crop at the end of the season in payment; but as the crop seldom pays the advances, the mortgages have been lapping over upon the plantations, until now the Englishmen have the Brazilians by the throat, making their own terms, charging one profit on the merchandise sold, another as interest on the advances, a third on the coffee purchased, and a fourth as interest on payments deferred, while they make three profits out of us: first, on coffee they sell us; second, on transportation charges; third, in discounting our bills on London.

The greater part of our exports to Spanish America go to Mexico and the West Indies. Deducting these from the total, it will be found

that we buy over 30 per cent. of what the South American countries have for sale, and furnish them only 6 per cent. of their imports. The balance of trade goes on piling up at the rate of nearly \$100,000,000 a year. This was not always so. Twenty years ago more than half the commerce of this hemisphere was controlled by the merchants of New York, Boston, and Baltimore, and more than half the ships in its harbors sailed from those ports. Now only a small percentage of the carrying trade is done in American bottoms, while English ship-owners who control the transportation facilities permit the Spanish-American merchants to buy in this country only such goods as they can not obtain elsewhere.

The cause of this astonishing phenomenon is our neglect to furnish the ways and means of commerce. We can no more prevent trade following facilities for communication than we can repeal the law of gravity. While we have been pointing with pride at our internal development, England and France have been stealing our markets away from us. The problem of recovering them is easy of solution. The States of Central and South America will buy what we have to sell if intelligent measures are used to cultivate the markets and means are provided for the delivery of the goods.

The Spanish-American nations seek political intimacy with the United States, and look to this, the mother of republics, for example and encouragement. They recognize and assert the superiority of our products. They offer and pay subsidies to our ships. Brazil now pays \$100,000 a year as a subsidy to an American steam-ship line, while the United States Government paid only \$4,000 last year to the same line for carrying our mails. The Argentine Republic had a law upon its statute-books representing a standing offer of a subsidy of 96,000 silver dollars a year to any company that will establish a steam-ship line between Buenos Ayres and New York, under the American flag, and at the same time has twenty-one lines of steam-ships, sailing from forty-five to sixty vessels a month, between Buenos Ayres and the ports of Europe, to which it pays nothing. We have no steam-ship communication with the Argentine Republic whatever. During the last year, out of the millions of tons of shipping represented in the harbor of that metropolis, there were no steamers from the United States, and our flag was seen upon but 2 per cent. of the sailing vessels. Here is a nation purchasing in Europe \$70,000,000 worth of merchandise every year, and only spending about \$4,000,000 in the United States, and these \$4,000,000 represent articles, such as petroleum, lumber, lard and other pork products, which could not elsewhere be obtained.

Thomas W. Howard, United States vice-consul at Uruguay, stated to the Commission that the carrying trade between that country and Europe was done by 567 steamers, of which 203 were English, 118 French, 107 German, 48 Italian, and 14 Spanish, with not one under the American flag; and he said that no steamers ever came from the United States to Uruguay, except occasionally an English tramp char-

tered for a special cargo. The foreign commerce of Uruguay amounts to \$45,000,000 a year, of which over \$20,000,000 are imports of manufactured merchandise. The chief imports are wearing apparel, iron and steel goods, agricultural implements, and machinery. England furnishes 27 per cent., France 17 per cent., Germany 13 per cent., Spain 10 per cent., Italy 6 per cent., and the United States only 5 per cent.

The Spanish-Americans erect statues to Washington and Lincoln, and imitate the United States in all their political and economical endeavors. Their Republics are founded upon constitutions in imitation of that our fathers framed. They have introduced our school system, and they import teachers from the United States.

Even more surprising than our neglect of the commercial opportunities they offer is our ignorance of their condition and progress. We recollect their civilization as we saw it last to be an anarchy of errors. We do not realize that the triumph of liberal intelligence and the influx of modern enterprise have opened to the nations of South and Central America a destiny second only in promise to our own. While it would be useless to seek in those Republics an ideal of self-government, their progress in the last half century has placed them in a situation where their political reform is not only hopeful but assured.

The development of the southern half of South America is nearly as rapid as that of the United States. Immigration is flooding in, internal improvements are opening new and fertile fields, and wealth is increasing in a ratio enjoyed by no other section of the globe.

Chili, Uruguay, Paraguay, and the Argentine Republic, almost a *terra incognita* to us, are booming like our Western Territories. In 1876 the imports of the Argentine Republic were valued at \$36,000,000; in 1884 they had reached \$80,000,000. In 1876 the merchandise brought to that country from England, France, and Germany was valued at only \$18,000,000, while in 1884 it was more than \$53,000,000. The entire imports from the United States for twenty years were \$6,000,000 less than those from the three commercial nations of Europe for the year 1884.

Within the last three months the Government of the Argentine Republic has made contracts for \$59,000,000 worth of railway improvements, including a line of road northward into Bolivia and two lines across the continent to Chili, so as to bring the commerce of the Pacific slope into the harbor of Buenos Ayres, instead of taking it around the Straits of Magellan.

In 1874 the foreign commerce of Chili amounted to \$42,000,000; in 1884 it reached \$132,000,000. From \$50,000,000 to \$60,000,000 in merchandise is imported into Chili every year, of which England furnishes over \$20,000,000, France over \$12,000,000, Germany over \$8,000,000, and the United States \$3,000,000.

Adding the imports of Brazil to those of Uruguay, Chili, and the Argentine Republic, it will be found that the aggregate value of manufactured products introduced into those four countries annually reaches

the enormous sum of \$250,000,000, of which England furnishes nearly one-half, France about \$50,000,000, Germany about \$35,000,000, and the United States about \$17,000,000.

We have no adequate conception of the present magnitude of these markets, nor of their prospective value. The manufacturers of the United States can supply almost every article represented in that \$250,000,000, with the exception of a few articles of luxury which we ourselves import. The consumption of cotton goods alone amounts annually to over \$65,000,000, and 95 per cent. is supplied by the mills of Manchester.

Cotton fabrics now and always will constitute the wearing apparel of three-fourths of the people, and they must be imported. England monopolizes this trade, because her mills furnish an article especially adapted to the wants and tastes of the consumers, which our looms have never attempted to produce. The assertion that we can not compete with Manchester prices is absurd. The only reason we are undersold is that we send an honest fabric to compete with a dishonest one; but as long as the English manufacturers send cargoes of pipe-clay and starch to the tropical countries our exporters must furnish the same article or be undersold. There is a grim humor in the fact that the popularity of our cotton goods is so great that nearly every bale of this bogus fabric shipped from Manchester to the South American nations bears the coat-of-arms of the United States, and is marked "Best American drillings, Mass, U. S. A."

There is not a commercial city in Spanish America where the manufacturers of the United States can not compete with their European rivals in every article we produce for export. The report of the South American Commission shows, by the testimony of the importing merchants of those countries, that aside from the difference in the cost and convenience of transportation it is to their advantage to buy in the United States, because the quality of our products is superior, and our prices are usually as low as those of Europe.

But as long as the freight from Liverpool, Hamburg, and Bordeaux is \$15 a ton, they can not be induced to pay \$40 a ton to bring merchandise from the United States.

The control of the transportation facilities being in the hands of European merchants, assisted by liberal subsidies from Governments that encourage them in seeking trade, there is a natural and effective discrimination against freights from this country, and is usually cheaper to ship goods from New York via Hamburg to the South American countries than to send them direct.

The bill which Mr. Frye has introduced contemplates an assemblage of delegates from these Spanish-American nations at Washington for the purpose of considering measures to bring them into closer political and commercial relations with the United States.

Under instructions from the late Secretary of State, Mr. Frelinghuysen, the South American Commission submitted to each of the Governments it visited a series of propositions covering the suggestions con-

tained in this bill, and, with the exception of Chili, each of the Governments visited promptly and cordially accepted the propositions made. The Commission was not instructed to conclude conventions of any character, but was directed to initiate a movement this bill is designed to promote. The Government of Chili declined to enter into any compact whatever with the United States, by treaty or otherwise. The propositions were submitted to the President of that Republic in the presence of his entire cabinet and discussed at length, but the only one that Government was inclined to accept was that relating to the establishment of a common silver coin. This suggestion they very cordially approved, and its importance was enlarged upon by the President of Chili and his minister of finance.

The proposition to hold a congress of American nations was not declined by Chili, but taken under advisement, the Government reserving the right to accept or decline an invitation to such a congress when the United States was prepared to submit a plan in detail, defining its scope, the subjects to be considered, and the extent of the powers intrusted to the delegates.

Even if the contemplated congress should fail to reach any conclusions upon the subjects proposed for it by Congress, a visit by the leading men of the Spanish-American nations of the United States will be productive of great good.

The report of the South American Commission upon this subject says :

"The attainment of closer international and commercial relations between our country and these Republics is easily accomplished. Our reports have frequently called attention to the feeling of admiration with which the progress, wealth, and power of our land are regarded by the other countries of the Western Hemisphere. They one and all find in our history a model for their own institutions, and our moral support and approbation are prized above those of any and all other nations. Hence our advance toward a more perfect understanding and greater confidence will meet with a quick and true response. There will be no prejudices to overcome, no antipathies to remove, few differences of constitutional life to adjust. The result of our observations leads us to believe that these Republics have felt that our country heretofore has given them too little thought ; that in its greatness and introspection it has failed to take a warm interest in the trials and struggles of peoples who are striving to realize for their own countries something of the peace and prosperity that belong to what they always term "*La Grande Republica*." Unless we have been completely misled by the expressions and protestations of the ruling powers of each and every one of the Governments we have visited, the only estrangement possible between them and us will flow from our own indifference and neglect. Indeed, we have already lost much that naturally belongs to us from this cause. Every President and cabinet officer, every leading and thoughtful citizen we met, joined in the sentiment of gratified surprise that our country had taken the initiative by this embassy in bring-

ing about more cordial and hearty communication between the various Republics and our own. In our effort to reach more intimate relations we have, then, this basis of kindness and desire upon the part of those we seek to reach as a foundation for our action. We shall plant seed in a genial soil, beneath a propitious sky.

"To the foregoing considerations we may add the beneficial influence of the proposed convention of representatives of the States of the Western Hemisphere. Our several reports show with what warmth the suggestion has been welcomed by nearly every country we visited. It is cordially indorsed by all save Chili, which only gave a qualified assent.

"The general opinions of the Governments visited point to the propriety of this country's issuing the call for the convention, fixing time, place, membership, and also suggesting in the invitation a list of topics for discussion, at the same time conceding to every State represented the right to bring forward such other subjects affecting the welfare of all as it may deem best.

"Not only should the call and programme emanate from our Government, but the assembly should convene in the United States under its hospitable welcome and direction. The details we do not enter upon, though we may be permitted the quite obvious reflection that the range of topics should be so varied that in some one or more of them each State should feel a particular interest, and the general scope of all tend to the prosperity and common good of all. We can well believe that the discussion of these topics which pertain to the common weal would be followed in each State with profound interest, the conclusions reached, especially if found with much unanimity, of great practical good, and the general result of a joint deliberation of the several people on questions of moment to each would inevitably weave into firmer fabric the warp and woof of the threads of friendship and interest and communication reaching from one to all the rest. Neither need we point out the value to our country in many ways of filling the position of a generous host, welcoming to our homes and estates guests whose good opinion we desire to win by sincere courtesy and a just revelation of our noble national character. To this end the representatives should enjoy extended opportunities to become familiar with the marvelous economies, politics, industry, education, and religion out of which our greatness has sprung. No limited or contracted parsimony should bound our efforts to exhibit in fair colors the magnitude and glory of that temple of freedom in which we worship. Every section of our land would reveal to their eyes, in language stronger than words, the wealth, progress, and happiness that attend a people whose institutions are founded on equality, where the poorest and weakest citizen has his wrongs redressed and his rights protected equally with the strongest and most wealthy. From such a survey they would carry home deeper respect for a country whose religion, unaided by the civil power, builds shrines in every neighborhood where the humblest may kneel and adore according to his conscience, where education rains down on every rank

of life manifold blessings, and where obedience to the expressed will of the majority is deemed a sacred duty.

“In such a convention could be discussed, as was suggested by some of the States consulted, the plan of agreeing upon a common silver coin which should be current among all the States of the American continent at its face value. This proposition has been favorably entertained by all the Governments advised with as one which would add value to the silver product and prove a potent factor in promoting commerce between the countries adhering to it.

“The States of Central and South America stand ready to respond heartily to our call for such a convention, and once held it would prove doubtless the forerunner of many more, whose influence would be puissant in promoting more intimate relations both international and commercial.”

The reports of the Commission show that the suggestions for a common currency was favorably received by all the Governments visited, including Chili. All the Spanish-American countries are now under a system of silver monometallism.

There is no gold to be seen; silver is not only the current coin, but the legal tender everywhere. These countries have paper money, but its value is regulated by the silver coin that prevails in each; they do not even coin their own production of gold.

The report of the Director of the Mint for 1884 shows that the entire product of gold in Spanish-America for the three years previous was \$25,000,000, of which only \$1,500,000 was coined.

From the same report it is shown that for the three years the product of silver in Central and South America, including Mexico, was \$143,000,000, of which \$84,000,000 was coined, and of this total Mexico produced over \$86,000,000 and coined \$73,000,000. Deducting from the total the product and coinage of Mexico, we find that the total product of silver in Central and South America for three years was only \$57,000,000, or about \$19,000,000 a year, while the total coinage for three years was only \$11,000,000, or less than \$4,000,000 a year.

Bolivia is the next largest producer of silver. Deducting the product and coinage of Bolivia for three years, we find that the remaining nations of Central and South America produced only \$19,000,000 in silver during the three years, and coined only six millions of this product, or about \$2,000,000 a year. The balance of the product is shipped to Europe in ore.

Chili, Colombia, Bolivia, Peru, and Venezuela are the only nations producing silver to any amount.

From the report of the Director of the Mint it is shown that the total circulation of paper money, gold coin, and silver coin in Spanish America, and including Mexico, is \$340,000,000, of which \$243,000,000 is paper money, and Brazil issues about three-fifths of the latter amount. For the details of the financial situation in the Spanish-American countries I would refer to the report of Mr. Reynolds, of the

South American Commission, who has given special attention to that subject.

The balance of trade against the United States with these countries of Central and South America amounts annually to nearly \$100,000,000. This balance is paid in bills of exchange on London, the proceeds of which are expended there in the purchase of merchandise which our markets could supply at as low figures and in as good quality as that of Europe. It was remarked nearly everywhere that English merchants of whom the South American importers were buying their goods might not accept such a coin in payment, and the reply invariably was that in such an event they would come to the United States to buy their goods. All commercial transactions in these countries now are calculated in pounds, shillings, and pence, the local currency never entering into foreign commercial transactions.

In every one of these nations, with the exception of Chili, the proposition for a reciprocity treaty was also heartily received. We admit free of duty into our ports the products of a people who have prohibited ours from entering theirs. Duties that are almost prohibitory are placed upon flour, petroleum, provisions, lumber, and other articles imported from the United States, so that they are placed beyond the reach of the masses of the Spanish-American people. Human transactions are usually based upon reciprocity, but have never entered into our commerce with Spanish America.

Our Government might have received concessions for the admission of our peculiar products free, or at a reduced rate of duty, had we been enterprising enough to enter negotiations in that direction. Almost everywhere the South American Commission found a willingness on the part of the Governments it visited to enter into commercial treaties whereby our peculiar products might be relieved from the almost prohibitory taxation, without any further concessions upon our part beyond giving the pledge not to impose duties where they do not now exist. As an illustration: The little Government of Costa Rica proposed to remove the duty from cattle, salt, preserved meats, mineral, coal, raw cotton, timber for building purposes, brick, tile, lime, and agricultural and mining machinery, which they buy in the United States, provided the articles they produce, such as sugar, coffee, cocoa, and other articles which they send us are placed upon our free list. The sugar exported from Costa Rica last year was valued at only \$278, so that there need be no fear of injuring our sugar interest by making the concessions they desire. The only articles which we now import from South America under a duty are sugar and wool, and almost the only wool we import is the coarse variety used in the manufacture of carpets, which is not produced in the United States.

All our carpet wools come from Chili, Uruguay, and the Argentine Republic; most of our sugar comes from Cuba. The production of sugar in all the South American countries would not be sufficient to supply one-fourth of the demand in the United States, if we should take all

that is raised there. As a matter of fact none comes now. The South American Republics can not compete with the slave labor of Cuba, and never will; but if their product were admitted free of duty they would give us in exchange valuable concessions that would enable our farmers and manufacturers to find a market for their surplus.

With the exception of petroleum, nearly all of our exports to Central and South America come from the Southern States and the Northwest, and consist of breadstuffs, provisions, lumber, furniture, etc. Flour is so expensive that none but the rich can use it, the price often being as high as \$25 a barrel, two-thirds of this cost representing the import duty. If the duty upon flour were removed in all the South American countries the exports from the United States would be very largely increased, and the removal of that duty could be obtained by an exchange in favor of sugar, while the almost prohibitory duty upon lumber, provisions, and other goods would be given in exchange for the removal of the duty on carpet wools. Petroleum is a very important item in the commerce of South America. Gas is scarce and high, owing to the lack of fuel, and almost the entire population burn candles. Petroleum put on board a ship at 15 cents a gallon in New York is peddled out in the South American cities in pint bottles at 25 cents each, or 40 cents for a quart bottle, the light of a single lamp for an evening costing at least a quarter of a dollar, which of course, prohibits its use by the common people.

Three-fourths of this price represents the duty, as it is the practice of the South American Governments to tax the necessities of life and admit the luxuries free. As an illustration: A certain Government which charges a duty of 400 per cent. *ad valorem* on our kerosene oil admits watches, jewelry, and diamonds at a duty of 90 cents a pound.

Still more important is some arrangement with the South American nations for a uniform system of customs regulations. Their present system was inherited from the old Spanish tyrants, and an importer is fined for failing to cross a *t* or dot an *i*; for a misspelled word, or an erasure of any kind in his invoice.

The customs officials receive compensation from the fines and penalties which they impose, and are therefore constantly tempted to injustice. This is a greater embarrassment to merchants of the United States than to those of other nations, because the English, the German, and the French have agencies and branch houses in nearly every one of the South American ports. These agents are constantly associating with the customs officials, keep them good natured by means of their own, and are able in case an error is detected to settle it without any considerable loss, while a manufacturer or merchant of the United States who is a stranger to the customs officials and who has no friends to watch his interests in the ports to which his goods go, is constantly subjected to the most harassing and disastrous fines and penalties. I could relate hundreds of instances that came to my attention, in which the customs officials of South American ports were induced by English

agents to drive American merchants out of trade by imposing upon them fines and penalties for the most trivial mistakes in their invoices, and other reasons. For example: The captain of a ship who entered a South American harbor with a cargo of goods, for the first time, was fined \$250 for neglecting to salute the captain of the port when he came on board his vessel. It was afterwards discovered that this was done at the instance of the captain of an English tramp steamer, who had been running between that port and New York, and had failed to get the cargo which the American skipper carried.

The merchants of New York, as is shown in the reports of the South American Commission, find that there is no profit in a trade where they are compelled to submit to such whims of officials and the jealousies of rival merchants. By a proper system of treaty the United States could induce the South American nations to adopt a uniform system of rules regulating the appraisement and classification of goods which would obviate all the difficulties described.

There have been two attempts to hold an international congress of American nations. In 1825, during the administration of John Quincy Adams, General Bolivar, who was then President of the United States of Colombia, invited the several American nations to join in a congress to be held at Panama in June, 1826.

President Adams accepted the invitation, and nominated Richard C. Anderson and John Sargent as delegates on the part of the United States, and William B. Rochester as secretary to the mission. The message containing the nominations was referred to the Committee of Foreign Relations of the Senate, by whom a report was made on the 16th of June, 1826, condemning the mission, and concluding with a resolution declaring it inexpedient for the United States to join the proposed congress.

The report was rejected by the Senate, and on the 14th of March, 1826, the recommendations of the President were adopted by a vote of 24 to 19. On the 21st of April the House of Representatives, by a vote of 133 to 61, passed a bill making appropriations for the mission.

Orders were transmitted to Mr. Anderson, who was then minister to Colombia, to attend the congress, but, on his way to Panama, he died of a malignant fever. His colleague, Mr. Sargent, found it impossible to attend the congress, and thus the United States was not represented.

The congress was held, however, on June 22, 1826, and continued in session until July, concluding a treaty of friendship with all the American powers who had been invited to join.

The congress adjourned to meet in February, 1827, at Tacubaya, a suburb of the City of Mexico. Mr. Poinsett, United States minister to Mexico, was appointed commissioner to this congress in place of Mr. Anderson (deceased), and Mr. Sargent, his colleague, went to Mexico, but the congress did not assemble, owing to disturbing revolutions in nearly all the countries invited to join.

In 1881, as will be remembered, Mr. Blaine sent invitations to the

Spanish nations to meet the United States in a similar congress, and they were generally accepted, but, subsequent to the retirement of Mr. Blaine from the Cabinet, the enterprise was abandoned, to be renewed by Mr. Frelinghuysen, his successor in office, through the South American Commission, as has been related.

THE ACTION OF THE SENATE.

Senator Whitthorne, of Tennessee, asked that the above bill be taken up for consideration on the next legislative day, and on the 12th of June he spoke at length in support of the measure. On the 17th of June, 1886, the bill was passed by the Senate, upon the motion of Mr. Frye, and, reaching the House of Representatives on the 19th instant, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, but no action was taken thereon.

At the beginning of the first session of the Fiftieth Congress Mr. Sherman re-introduced Mr. Helper's bill for the intercontinental railway commission. Mr. Reagan re-introduced his bill to provide for a conference of American nations with reference to a common silver coin, and Mr. Frye introduced the bill, which had passed the Senate at the previous session, authorizing the President to invite the other American nations to participate in a conference at Washington. On the 15th of February, 1888, Mr. Frye's bill was reported favorably from the Committee on Foreign Relations.

THE CUSTOMS UNION PROPOSITION REVIVED.

Mr. Townshend, on the 4th of January, 1888, introduced the following bill:

A BILL to promote the establishment of free commercial intercourse among the nations of America and the Dominion of Canada by the creation of an American customs union or zollverein.

Whereas the establishment of free commercial intercourse among the nations of America and the Dominion of Canada will promote the friendly political relations, internal commerce, and industries, and secure a more extended market for the surplus products of each of said countries : Therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and requested to invite

the co-operation of the Republics of Mexico, Central and South America, the Empire of Brazil, and the Dominion of Canada in securing the establishment of a commercial union by and between the said countries, to be known as the Customs Union of America, the arrangement of a common basis of import duties from other countries than those which may compose said union, and that the commercial intercourse among the people of all the countries included in said union may be unrestricted and free from the payment of any customs or other dues whatsoever; and that a common system of silver coinage, weights, and measures may be also established for the purpose of facilitating such intercourse.

SEC. 2. That in order to accomplish said purposes the President be, and he is hereby, authorized and requested to invite delegates from each of said countries, to assemble in Washington, District of Columbia, on the second Monday of March, eighteen hundred and eighty-nine, to meet delegates on the behalf of the United States; that each of said countries shall be entitled to send as many delegates as it for itself shall determine, but in deciding questions in the Congress no delegation shall have more than one vote.

SEC. 3. That in forwarding the invitations to the constituted authorities of the said several countries, the President of the United States shall set forth that the Congress is called to consider: First, measures to secure the establishment of an American Customs Union so as to provide for absolute reciprocity of trade between all the countries embraced in the said union free from all customs or other duties; second, to encourage the establishment of regular and frequent lines of direct steamship communication between the ports of the United States and the ports of all said countries by modification of navigation and maritime laws and other effectual legislation; third, the establishment of a common basis of import duties and a uniform system of custom regulations in each of said countries to govern the importation and exportation of merchandise from other countries than those included in said union; fourth, the adoption of a uniform system of weights and measures, and uniform laws to protect the person and property and the patent right, copyright, and trade marks of either country in the other; fifth, the adoption of a common silver coin which shall be issued by each Government in such an amount proportionate to the population of each as may be determined upon, the same to be legal tender in all commercial transactions between the citizens of all of the countries included in said union; sixth, an agreement upon and recommendation for adoption to their respective Governments of a definite plan of arbitration of all questions, disputes, and differences that may now or hereafter exist between them.

SEC. 4. That the President of the United States shall appoint one person from each State to said Congress as delegate on behalf of the United States to same, without compensation other than their expenses, to be selected equally from the political parties.

SEC. 5. That the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, now in the Treasury of the United States and not otherwise disposed of, be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, or so much thereof as may be necessary, and placed to the credit of the Secretary of State to defray, in a manner becoming the dignity of the United States, the expenses incidental to the holding of said Congress.

Mr. McKinley re-introduced his bill to authorize a Conference to determine a plan of arbitration between American nations, and Mr. Yardley proposed a similar measure. On the 4th of January, 1888, Mr. McCreary, of Kentucky, re-introduced his bill authorizing the President to arrange for an International American Conference, and on the 9th of February reported the same favorably from the Committee on Foreign Relations.

THE BILL AUTHORIZING THE CONFERENCE BECOMES A LAW.

On the 29th of February, 1888, Mr. McCreary's bill as reported from the Committee on Foreign Affairs was passed, and when it reached the Senate was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations. On the 21st of March, Mr. Frye reported it back to the Senate with his bill as a substitute, which was passed on the 22d of March, and a committee on conference, consisting of Messrs. Frye, Dolph, and Brown, was appointed on the 28th. Messrs. McCreary, Russell, and Morrow were appointed as conferees on the part of the House. The conference report was submitted and adopted by the House on the 4th of April, 1888, but it was rejected by the Senate on the 25th of April, 1888. On the 27th of April a new conference was ordered, and an agreement having been reached, the bill was finally passed by both Houses on the 10th of May, 1888, and on the 28th of May following it was announced that it had become a law without the President's approval.

Senate documents

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